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Dufferin.

EARL OF DUFFERIN, K.P., K.C.B.

Late Governor-General of Canada, present Viceroy of India.

MAGAZINE
OF
AMERICAN HISTORY
WITH
NOTES AND QUERIES

ILLUSTRATED

EDITED BY MRS. MARTHA J. LAMB

VOL. XVI

JULY-DECEMBER, 1886

30 LAFAYETTE PLACE, NEW YORK CITY

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JULY, 1886

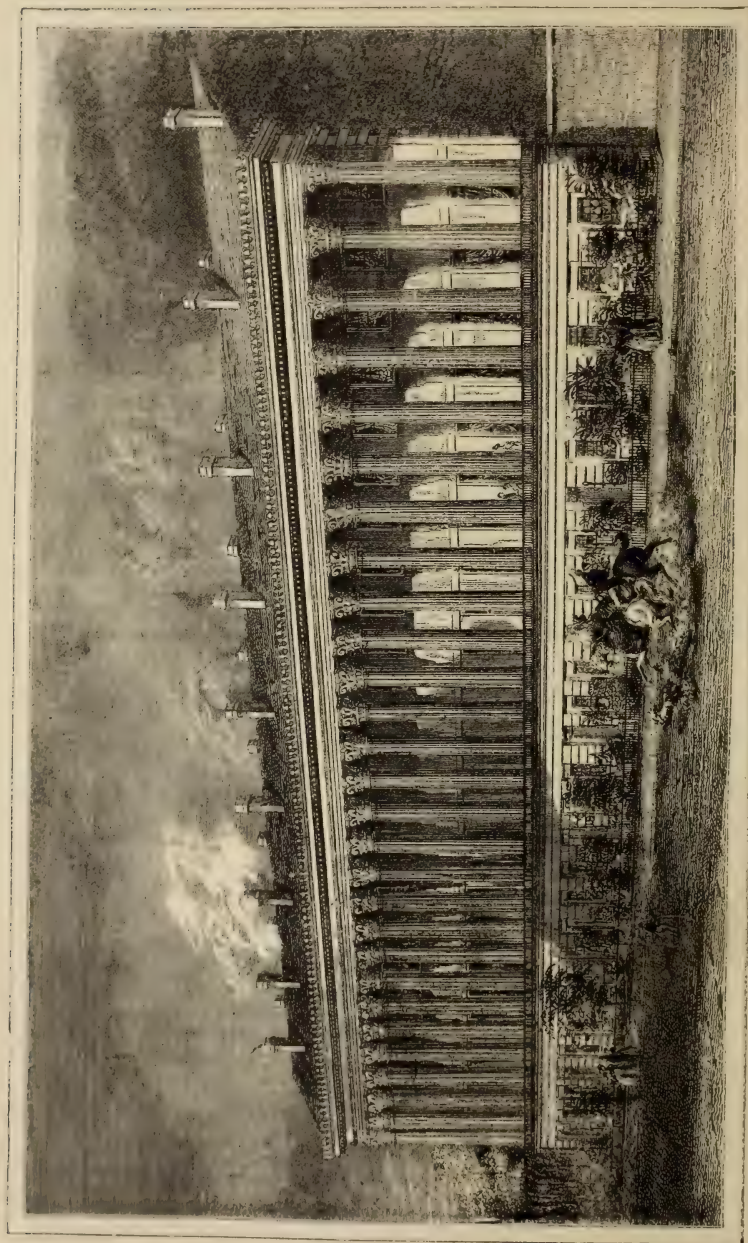
No. 1

A NEGLECTED CORNER OF THE METROPOLIS

HISTORIC HOMES IN LAFAYETTE PLACE

IN the summer of 1836, just fifty years ago, public interest in New York city centered about a rising row of dwelling-houses in Lafayette Place, that were rapidly approaching completion. The marble used in their construction had been procured at Sing Sing, and the convicts in the State prison had been employed, at very cheap rates, to cut and prepare it before it was brought to the city. This economical transaction had caused, while the work was going forward, a terrific cry of disapproval from the stone cutters, who banded together and paraded the streets with banners, becoming so riotous that military aid was required to preserve peace. To many of New York's citizens, in that interesting period, Lafayette Place was an unknown quantity. It was a new and a very short and dim line on the recently-made city maps. Its existence dated only from 1826, in which year it was opened through the center of Vauxhall Garden, and called by its present name in honor of the Revolutionary marquis, whose late visit to America had nearly turned the American head. It was "two miles into the country," so the newspapers of the day said, and the wise and prudent shook their heads regarding great building enterprises in such a remote locality as very doubtful speculation. Mr. Seth Geer was the man who had the temerity needful for the achievement; he designed and then built this somewhat extraordinary row of houses at his own risk. As he predicted, they were afterward sold at a considerable advance on the original cost. They are described in the *Ladies' Companion* of November, 1836, as follows: "Of all the modern improvements which characterize our city, the sumptuous row of houses in Lafayette Place, called after the seat of the venerable French patriot, La Grange Terrace, is the most imposing and magnificent. These costly houses are universally allowed to be unequaled for grandeur and effect. They are built of white marble, the front supported by a rich colonnade of fluted Corinthian columns, resting on the basement story, which is of the Egyptian order of architecture. When we recollect that the very site now occupied by these stately homes

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LA GRANGE TERRACE, LAFAYETTE PLACE.

[*Built in 1836.*]

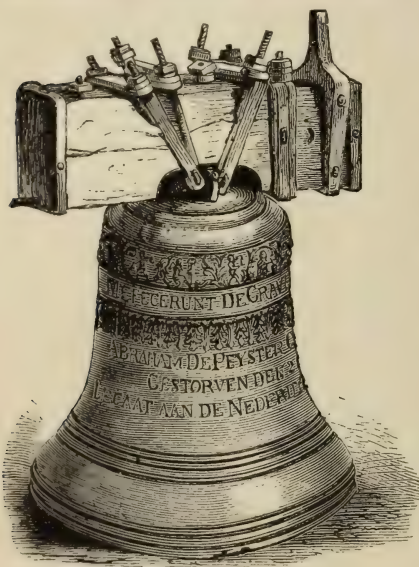
was but a few years past the seat of the forest and morass, we may well wonder at the advancement we have made, and almost ask in amazement, if this be indeed the city, where, not a century since, the gable-fronted mansions of the Dutch were considered the highest acme of architectural splendor."

A glimpse of the authentic history of Vauxhall Garden will appear further on, but, with all due respect to the writer of half a century ago, we must pause here to deny the foregoing statement that its site was ever a *morass*. The locality was high and dry, so to speak, and its wealth of sand and sand-hills had always been a source of tribulation to the earlier settlers. It was good ground to build on, atmosphere healthful and scenery picturesque, yet, as was supposed, too far away for a whole row of city dwellings! It was really to the New York mind a much greater distance from the centres of business than Riverside Park is now, as there was no rapid transit in 1836, no public conveyance whatever except the stage-coach—and the poor little germ of the horse-car of the future. Fashion, however, was captivated with the idea of elegant seclusion. The little street would probably never be lengthened, and it had a lordly breadth. The rattle and racket of Broadway could reach it only in dreamy murmurs. The "magnificent" terrace would naturally be occupied exclusively by first families in position and wealth. Thus Fashion argued. Handsome private carriages rolled into the new place, observations were made, and presently other building sites were selected. Imposing homes soon arose in close proximity to the Terrace, and all along the stately little avenue. And Fashion calmly took its seat and held it.

Domestic architecture in America was then in a transition state. The effort for strictly scientific architecture, as ineffectually displayed in La Grange Terrace—in later years known as Colonnade Row—was on the decline, it being in no sense an expression of American domestic feeling to devote as much space to porticoes and colonnades as to rooms; cheerful homes could never be constructed from reduced copies of the Parthenon. Hence, solidity of foundation, spacious apartments, artistic interior decorations, wide entrance halls, and in most instances a severely bald exterior were the significant features of the other dwelling-houses that followed in the immediate vicinity, but nowhere the world over were city homes ever built more delightfully roomy and comfortable.

In November of the same year, 1836, the corner-stone of the Reformed Dutch Church was laid in Lafayette Place, and the edifice was dedicated on the 9th of May, 1839. It has borne the name of the "Middle Dutch Church" ever since its namesake in Nassau Street was given over to secular

uses. It presents one of the very few examples, remaining in the city, of purely Athenian architecture. Its form is that of a parallelogram, seventy-five feet in width and one hundred and twenty deep. The front is an octostyle portico, surmounted by an angular pediment, including in its range the entire width of the church, and raised upon an elevated platform. The twelve columns are worthy of notice as each one is a distinct piece of granite, not composed of sections as in other instances with shafts of such dimensions. It took more than two score of well-yoked oxen to drag either of the columns to its abiding-place. They are handsomely fluted, their bases finely molded, and the capitals well executed, the neckings carved and enriched with the Grecian honeysuckle. The windows are finished with Grecian architraves, sills, and cornices, sustained by consoles. The old steeple which appears in the sketch has been removed. It was considered a necessary feature of Christian architecture at the time of its erection, but of a peculiar design quite irreconcilable with correct principles of taste. In 1855, the old historic "silver toned bell" was placed in it, the bell that was cast in Holland, in 1731, at the expense of Abraham De Peyster as a gift to the Middle Dutch Church in Nassau Street when that edifice was new. It was believed that silver coin was used largely in preparing the bell metal. At all events, the bell had a



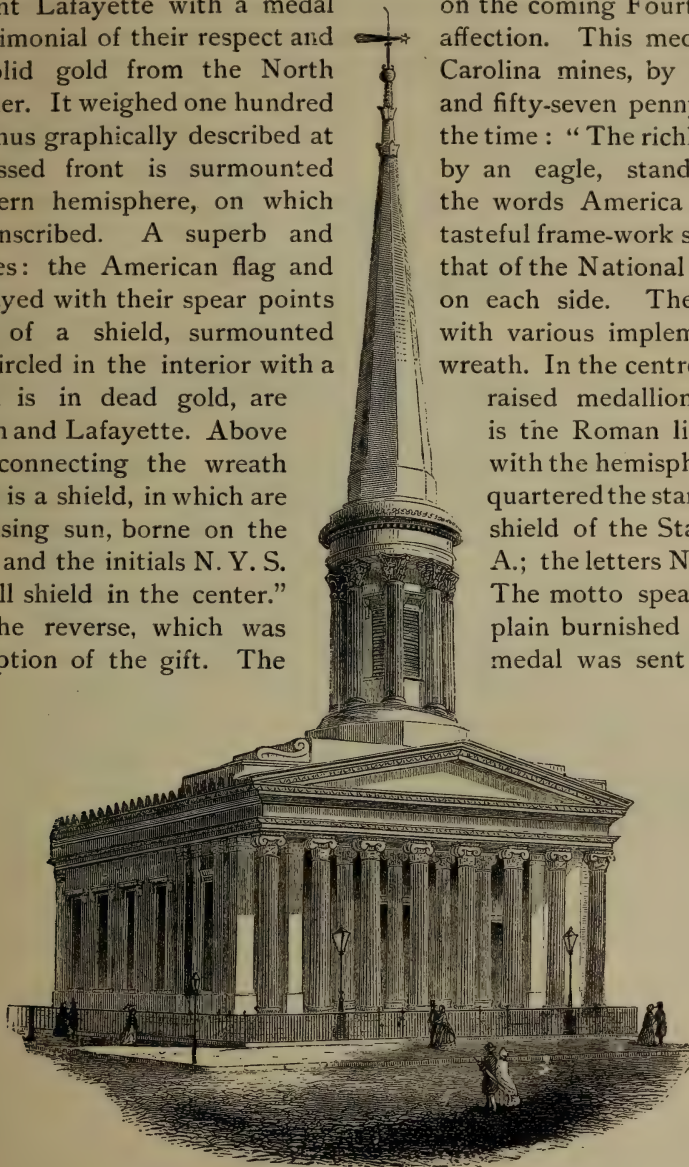
THE SILVER TONED BELL.

"silvery ring"—and those who listened to it in modern times thought its music would have been decidedly improved had the Hollanders omitted to throw their silver coin in as stated. During the Revolution this ancient bell was secreted from the British soldiers. It now hangs in the tower of the Reformed Church in Fifth Avenue, corner of Forty-eighth Street.

In connection with the naming of Lafayette Place, and of its first imposing block of buildings, it is instructive to note the current of popular feeling in that decade. In 1832, the centennial of the birth of Washington was celebrated in New York with great *éclat*. On the evening of that memorable day the officers of the National Guard—the present famous Seventh Regiment—assembled under Washington's old historic tent

that had been pitched in the park with present Lafayette with a medal a testimonial of their respect and of solid gold from the North Brother. It weighed one hundred was thus graphically described at embossed front is surmounted northern hemisphere, on which are inscribed. A superb and devices: the American flag and displayed with their spear points basis of a shield, surmounted and circled in the interior with a which is in dead gold, are ington and Lafayette. Above axe, connecting the wreath neath is a shield, in which are the rising sun, borne on the arms, and the initials N. Y. S. a small shield in the center." On the reverse, which was inscription of the gift. The

military honors, and resolved to on the coming Fourth of July, as affection. This medal was made Carolina mines, by Marquand & and fifty-seven pennyweights. It the time: "The richly chased and by an eagle, standing on the the words America and France tasteful frame-work surrounds the that of the National Guard being on each side. These form the with various implements of war, wreath. In the centre of the field, raised medallions of Wash- is the Roman lictor's battle- with the hemisphere; and be- quartered the stars and stripes, shield of the State, the city A.; the letters N. G. being on The motto speaks for itself. plain burnished gold, was the medal was sent to the care



REFORMED DUTCH CHURCH IN LAFAYETTE PLACE.

of James Fenimore Cooper in Paris for presentation, accompanied by the following letter:

"GENERAL :

The National Guard of the city of New York, a corps of citizen soldiers, have the honor to present for your acceptance the accompanying token of the sentiments entertained by the sons of liberty in America for the dauntless champion of that sacred cause, whose distinguished service in three revolutions, and whose untiring exertions in behalf of the oppressed and enslaved of *every* nation, have raised for the hero, '*monumentum are perennius.*' With a fervent prayer for your health and happiness, we are, General, your obedient servants,

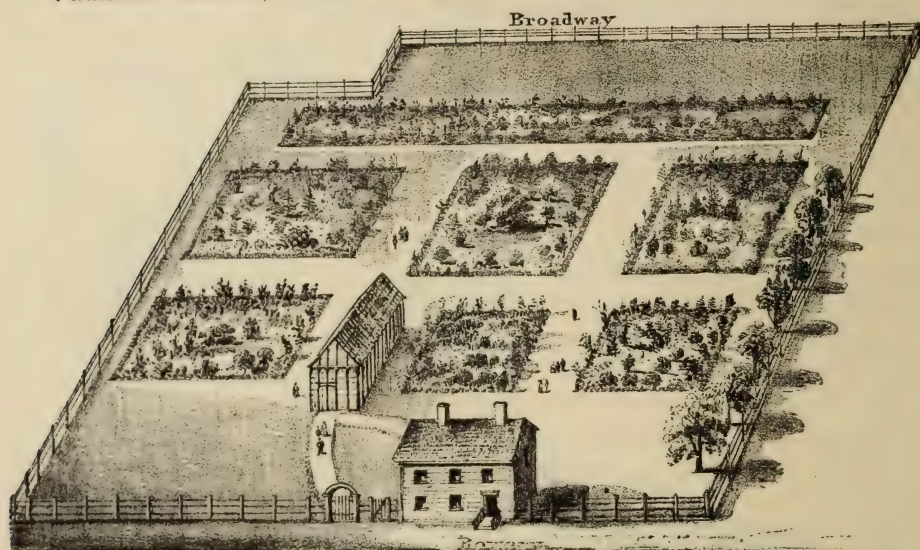
L. W. STEVENS, *Colonel.*

U. L. SMITH, *Lt.-Colonel.*

J. M. CATLIN, *Major.*

To General Lafayette.

Vauxhall Garden, which was shorn of much of its ancient splendor



VAUXHALL GARDEN, 1803.

From an old Print.

when Lafayette Place was opened through its heart, was for more than a quarter of a century a popular summer resort. It first appears in the city directory of 1799. An energetic Frenchman by the name of Delacroix, formerly a distiller and then a confectioner, founded it, and made it the source of a considerable income. It is described in Mitchell's city guide of 1807 as a "garden laid out with taste; walks agreeably disposed and strewed with gravel, their sides adorned with shrubs, trees, busts, and statues. In the middle is a large equestrian figure of Washington. The orchestra built among the trees gives to the band of music and singing voices a charming effect on summer evenings. Within this enclosure the large apparatus for fire-works, the artificial mound of earth to view them from, the numerous booths and boxes for the accommodation of the company,

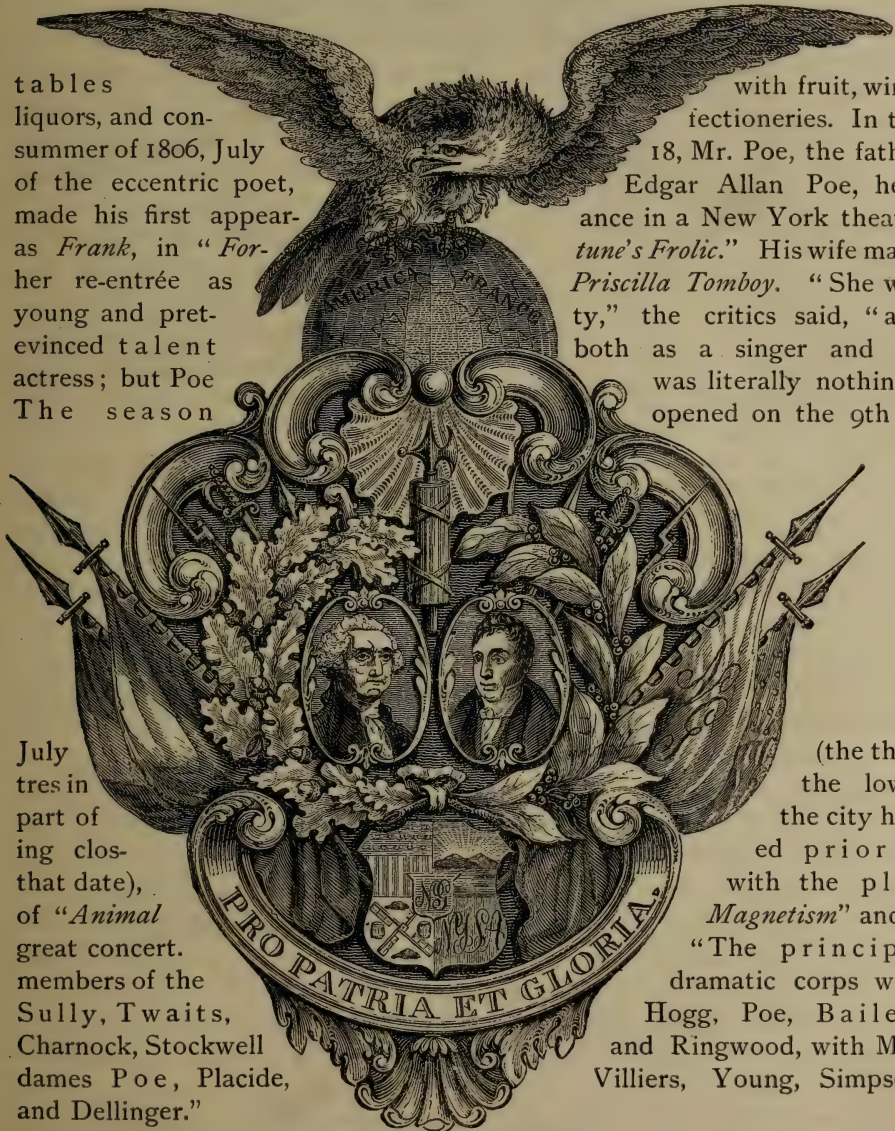
refreshments of every kind, and above all the buildings and scenery for dramatic entertainments during the summer season, are all proofs of Mr. Delacroix's zeal and efforts to gratify the public." Balloon ascensions from this garden were quite frequent ; and its visitors regaled themselves at small

tables
liquors, and con-
summer of 1806, July
of the eccentric poet,
made his first appear-
as *Frank*, in "*For-*
her re-entrée as
young and pret-
evinced talent
actress; but Poe
The season

with fruit, wine,
fectioneries. In the
18, Mr. Poe, the father
Edgar Allan Poe, here
ance in a New York theatre
tune's Frolic." His wife made
Priscilla Tomboy. "She was
ty," the critics said, "and
both as a singer and an
was literally nothing."
opened on the 9th of

July
tres in
part of
ing clos-
that date),
of "*Animal*
great concert.
members of the
Sully, Twaits,
Charnock, Stockwell
dames Poe, Placide,
and Dellinger."

(the thea-
the lower
the city hav-
ed prior to
with the play
Magnetism" and a
"The principal
dramatic corps were
Hogg, Poe, Bailey,
and Ringwood, with Mes-
Villiers, Young, Simpson,



THE LAFAYETTE MEDAL.
[From an old print.]

Prior to the birth of Vauxhall Garden this site was the property for

several decades of Jacob Sperry, a Swiss gentleman, born in Zurich in 1728. He came to New York at the age of twenty, and although educated a physician, decided, after receiving his diploma, to become a florist. He had means at his command, with which he purchased this then uncultivated tract of pasture land, and established himself as a horticulturist. He built a house near by, where he resided, and reared a family of four sons and five daughters. His grandson, Henry C. Sperry, was born on the estate in 1800. In 1804, Jacob Sperry sold the much improved property to John Jacob Astor for \$45,000, who gave a twenty-one years' lease to Delacroix. Thus it will be seen that the garden itself had been

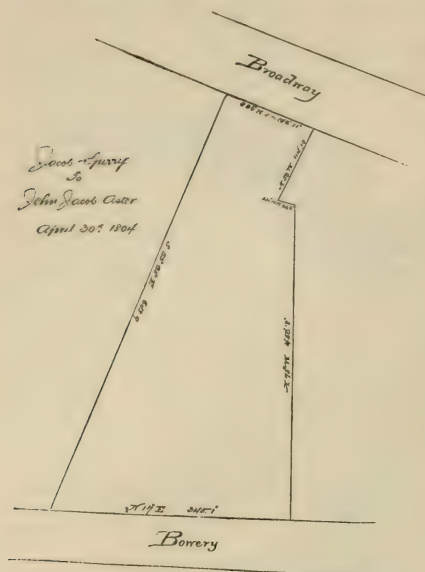


DIAGRAM OF THE ASTOR PURCHASE IN 1804.

flowering and flourishing long before it was converted into a place of entertainment for the public.

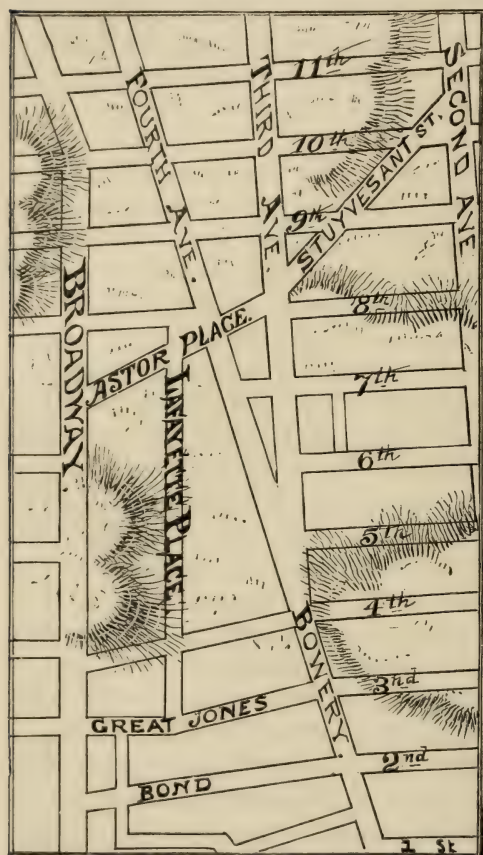
Back of all this is a choice bit of history concerning the land, that will interest the curious. It was a plot granted to Anthony Portuges, a free negro, by Governor Peter Stuyvesant before the English conquest of New York. Governor Nicolls, in 1667, prefaced a series of confirmations of ground briefs in the following language: "Whereas, there was heretofore, that is to say, in the years 1659 and 1660, several grants made by the Dutch Governor, Petrus Stuyvesant, unto certain free negroes, for several small parcels of land lying upon the Island Manhattas, along the highway, near unto the said Governor's bowery," etc.—Lib. 2, pp. 119-132. These confirmations were then entered with minute descriptions, boundaries, etc. There were nine of the plots, and they extended from Art street—now Astor Place—to Prince street. It seems that the ground briefs of the Dutch governors were conveyed in the name both of the States General and the West India Company, and, in view of the phraseology of the third article of the surrender of 1664, were indisputable sources of title either with or without a confirmation.

Before and during the Revolution the nearest neighbor of Jacob Sperry on the north was Andrew Elliot, Collector of the Port of New York under

the crown, from 1764 to 1783, who held furthermore the office of superintendent general during the war, and with the mayor and a magistrate of police administered the civil government of the city; he was lieutenant-governor of New York appointed by the king from 1780 to 1783; and the governor from April 17 to November 25, 1783, succeeding Robertson. He was the third son of Sir Gilbert Elliot, Baronet, Lord Justice Clerk of Scotland. His famous country estate embraced many acres, the land extending from Art Street to the edge of the Brevoort farm, about Tenth Street, and east and west from the Bowery road to Fifth Avenue. He also had a city home of no little elegance in Pearl Street.

The mansion he built near Ninth Street, on the site of what was afterward Stewart's dry goods store, fronted the Bowery road, although it was so far back from that dusty thoroughfare that Broadway, when cut through, clipped its rear porch. It was fashioned after an old French *château*, its geography most bewildering, and was notable for its spacious as well as numerous apartments, its odd-looking turrets and picturesque gables. It was painted in æsthetic yellow. Its grounds were elaborately cultivated and very attractive. It was approached from the Bowery road; but Sandy Lane hovered along its southern boundary, leading from the Stuyvesant homestead through what was soon to be called Art Street, and in a winding route across the island to the little village of Greenwich, on the Hudson. While the Revolutionary war was in progress this beautiful home was the resort of all that was distinguished in civil and military New York. Lord Cathcart, afterward earl, was in 1779 here married to Collector Elliot's daughter Elizabeth. The wife of Lord Stirling, who was the sister of Governor William Livingston, of New Jersey, with her daughter Kitty, were in New York by special permission of the British authorities, and the guests of Mrs. Robert Watts during the month of August, 1778. They were entertained, despite the fact that Lord Stirling was an officer in the Continental army, on more than one occasion by the Elliots at this country seat, the young ladies of the two families being intimate social friends. It so happened that Lady Kitty was married to Colonel William Duer, at Baskinridge, New Jersey, in 1779, about the same time that Miss Elliot became Lady Cathcart. Another daughter of Andrew Elliot married James Jauncey, one of the founders of the New York Chamber of Commerce. This splendid Elliot property was owned and occupied by Baron Poelnitz at the time of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, who sold it in 1790 to Robert Richard Randall, the founder subsequently of the "Sailors' Snug Harbor" charity. It was his dwelling-place until his death in 1801, when it was given by his will for

the support of aged, infirm, and worn-out seamen. He directed the building of an edifice within the grounds, but his executors found the land increasing rapidly in value, promising an immense revenue, and decided that the legacy would better serve the poor sailors if the Home itself was located elsewhere rather than in the centre of a great city. Thus, after much consideration, it was, in 1833, erected on the northern shore of Staten Island. As the estate could not be sold, long leases were given for building purposes—even Stewart's great store stands on leased ground.



MAP SHOWING LOCATION OF LAFAYETTE PLACE.

A portion of Vauxhall Garden was appropriated for amusement purposes for some years after Lafayette Place was improved. Many persons now living remember its antique entrance from Broadway, and, later still, its leafy attractions at the corner of Fourth Avenue and Eighth Street. Much is forgotten in a half-century. One eminent gentleman tells us of the pretty country places along the Bowery road below Fourteenth Street, with their hedges and flower-gardens, as they appeared to his boyish eyes before Fourth Avenue was cut through from the Bowery to Union Square. He describes the sand hill that Broadway encountered near Ninth Street, and demolished in its northerly

course—it was lowered some ten feet—and tells how the corporation left the work for a long time in a rough and unfinished condition, and that on one occasion he was overturned in a carriage while passing that way in returning from the opera.

While Broadway and Fourth Avenue in their progress, with the cross-streets between, were holding a jubilee of destruction—pretty farm-houses, stables, fruit orchards, flower-gardens, rear porches and lover's

walks tumbling promiscuously into the mass of ruins, from which money was to spring forth, growing like the golden trees in the fable, to enrich posterity—Lafayette Place was quietly making for our readers this little chapter of history. Three churches, flying from the crowded city below, lighted and lifted their spires within its borders, adding immensely to its reputation for respectability. St. Bartholomew's (Episcopal) Church was opened for worship in 1836 on the opposite side of the way from the Middle Dutch Church. It had seventy-three members, and the Rev. Charles Vernon Kelley was its rector. He was succeeded by Rev. Dr. Balch in 1838. The church grew rapidly, and its congregation was soon quoted as one of the most wealthy and fashionable in the city. The edifice was the scene of more weddings during the first thirty years of its existence than any other of its time. Rev. Dr. Cooke succeeded Dr. Balch, and is still the rector of the same church organization, now worshipping in a new structure on Madison Avenue, corner of Forty-fourth Street. The site of the old church building in Lafayette Place is at present occupied by the Roman Catholic Mission of the Immaculate Virgin.

A quaint little church edifice belonging to the Presbyterians was, in 1842, brought, stone by stone, from Murray Street, where it had stood since 1812, and re-erected in Eighth Street, fronting Lafayette Place. Its first pastor had been Rev. John Mason; its second, Rev. William Snodgrass, from 1823 to 1832; its third was Rev. Thomas McAuley, who occupied the pulpit from 1833 to 1845. The building was then leased successively to several church organizations, and finally, in 1849, to the "Church of the Mediator," under the rectorship of Rev. Francis L. Hawks. A few years later the Catholics bought it, and organized St. Ann's Parish, under the charge of John Murray Forbes, D.D., an Episcopal divine, who, in 1849, in company with Doctors Newman, Manning, and others, entered the Church of Rome, and who, ten years later, returned to the Protestant Episcopal Church and was subsequently appointed dean of the General Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. He was succeeded in St. Ann's Church by Right Rev. Mgr. Thomas S. Preston, V. G., also an Episcopal clergyman, who became a Roman Catholic at the same time as Dr. Forbes, and who was made a priest in 1850. He was soon afterward appointed vicar-general and chancellor of the diocese of New York, and is distinguished as an author. When the building became too small for St. Ann's increasing congregation it was abandoned and given over to secular uses.

Among the historic homes in Lafayette Place that of William B. Astor, directly opposite La Grange Terrace, is one of the oldest and most

interesting. He had a large household, and the mansion seems to have been designed with special reference to the perfect comfort of every individual member. Its broad front, as shown in the sketch, was well balanced by corresponding depth. Its decorations were elaborate. This beautiful, old-fashioned residence was the scene, in its palmy days, of many handsome and memorable dinner-parties and balls. In the rear was a bright-colored garden, a commodious stable, and a private riding gallery built by Mr. Astor for the exclusive use of his family. One of the curiosities of the house is a mammoth safe, built into the foundation, which, during the Wall Street excitement of 1861, was the recipient of money from the banks to the amount of millions, brought up in trunks from the lower part of the city for safety. During a long period Mr. Astor could have been seen every morning at nine and one-half o'clock in Lafayette Place, walking with alacrity to his office in Prince Street. He was devoid of ostentation, tall, well formed, gentlemanly and polished though retiring in his manners, and always faultlessly dressed. His wife was the accomplished daughter of General Armstrong, of Revolutionary renown, and a descendant through her mother of the Livingstons and Schuylers, of colonial New York. After her death Mr. Astor removed to a house in the upper part of the city.

The severely plain-looking granite home of the Sands family, adjoining that of Mr. Astor, will be observed in the sketch. It was built by the well-known merchant, Austin Ledyard Sands, nephew of Joshua Sands—Collector of the Port from 1799 to 1801—and a step-son of General Ebenezer Stevens. One of the distinguishing characteristics of this gentleman was that he never wore an overcoat at any season of the year or in any weather. Of his sons, who grew to manhood under this roof, were Dr. A. L. Sands, the Newport physician; Samuel Stevens Sands, a Wall Street banker, who married the daughter of Benjamin Aymar; and William R. Sands, who married the daughter of Hon. Samuel B. Gardiner, proprietor of Gardiner's Island.

The homes in La Grange Terrace were singularly attractive for more than a quarter of a century. Nearly all of them possess elements of national interest, and each one would furnish valuable material for a chapter of history. Washington Irving spent several winters at number 33 with his relative, Irving Van Wart, who made that house his dwelling-place. Mr. Van Wart was a descendant of one of the captors of Major André, and his son married the daughter of Marshall O. Roberts. The house, number 43, in the northern end of the row, was the home of Hon. David Gardiner, whose beautiful daughter Julia was married from there in 1844

to John Tyler, President of the United States, the only instance in American history of a President's marriage during his term of office until the recent nuptials of President Cleveland. The engagement of President Tyler had been kept a profound secret for some three months, and no one but the immediate relatives and friends witnessed the marriage ceremony



LAFAYETTE PLACE HOME OF MR. WILLIAM B. ASTOR.

The Home of the Sands Family.

at the Church of the Ascension, in Fifth Avenue, corner of Tenth Street. The wedding breakfast was served in the Gardiner home in La Grange Terrace, after which the President and his bride drove down Broadway in an open barouche drawn by four white horses, and embarked for Washington on a ship of war in the harbor. The public knew nothing of the wedding, nor even that the President was in the city, until enlightened by

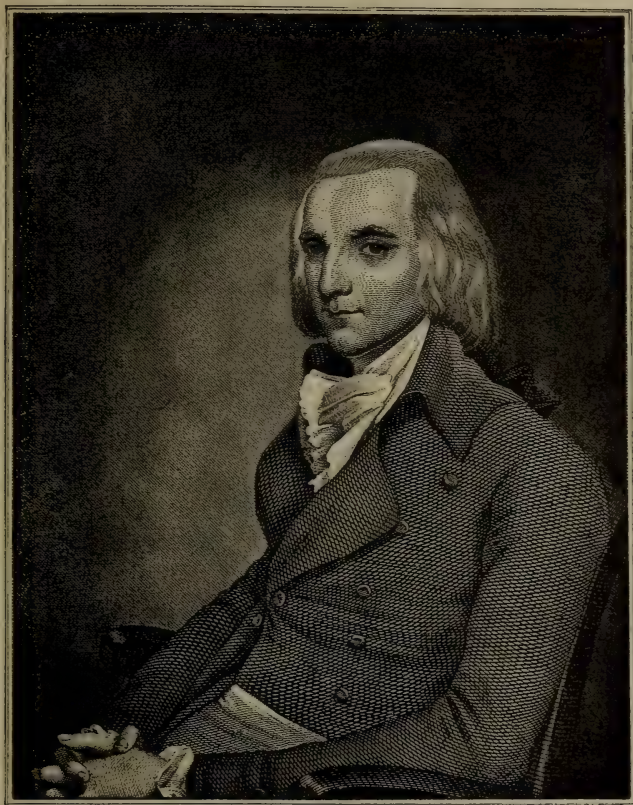
the guns of the forts and shipping as he departed. Those who saw him driving with his bride did not awake to consciousness until they read the newspapers next morning. Julia Gardiner had, not long before her romantic marriage, returned from Paris, where she and her father had received marked attention, and had been presented at the French Court. Her father was one of the six gentlemen instantly killed by the explosion of a gun on the steamer *Princeton*, near Mount Vernon, while on a pleasure trip down the Potomac by invitation of the President.

The home of Governor Edwin D. Morgan, reverently remembered for his efficiency in raising and equipping the 220,000 troops New York contributed to the defense of the Union in our late war, stood next door to that of Washington Irving. At the exciting period of his election to the gubernatorial chair he was forty-eight years of age, tall, well proportioned, and a vigorous thinker as well as actor in public affairs.* He had already been ten years a State senator, and after serving from 1859 to 1863 as governor of New York, was elected to the Senate of the United States, remaining there six years. In 1865 he declined the secretaryship of the Treasury, offered him by President Lincoln. During a part of his public career, when not in Albany or Washington, he lived in historic Lafayette Place. The house adjoining Governor Morgan's on the north was the home of John Jacob Astor, the eldest son of William B. Astor. Under this roof was subsequently founded the Columbia Law School. The next house beyond was the residence of Franklin H. Delano, a partner in the great house of Grinnell, Minturn & Company, and a son-in-law of William B. Astor. The home of Mrs. Mactier, whose daughter married the son of the rich importer, David Hadden, stood between those of Delano and Gardiner. At Number 45 lived Colonel Bayard Clarke, at one time member of Congress, whose beautiful island at Schroon Lake is so well known to tourists in the Adirondacks. His northerly neighbor in Lafayette Place was an English gentleman, Matthew Wilks, the husband of one of Mrs. Walter Langdon's daughters, who has a stately mansion and large estates in Canada, known as "Cruickston Park." Later on, this Lafayette Place home was occupied by the Russian Consul, Mr. de Nottbec, whose wife was also a daughter of Mrs. Langdon. Mr. de Nottbec went out riding one morning, and was thrown from his horse and instantly killed. In a large house at the end of the terrace lived the distinguished physician, Dr. John F. Gray. He was a spiritualist, and had a seat placed every day at meals for his deceased wife. The property belonged to Charles Astor Bristed, grandson of John Jacob Astor, who subsequently made it his home. He is best

* *Magazine of American History*, vol. xiv. pp. 288.

remembered as an eccentric *litterateur*, writing under the name of "Carl Benson." He married the daughter of Henry Brevoort, and, after her death, one of the notable Sedgwick ladies of Stockbridge.

On the corner of Astor Place, with its imposing doorway and frontal in Lafayette Place, was the fine old-fashioned brick mansion built by John



JOHN JACOB ASTOR, 1763-1848.

The Founder of Astor Library.

Jacob Astor, the elder, for his daughter, Mrs. Walter Langdon. Its drawing-room was finished in carved wood. It had a grand ball-room, decorated in white and gold, with Watteau figures on the panels, and an entrance hall of princely breadth lighted from stained-glass windows, and one of the handsomest staircases in the country. A high wall, both in the rear and at the side of the dwelling, shut the beautiful grounds from

the street. Mrs. Langdon after awhile went abroad to live, and never returned to New York. Her son, Eugene Langdon, who married the daughter of Rawlin Lowndes, occupied the house; they were the parents of the celebrated beauty, Miss Marion Langdon. Mrs. Eugene Langdon subsequently married Major Philip Schuyler. Woodbury Langdon also resided here for a time. His wife was the daughter of Isaac C. Jones. Walter Langdon, the younger, who married Catharine Livingston, built the house on the opposite side of Lafayette Place, now standing next to Brokaw's clothing store, where he dwelt for many years; his house was hedged in on the south by Disbrow's Riding School, where the young men and maidens of thirty years ago learned the art of riding; and where a large horse, made of boards and painted for a sign, was the admiration of the children of the period. Langdon was a leader in social life, and now owns the old Hosack place at Hyde Park on the Hudson. Francis R. Boreel, a Dutch nobleman, who was chamberlain to the King of Holland, married Sarah, the eldest daughter of Mrs. Walter Langdon, and took up his abode in the old Langdon home for a few years. When he returned to Holland, Madame Boreel became attached to the Queen's household, and on intimate terms with her Majesty; and their children all married into the nobility. This Langdon home, which, like a mirror, seemed to reflect the personality of its inhabitants, passed away about the year 1875, and upon its broad site, as if in natural sequence, arose a curiously significant institution. The property had been purchased by Orlando B. Potter, who erected a monster building, seven stories high above ground, and two stories below the surface of the street, that was immediately occupied by the great printing establishment of J. J. Little & Co. Thus the soil so prolific in history sustains the complex machinery by which history is placed monthly before millions of readers in every part of the land. Here the art of printing has been studiously cultivated, and brought to a degree of excellence rarely if ever before reached, as exemplified in the typographical beauty of *The Magazine of American History*, with its exquisitely printed historic illustrations—proof positive that an artistic sense may thrive among whirling presses as well as in the studio.

John Jacob Astor, whose remarkable career had shaped the destiny of Lafayette Place, died in 1848. Every intelligent American is familiar with the story of his arrival in New York in 1783, at the age of twenty, and of the consummate skill with which he thenceforward carved his own fortunes, independent of capital, connections, or influence, until he became the richest man of his day in the United States. His investments in city

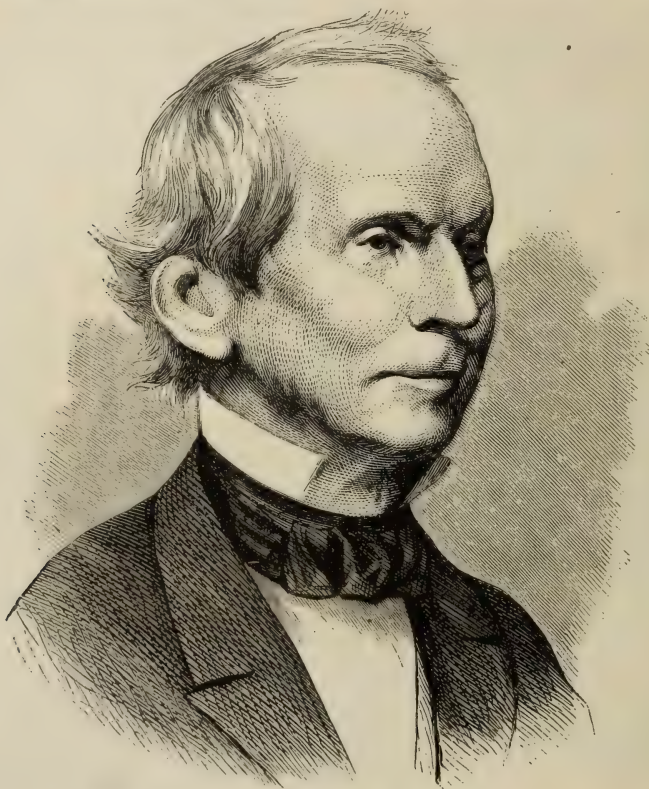
real estate doubled and trebled on his hands ; his wealth increased in similar ratio to the growth of New York, and his means contributed immeasurably to the growth of New York. He was a man of interesting personal appearance, his serious features bearing the impress of genial sagacity. He was fond of the society of eminent and scholarly men,



THE ASTOR LIBRARY.
Original Structure, 1853.

entertained them at his house, and discussed with them the needs of the American public: such men, for instance, as Washington Irving, Fitz-Greene Halleck, Henry Brevoort, Daniel Lord, Samuel Ward, Samuel B. Ruggles, James G. King, and Joseph G. Cogswell, the learned editor of the *New York Review*. His will contained a codicil in these words: "Desir-

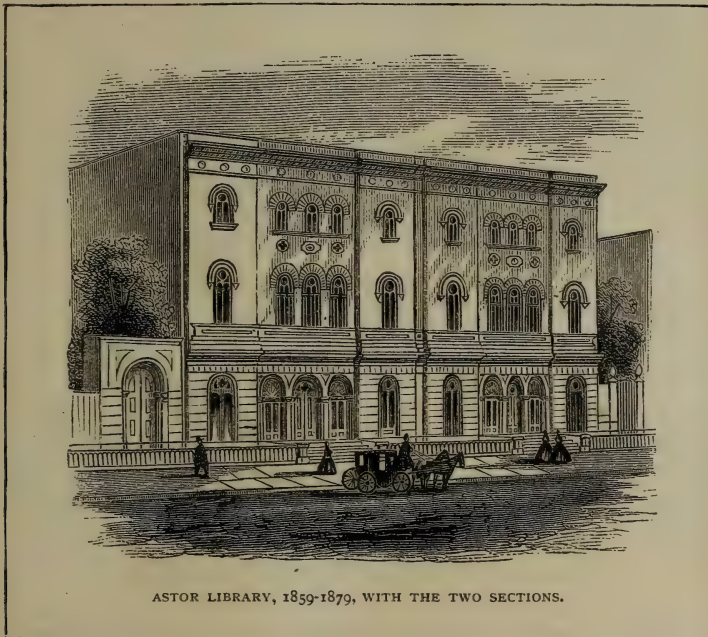
ing to render a public benefit to the city of New York, and to contribute to the advancement of useful knowledge and the general good of society, I do by this codicil appoint four hundred thousand dollars out of my residuary estate to the establishment of a public library in the city of New York." The instrument then gave specific directions as to how the money should be applied, and appointed by name eleven trustees, including, in addition to the gentlemen before named, the mayor of the city, the son



JOSEPH G. COGSWELL, LL.D.
First Superintendent of the Astor Library.

of the donor, William B. Astor, and the grandson, Charles Astor Bristed. Washington Irving was the first president of the trustees, and Mr. Cogswell superintendent of the new institution. The edifice, sixty-five feet front by one hundred and twenty deep, was built of brown stone, in the Byzantine style of architecture, and was completed in May, 1853. Although in name a city institution it was soon found to be more truly national than any other library in the country. This was owing to the character of its books,

the manner in which they could be consulted, and the location of the library so near the great thoroughfare, Broadway, rendering it accessible to strangers at all seasons. The report of how its treasures have been used in the preparation of books, essays, maps, etc., by investigators from afar would astonish the New Yorkers who regard this library as a local institution. Dr. Cogswell, in making the various departments so well suited to the wants of scholars in the pursuit of exact knowledge, visited all the book-marts of Europe, spending several years in the work of selection, and executing the responsible trust with taste, skill, and wisdom.



In 1855, the trustees were presented with the adjoining lot, eighty feet front, by Mr. William B. Astor, who proceeded to erect a second edifice at his own cost, similar in most respects to the existing structure built by his father. This was completed and opened in 1859. The munificent gift of \$50,000 for the purchase of books soon followed; and by will, in 1875, a bequest of \$249,000 bore testimony to the interest with which the son of the original founder regarded the institution. He gave in all about \$550,000. In 1879 his son, John Jacob Astor, grandson of the first John Jacob Astor, contributed to the enduring monument by presenting three lots, in all seventy-five feet front, to the trustees, and building thereon the

third section of the great library in uniformity with its two predecessors. To avoid a long monotony in the general exterior effect of the three sections combined, the successive gifts of father, son, and grandson, an additional story was added to the central part, of a Mansard pattern, solely for ornament, and a heavy balustrade was carried along over the other cornices, surmounted by vases and pedestals of brown stone. The main entrance hall was constructed in the center of the building, with a new staircase of white marble. The approach from the sidewalk was also remodeled with much taste. The outlay of the grandson, exclusive of the land, was some \$250,000. Thus this great beneficence, bringing within reach of the American people a rare and diversified collection of standard works, literary and scientific treasures, a blessing to the present and all future generations, has cost the Astor family considerably over \$1,000,000. John Jacob Astor, the grandson, was one of the Union Defense Committee in 1861, and served in the late Civil War as an aid to General George B. McClellan, attaining the rank of brigadier general, by brevet. He married the daughter of Thomas S. Gibbes, a lady who is familiarly known for her personal and substantial interest in many of New York's most important charities. Their son, the Hon. William Waldorf Astor, has served as a member of the Assembly and Senate of his native state, as minister to Italy from the government of the United States, and has recently distinguished himself as a successful author. The present Astor Library, with a front of one hundred and ninety-five feet, was opened to the public in 1881, with two hundred thousand volumes, and a shelf capacity for three thousand. The class of books that have always been in demand here reveals the wide range the public mind is taking in thought and research. The educational influence of such a library may be partially appreciated by remembering that it benefits some sixty thousand readers annually. During the last year the number of readers has increased to upward of seventy-two thousand. The books are all to be read within these walls—it was never intended as a circulating library—but it is accessible to the whole community, and to visitors from every part of the world without fee or formality. Dr. Cogswell's successor in the superintendence of the institution was Francis Schroeder. After him came Dr. E. R. Straznicky; he was succeeded by the Hon. James Carson Brevoort, one of the trustees, who resigned in 1876, and Mr. Robbins Little was appointed in his stead. The librarian is Mr. Frederick Saunders.

The alcoves are fruitful in historic associations. Here Washington Irving was often to be found; and for years Horace Greeley's inkstand, pen and paper decorated the table reserved for his use. Almost every notable

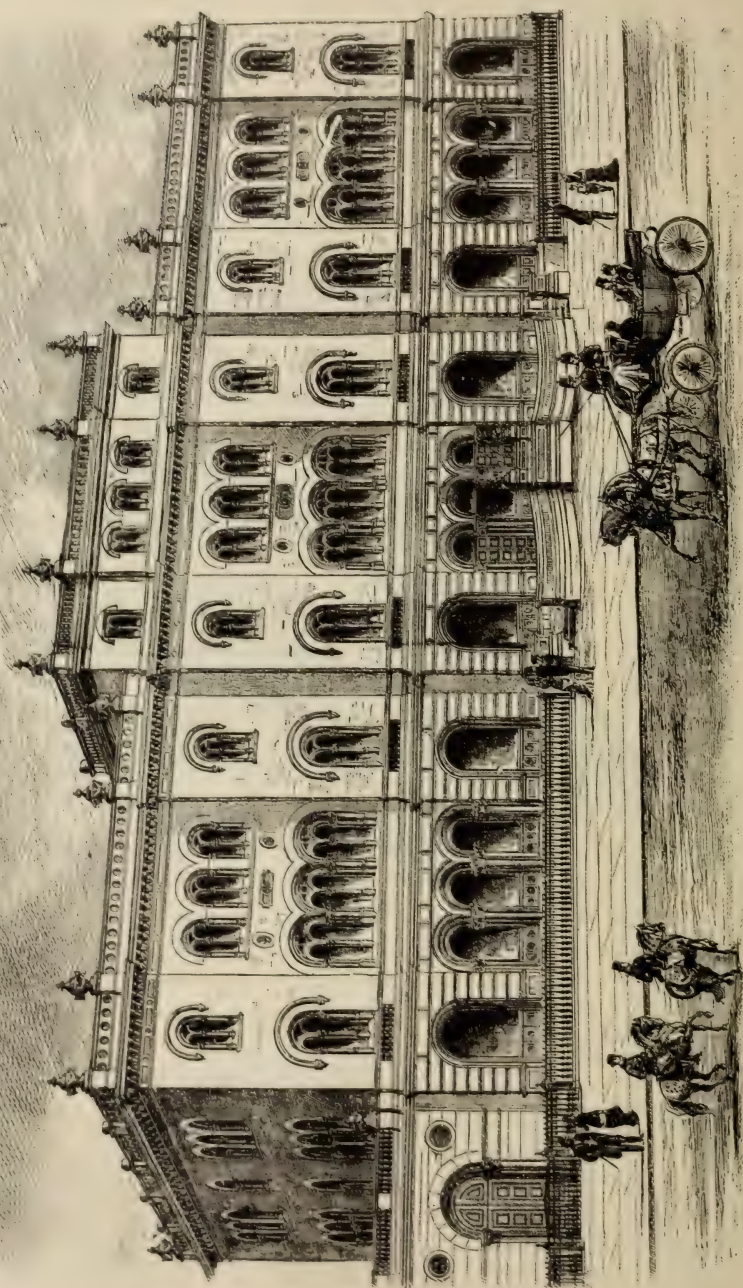
writer in the country has in one way or another left his foot-prints here. One alcove has its odd story of being haunted ; and the neighboring Sands mansion has also its ghost, which in former times had a curious way of frequenting the library, as if seeking congenial companionship, on winter evenings whenever the eminent Dr. Cogswell chanced to be alone.



WILLIAM B. ASTOR.

The Donor of the Second Section of Astor Library.

Alexander Hamilton, grandson of the statesman of that name, is now president of the trustees of Astor Library. His associates are: John Jacob Astor, treasurer; Professor Henry Drisler, LL.D., secretary; and Hon. Hamilton Fish, Dr. Thomas M. Markoe, Hon. John L. Cadwalader, Bishop H. C. Potter, S. Van Rensselaer Cruger, George L. Rives, Robbins Little, and the mayor of the city.



THE ASTOR LIBRARY OF THE PRESENT.
With its Three Sections.

When Lafayette Place was in its glory it was shaded with beautiful trees on both sides. Next to St. Bartholomew's Church lived the distinguished Dr. Alexander H. Stevens, President of the College of Physicians and Surgeons; and the most southern house of the Terrace was the home of his brother, Byam K. Stevens, who married the daughter of Albert Gallatin, the great financier. Here the sons of the latter, Alexander H., Byam K., and Frederic W., were reared to manhood. It was said of Benjamin L. Swan, the old-school gentleman who built the large, double, brick house next to and south of the Terrace, in 1841, and resided in it until his death, that he always was more polite than the person he was with and it was amusing to see him sometimes hat in hand talking to a beggar, for he never would be outdone in civility. His son-in-law, Charles N. Fearing, afterward occupied the mansion. The house of same age or thereabouts, separated from that of Mr. Swan, only by a carriage-way, was built by David Thompson, who held numerous important monetary trusts in Wall Street, was for some years vice-president of the Bank of America, and president of the New York Life Insurance and Trust Company. He was the son of Jonathan Thompson, Collector of the Port of New York, and his wife was the daughter of John Lyon Gardiner, the seventh lord of the manor of Gardiner's Island. Next below was the dwelling of the merchant, William Chauncey, treasurer of the New York Historical Society; then came the home of Wyllis Blackstone; while number 19 was occupied by Mrs. John S. Tooker. Madame Canda's French boarding-school for young ladies, which flourished here, was noted for being one of the best and most fashionable institutions of its kind in the city. Madame Canda's beautiful daughter was thrown from a carriage and killed while returning from a ball, and her parents spent the money which was to have been her marriage portion in a remarkable monument, familiar to all visitors at Greenwood Cemetery.

The home of Adrian Iselin, the wealthy banker, whose wife was the daughter of General Columbus O'Donnell, of Baltimore, stood next to St. Bartholomew's Church. His daughter became the wife of De Lancey Astor Kane, who deserves a place in history for having introduced modern coaching into this country. This same house, number 6, was distinguished at a later period as the residence of Charles O'Coner, the great lawyer. His wife, as Miss Livingston, had been considered a great beauty. Her first husband, McCracken, died in Africa. At number 12 lived Dr. Gustavus A. Sabine, the notable physician, father of Rev. William T. Sabine. Upon the site of Dr. Sabine's house has recently arisen the great building of De Vinne, whose fame as the printer of the *Century* is as wide as the magazine itself. Near by for many years dwelt Gabriel Mead, whose wife

was a sister of Gouveneur Bibby, and Thomas W. Pearsall, whose daughter married Edwin Thorne, of Thorndale. John Milhau, the druggist, lived for many years in number 41; he was born on the island of Hayti, where his father owned extensive plantations, but was obliged to flee at the time of the rising of the negroes when the French were expelled. A. T. Stewart wished to purchase this house, and offered him three or four times what it was worth, but was refused. Milhau said that Mr. Stewart had not money enough to buy it. His son was a medical director in the regular army. The home of the well-known Dr. Jared Linsly, who was Commodore Vanderbilt's physician, is the handsome brick house, number 22. Thus the homes of three physicians of note have been identified with the prosperity of Lafayette Place. At number 24 lived the Quaker millionaire, Samuel Willetts. He would start for his place of business every morning, summer or winter, at seven o'clock, return to dinner at noon, and then go back to his counting-room, and remain until six o'clock in the evening. Adjoining Mr. Willetts' was a handsome dwelling, replete with the elegancies of life, that of Jacob R. Le Roy, a man of fashion, who was celebrated for his fine horses and equipages. He was related to the Livingstons, and finally bought the old Livingston manor-house on the Hudson, and resided there for some years before his death. The same house in Lafayette Place is now the delightful home of Hon. Orlando B. Potter. At number 28 lived George Ferris, whose son commanded the old City Guard. John Carey, son-in-law of John Jacob Astor, had a pleasant residence in the Terrace. The edifice at present occupied as Routledge's publishing house was the attractive home of Henry Mason and his fashionable family. One of his daughters became the wife of Heyward Cutting. Number 7, just beyond, was the residence of Christopher R. Robert, widely known for his benefactions. He was the founder of Robert College, Constantinople, and of a large school on Look-out Mountain, near Chattanooga. The palatial home of the Schermerhorns in Lafayette Place stood on the corner of Great Jones Street. It was furnished in a costly style, and was the scene of many notable entertainments. The newspapers of 1854 chronicled a fancy dress ball given there by Mrs. Schermerhorn as "conspicuously magnificent." It was, as the cards of invitation stated, a *bal costume de riguer* of the reign of Louis XV., a period distinguished in French history for the remarkable beauty of the costumes worn at court. It was the first time that a ball of this description had been given in this country. The invitations were issued four weeks before the appointed day, and, in accordance with the rules, none attended except those who were in the prescribed attire. No ex-

pense was spared in preparing for the occasion. In many instances six and seven hundred dollars were paid for the simple dress, exclusive of jewelry. The lace on the dress of one lady guest alone cost fifteen hundred dollars. Many of the ladies who could not otherwise secure the services of Martel, the famous coiffeur and hair-dresser, had the artistic work of hair-dressing performed the day before, and slept in chairs, that the mountain of beauty upon the head might not be disturbed before the time came for its exhibition. The gentlemen were compelled to part with mustache and whiskers, in compliance with the the custom of the Court of Louis Quinze. They nearly all appeared with court swords, and "some of them absolutely sparkled with diamonds." The chroniclers were evidently bewildered with the novelty, and for once used more ink in describing the costumes of the gentlemen than those of the ladies. We cannot forbear quoting one or two paragraphs for the amusement of the reader of to-day—thirty-two years afterward.

"Mr. M——e, sky blue velvet coat, elegantly embroidered with silver; diamond buckles; rosette of blue ribbons with diamonds; powdered head.

"Mr. S——n, crimson velvet coat, embroidered with gold; white brocade vest, embroidered with flowers; crimson velvet breeches and chapeau.

"Mr. S——ff, coat of royal purple velvet with diamond buttons; star on left breast made of diamonds; knee buckles also of diamonds; wig powdered; lace ruffles, white cravat of lace; white vest, with diamond buttons and embroidered with gold. This costume, diamonds included, cost, it is said, seventeen thousand dollars."

Some idea of the brilliancy of the *fête* may be formed from the fact that, the costumes altogether cost between forty and fifty thousand dollars, as was estimated at the time; and the jewelry worn that evening was worth half a million. The mansion was richly decorated and embellished in the style of the reign of Louis XV., and so strict was the enforcement of the rules that even the servants were dressed in the costume of the period.

In the immediate vicinity of Lafayette Place, as well as within its charmed limits, were clustered many homes of exceptional interest during the historic period of which we are writing. Mr. Maturin Livingston, Mr. Cottenet, and Stephen Cambreleng lived in Great Jones Street; Mayor Philip Hone, Mr. Charles H. Russell, Joseph Sampson, and Hon. Dudley Selden, in Broadway, close by; and John David Wolfe, at the corner of Astor Place and Broadway. An Opera House was erected in Astor Place, in 1846, which was thronged as soon as opened by the *élite* of the community. In the spring of 1849, William Charles Macready, the English actor, was on a farewell visit to the United States, and it was announced

that he would appear in *Macbeth* on a certain evening, at this place. Edwin Forrest, the American tragedian, had not been well received in England a few years before, owing to the alleged influence of Macready, and as Forrest was extremely popular with a certain order of people in New York, the spirit of retaliation was easily provoked. A howling mob gathered in Astor Place to drive Macready from the stage during the performance of the play. The Opera House was filled with one of New York's best audiences; but disaffected persons were distributed through the building, and no sooner did Macready appear on the stage than he was greeted with hisses, and a shower of eggs, chairs, and other missiles. The utmost confusion and terror prevailed, ladies crept under the seats for safety, the police made a few arrests, order was temporarily restored, and the play proceeded. By this time the mob outside numbered some twenty thousand, extending far back into Lafayette Place, and it was composed of the worst class in the city, with piles of paving-stones at hand, where the street sewers were being repaired, to be used as deadly weapons of warfare. Three hundred policemen were driven back after a gallant struggle to disperse the angry rioters who were making violent attempts to force the entrances to the Opera House. Doors and windows were hurriedly barricaded from within, but assailed with terrible fury, some of the paving-stones passing through the glass and lighting in the midst of the assemblage. It was a wild scene never to be forgotten by the pallid-faced ladies and gentlemen who momentarily expected the resistless multitude would burst into the building. In this fearful emergency the Seventh Regiment was summoned by the civil authorities, and at nine o'clock appeared in Astor Place, preceded by mounted men ten abreast. The volley of stones which met them rendered the horses unmanageable, but the citizen soldiers marched bravely forward in platoons, through Astor Place to Third Avenue, then back, driving the mob from Eighth Street, throwing a guard of police across at each end, and moving through Broadway a second time into Astor Place. With howls and cries the stones were flying in every direction, many persons were injured and some killed, and all efforts to appease the infuriated multitude proved fruitless; thus authority was given to fire. The first volley was purposely aimed high, but not the second. Seventeen persons were killed instantly, and others died soon after from their wounds. Then pressing hard upon the flying mob the troops soon cleared Astor Place. The rioters rallied after a few moments and returned to the attack, but a third volley scattered them, completely ending the riot and liberating the imprisoned audience. The city was disorderly for the next three days and the military were constantly on duty. Fifty or

sixty of the rioters were wounded, and not less than twenty killed. Of the gallant Seventh Regiment one hundred and fifty of the officers and men were seriously injured by the stones, seventy of whom were carried to their homes—but subsequently recovered. Judge Robert Emmet, son of the great lawyer, Thomas Addis Emmet, assisted Macready to escape



THE OPERA HOUSE, ASTOR PLACE.

Home of the Mercantile Library.

from the Opera House, and secreted him in his own dwelling in Clinton Place, for two days and nights, then drove him disguised in his own carriage to New Rochelle, and thence to Boston, whence he sailed for England.

Not long after the riot the Opera House was purchased and remodeled for the uses of the Mercantile Library, which had been founded in the winter of 1821 with seven hundred volumes, and since 1830 had occupied Clinton Hall, corner of Nassau and Beekman Streets. This hall received

its name from De Witt Clinton, who gave the first book to the library—a *History of England*. The new Astor Place home, also called Clinton Hall, was opened April 19, 1854, with interesting ceremonies, and addresses from Governor Seymour, John Romeyn Brodhead, the historian, and President King, of Columbia College. This location was then considered the best in New York for the promotion of the welfare of such a library; and for more than one full generation it has steadily progressed in usefulness, containing at this writing two hundred and seven thousand volumes, with a reading-room including all the chief publications of our own country and of Europe.

Lafayette Place has been conspicuous as the starting-point for innumerable parades and processions, some of them historical in their consequences, through its convenient situation and comfortable breadth. Here the Seventh Regiment, "bowered in flags and streamers, amid outbursts of cheers and songs, and fresh tears and farewell gestures from the overlooking windows," formed on that eventful 19th of April, 1861, for its march to the war; and here the Orangemen formed and started on the 12th of July, 1871—a parade that ended in a serious and memorable riot.

But the historic houses in Lafayette Place, formerly graced by brilliant assemblages of fair women and brave men, have not, like those in Wall Street of an earlier date, been converted, when Fashion became uneasy and moved on, into great monetary institutions, nor, as in some other patrician quarters, transformed into furniture salesrooms and milliner shops. The intellectual character of this locality has been, through all the process of change, grandly sustained. Scholars and book-worms, in constantly increasing numbers, have been attracted to Astor Library, and an epidemic of literature, so to speak, has swept through the length and breadth of the quiet and attractive little Place. It has broken out literally with periodicals. The *Churchman* occupies one of the historic homes in the Terrace; the *Christian Union* is issued weekly from another historic dwelling, which is also the abode of Frederick Warne & Company, the London agents of the *Century* magazine; the *Critic* drew inspiration for a successful career from "talking walls" in the same historic atmosphere; and the *North American Review* and the *Magazine of American History* together occupy, with their editorial and business offices, the antique Sands mansion, which appears in the picture on page 13, adjoining the historic home of Mr. William B. Astor. Thus, guarded by its two libraries, the Astor and the Mercantile, with the New York Society and Historical libraries and the Bible House and Cooper Union just outside, as if on picket duty, and its two great printing-houses of Little and De Vinne,

with prominent publishers on every side, not only within, but just beyond its borders—as, for instance, Routledge, Johnson, the Appletons, Baker and Taylor, Scribners, Cassell, Armstrong, Dodd and Mead, Orange Judd, Ivison, Blakeman and Taylor, and a host of others—Lafayette Place is becoming in fact as well as prophecy the literary and publishing centre of the metropolis.

It is possible that to the average New Yorker of to-day Lafayette Place is almost as much of an unknown quantity as it was to the citizen of fifty years ago; to those who are on the wave of hurry and bustle, whether of business or pleasure, with no pressing needs for the consultation of books of reference, and no overmastering desire for knowledge beyond that already attained in the school-room and from experience in life's affairs, the whole story of the career of this little corner of the metropolis will undoubtedly be new. But, on the other hand, a not inconsiderable portion of the oldest and most cultivated element of the community have been in one way or another associated with the life of Lafayette Place during its distinguishing period of more than one-third of a century as the "Court End of the town," and thus are familiar with its scenes and incidents, and ready at all times to add to its delightful reminiscences. And strangers who visit the city from every part of the known world never think of leaving it until they have seen, among its most important features, the Astor Library, irrespective of any desire they may have to study within its halls and alcoves. The locality can never be divested of its varied and peculiar historic charms.

Martha J Lamb

THE DONGAN CHARTER OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

ITS TWO HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY

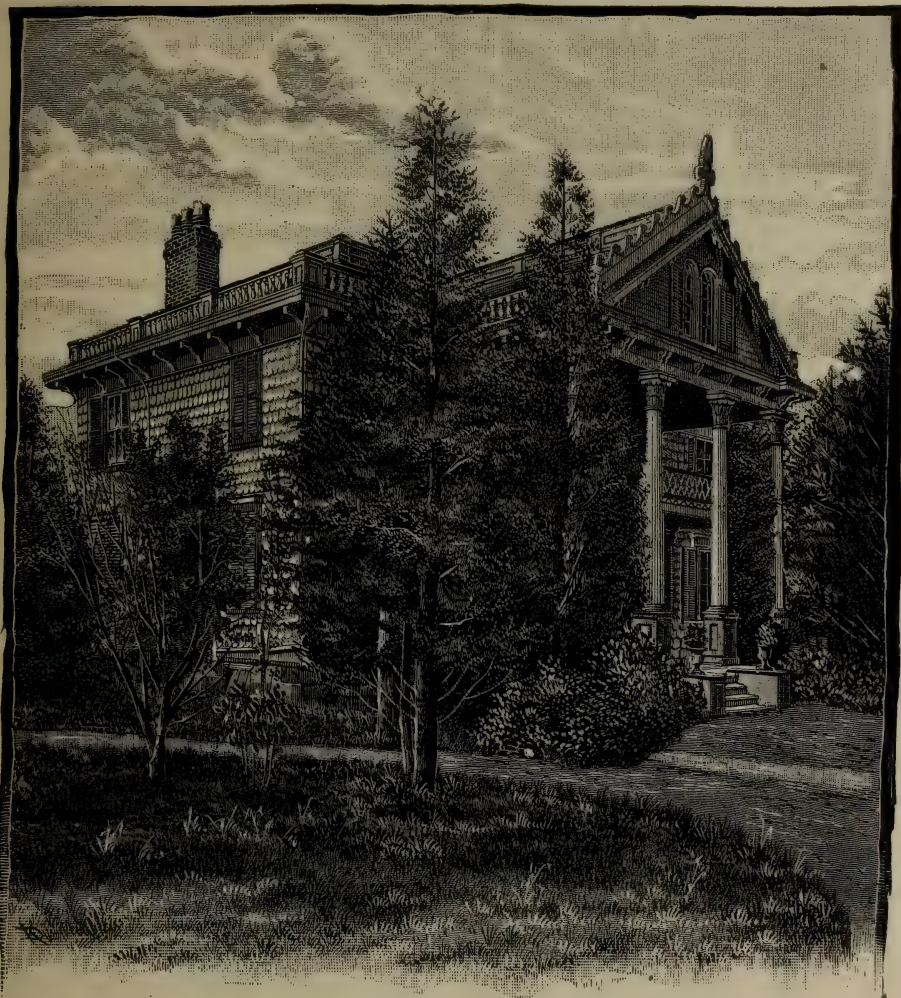
The most dramatic event in the history of New York occurred in September, 1664.

Four English ships, in the bay, on which were five hundred soldiers, trained one hundred guns against the little Dutch Fort of New Amsterdam, then in a dilapidated condition, and commanded by hills within pistol shot. Connecticut colonists, under John Winthrop, and English settlers from Long Island, both always hostile to the Dutch, swelled the invading force.

Transports were landing troops just below Breuckelen; and arms glistened from float and barge, as the invaders crossed the bay. Stuyvesant, the stout and war-worn director, with his two hundred and fifty men and a few rounds of powder, still determined to strike a blow for his province; and, standing on one of the outer bastions, pointed his guns at the hated ships. Men, with matches lighted at his side, ready for the signal to fire! A throng of the notables—*Burgomasters, Schepens, and Burghers*—pressed about him, begging him to surrender, and exhibiting the hopeless condition of the little city. Finally, Dominie Megapolensis and his son, imploring the director not to commence hostilities, which must end in destruction, led him, between them, protesting and sorrowful, from the ramparts.

With arms fixed, drums beating, colors flying, and matches lighted, according to the honorable terms of capitulation, the Dutch soldiers marched down Beaver Lane to the water-side; thence to embark for Holland; there to gain glory in its defense against Louis XIV. and his invading hosts. The Dutch tricolor came down; and, that evening, the red cross of St. George and the white cross of St. Andrew, combined in the Union *Jacque*, waved over the fort, which then became Fort James, "New Amsterdam" became "New York," and England became mistress, all along the Atlantic coast, from Acadia to Florida.

At a last session of the Magistrates, a plaintive lament went over from the *Stad Huys* to *Vaderland*, addressed "To the Right Honorable prudent Lords, the Lords Directors of the Honorable West India Company." The memorial relates the history of the siege, and concludes thus: "Meanwhile, since we have no longer to depend on your honor's promises or protection, we, with all the poor surviving and abandoned commonalty here,



THE DONGAN MANOR-HOUSE, STATEN ISLAND. ERECTED 1688.

From a photograph, through the courtesy of Mr. A. de Groot.

[The oak frame of this house was hewn from the forests near by, the date in white paint being marked upon one of the rafters in the roof; it was built near the west line of the Dongan Patent. The document bears date March 31, 1687, which granted twenty-five thousand acres to Colonel John Palmer, who conveyed the same property back to Governor Dongan on the following day; and this estate was erected into "the lordship and manor of Cassiltowne." The house was afterward externally modernized in some slight degree, but chiefly with "adornments."—EDITOR.]

must fly for refuge to Almighty God, not doubting He will stand by us, in this sorely afflicting conjuncture, and no more depart from us. And we remain your sorrowful and abandoned subjects. Done in Jorck, herebefore named Amsterdam, A.D. 1664, 16 Sep."

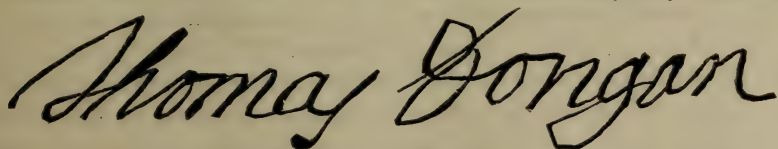
All this had happened in a time of peace between England and the United Provinces of Holland: but the Duke of York desired to take possession of the magnificent province bestowed upon him by his royal brother; and a surprise, *vi et armis*, by a secret expedition, was the plan adopted. The powers given by the King to the Duke were, among others, to raise and command armies, to establish tribunals, to legislate, govern, and rule, with almost despotic sway. After the surrender to the English, the little city, with a sigh after "*Patria*," as they called it, and sorrow for her desertion, settled down, peacefully, under its first English Governor, Nicolls, until occurred another crisis in its history. The Dutch captains, Evertsen and Binckes, cruising along the coast from Virginia in July, 1673, caught Governor Lovelace napping, and uncovered their guns from seven ships of war against the fort. The picture is now reversed. Down to the water-side march Captain Manning and the English troops. Down Broadway to the fort (having landed above) march the Dutch, with Captain Colve and his storming party, who find the gates open. The English flag goes down, the Dutch tricolor waves in the breeze, and, for a year again, the *Schout*, *Burgomasters*, and *Schepens* resume their lucubrations in the *Stad Huys*; and the little city, under its changed name of "New Orange," again sternly bristles against New England and transatlantic foe. Again abandoned, however, by the mother country, New Nederland, by the treaty of Westminster, is ceded to Great Britain. Governor Colve is succeeded by Major Edmund Andros. New Orange becomes New York, the Dutch no longer possess New Nederland, and a new patent was issued to the Duke, with similar powers as in his first one.

Under the early Dutch rule, there was, at first, little thought given to charters and privileges: the colonists were kept busy in the contest with nature and the aborigines, and their import trade required continuous industry. The directors sent over by the Dutch West India Company, and their Councils, made and dispensed the laws, sitting both as a legislative and judicial body. In the year 1641, however, the national spirit for political freedom began to manifest itself, and a body of men selected by heads of families was called upon to advise with the director. This advisory body continually asserted itself; and in 1643 made direct appeal to the home government, and then and subsequently clamored so loudly for a free representative Burgher government, based upon the Dutch municipal

system, that such government was conceded to New Amsterdam, in 1650, the magistrates whereof were to be elected by and represent the people. Under the English rule, although nominally subject to the laws of England, the Duke's power over the province was supreme; and his Court of Assizes promulgated laws and ordinances, with the making of which the people had no part, but which depended on the duke's approval.

About this time, however, there was quite an awakening in men's minds as to their natural and political rights. The Dutch Republic was a standing exemplar to free thinkers on political subjects: the decapitation of Laud, Strafford, and King Charles had taught rulers the dangers of oppression; the Roundheads had demonstrated that the commonalty had spirit and power; new dogmas had been sown broadcast by Puritan and by Quaker; and the great principles of liberty of conscience and of political freedom had become familiar. Men were beginning to think for themselves and no longer through rulers and ecclesiarchs, and old systems showed a coming disintegration. In the twelfth year of the reign of Charles II. the feudal system and its abuses were practically repealed, by an act of Parliament, which turned feudal tenures into those no longer subject to military rule or the will of a lord. The *habeas corpus* act, without which the provisions of *Magna Charta* were powerless, was also enacted in 1679. Jury trials also were assuming new characteristics, and the vetoes of monarchs were more sparingly used.

The greatest province in America, however, was still governed with an iron hand; but the spirit of self-assertion was extending, and the political thoughts of both Batavian and Anglo-Saxon colonists began to take definite form. It has been observed of the colonies of England that they are always growing and increasing; and do not become, like those of Latin races, mere stagnant imitations of the mother country, crystallized from

A large, elegant handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Thomas Dongan". The ink is dark and the strokes are fluid, with a prominent flourish at the end of the name.

the start; but progressing, and always with an increasing desire to form institutions for self-government. The tendency of all the northern colonies of America, particularly, was for freer institutions. The proprietary government of the Duke of York had not been marked with important event, save the Dutch occupation for a year, when, succeeding Governor Andros, Colonel Thomas Dongan was sent over by the duke to represent him.

Thomas Dongan, born in 1634, was a younger son of an Irish baronet,

Sir John Dongan, of an ancient Irish Roman Catholic family. He was a nephew of Richard Talbot, the roysterer of Charles' Court, subsequently made Duke of Tyrconnel and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. There were nine sons and three daughters of the Dongan family, which was one of influence and was a strong partisan of the house of Stuart. While serving as colonel of an Irish regiment in the French service in 1677, under a peremptory order that all English subjects should quit France, Colonel Dongan, on forty-eight hours' notice, was compelled to leave that country with large arrears of pay due him. On his return, having influential friends, he had a pension of £500 accorded to him, and was made lieutenant-governor of Tangiers; and, in 1682, was appointed to the important post of governor of the Province of New York. His elder brother was an ardent adherent of James, and was created by him Earl of Limerick with a reversion of the title to Thomas. Dongan's commission, issued in September, 1682, comprehended a vast territory, embracing part of Maine, extending also from the west side of Connecticut River to Delaware Bay. He arrived in New York on the 25th of August, 1683, and began the exercise of his important functions.

The little city, during Dongan's earlier administration, contained less than 4,000 inhabitants, and was mostly confined within the bay and the line of intrenchments and "stockadoes" that ran along Wall Street. Broadway extended, then, as far as the Park or Common, and beyond followed the line of Chatham Street. From the Collect Pond, in Centre Street, a great marsh extended north-west, toward the North River, of over seventy acres; and between the upper Boweries and the village of Harlem, which had remained exclusively Dutch, extended a great wood, through which roamed wolves and sometimes Indians and bears. Indeed, so active were the wolves that Governor Dongan issued a proclamation ordering a general *battue* on a fixed day. A bear hunt was also one of the diversions of the sporting men on the island.

The Rev. Charles Wolley, one of the chaplains of the fort, gives us his experience of such a hunt, in 1680, which took place in an orchard between present populous Cedar Street and Maiden Lane—and which, he records, gave him "great diversion and sport." "When the bear got to his resting-place," he says, "perched upon a high branch, we prudently dispatched a youth after him, with a club, to an opposite bough, who knocked his paws—he comes grumbling down, with a thump upon the ground—and so, after him again." As the sporting dominie recounts that he had neither gun nor weapon, but simply "*a good cudgel*," it is doubtful, according to Riker, the historian, whether the bear was dispatched as

well as the adventurous youth. The city was defended by the Fort James, with walls and bastions then in a crumbling state. There was a "half moon" before the old Stad Huys at the foot of Coenties Lane, one at Old Slip, and one at the foot of Wall Street, at the "water gate." There were also the dilapidated defenses along Wall Street, and a curtain at the land gate, at the junction of Wall and Broadway. There was also "Pasty Mount" at the foot of Exchange Alley. These little fortifications were all in bad order, and were manned with the miniature guns of the day called "demi-culverins," "seekers," and "minions."

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The population was mixed—the Dutch element still much predominating, and a great variety of tongues were spoken. There was little harmony of feeling; and Dongan reported that "the people grow more numerous daily, and are of a turbulent disposition." In a report made by the governor to the Board of Trade a few years later, he enumerates the various sects in the city. "New York has a chaplain belonging to the fort, of the Church of England; secondly, a Dutch Calvinist; third, a French Calvinist; and, fourth, a Dutch Lutheran. Here be not many of England; a few Roman Catholics; abundance of Quaker preachers, men and women; Singing Quakers, Ranting Quakers; Sabbatarians, anti-Sabbatarians; some Anabaptists, some Independents, some Jews; in short, of all sort of opinions there are some, and, the most part of none at all."

With the presence of the recent English governors, Nicolls, Lovelace, and Andros and their suites and the officers of the garrison, the social life of the city had become more aristocratic, and the Dutch burghers had somebody to imitate. Furniture, dress, and buildings all showed a change. Many French Huguenots also had come to the colony, driven from France by the persecutions under Richelieu. In 1689 there were over two hundred French families in the city. Many had come from the West India Islands; while during a period of seven years, wrote Dongan, only twenty families had immigrated from Great Britain.

Besides the few English and West India vessels that traded to New York, the commerce was carried on by nine or ten three-masted vessels, of eighty to one hundred tons, and three barks of forty tons, and about twenty sloops of twenty-five tons. Five of these sloops traded up the river with Albany, Kingston and Esopus—the three other principal towns of the province.

Hitherto, the administration of governmental affairs in the Province was arbitrary. There was no representation of the people in law-making or taxation. But now there came a change. Among Dongan's instructions was one to call together a General Assembly, of not over eighteen elected

freeholders. All laws, however, were still to be made subject to the approval of the Governor and the Duke.

The doctrine of a representation by the people, in government, had long been a conceded right among the English people. In Anglo-Saxon days the Free-folk appeared, by representatives, at the Shire Courts. Although the feudal system of the Norman conquerors intrinched somewhat upon the more democratic Anglo-Saxon system, all persons holding any lands were entitled to attend the County Courts. In the twelfth century the great towns began to cease being mere demesnes of king, abbot or lord, and became invested with local rights and franchises. At the beginning of the thirteenth century the towns, although not incorporated, had obtained by "FINES" the right to elect their own officers; but it was not until under Henry VII., in 1493, that the towns, ceasing to be under the rule of trade guilds, were recognized as corporated communities with perpetual local rights and succession. Under Charles II. there was a tendency to bring the charter of towns more under the control of the Crown; and many of the old charters were deranged in their principal features. It seems, therefore, somewhat strange that James, who was a man of arbitrary ideas, should have made the concessions he did to the people of his Province; but there were many indications of discontent. The people were of a mixed and turbulent character; and, in 1670, Huntington, Jamaica, and other towns on Long Island had refused to pay taxes unless they were represented; and the question was agitated, whether the Revenue laws were legal, as imposed. All this caused the Duke of York to comply with the general feeling, although it was contrary to the views of the House of Stuart to make concessions: and he had instructed Governor Andros, in 1673, that any concessions would be unnecessary and dangerous.

In accordance with the Duke's instructions, in October, 1683, the new Assembly called together by Dongan, hastened, as its first act, to enact what was termed the "Charter of Liberties and Privileges." This act provided for the election of members of Assembly, every three years, by a popular vote of the freemen of the corporated towns. It also declared liberty of conscience and of worship for all who professed faith in God by Jesus Christ. It also provided that no taxes were to be imposed, unless by act of the Governor and *Assembly*. Thus, the principle of taxation only by consent was initiated, as a law of the land, under Governor Dongan.

This "Charter of Liberties and Privileges" and other acts of the Assembly were confirmed by the governor; and the charter remained in force until set aside by James when king. The Duke, in October, 1684; it is said, signed and sealed this charter; but did not send it over to the

Province. This great concession to public opinion in New York was received with enthusiasm and acclamation. It was solemnly proclaimed at the City Hall before the assembled multitude, to the sound of trumpets in the presence of the governor and his council, the representatives, the aldermen, and other magnates of the city.

But the proprietary period of New York was now to close, and it was to become a Royal Province. James came to the throne in February, 1685, under circumstances that favored the exercise of his naturally despotic and arbitrary will. He now ruled his colonies as mere appanages of the Crown, and not as settlements of English subjects with constitutional rights. In the former reign, the influence and power of the Crown, under reaction from former license, had humbled the popular party and arrested progress. James, too, as king, with his hard, obstinate, and cruel nature, wanted to make everybody think like himself, and was opposed to liberalism in politics. The charters of many of the towns, including London, were now revoked by a pliant judiciary, or the citizens were intimidated into surrendering their charters, in order that the Crown might grant new ones of a more oligarchical character, and thereby secure the nomination of officials who would influence the election of members of Parliament favorable to the Crown. By this means James secured, at first, a pliant Parliament, and began quietly to overthrow the English constitution; and, probably, if it had not been for the abhorrence of Papal ascendancy in England, he would have succeeded.

When the Duke of York became king his rights, as a subject proprietor, were merged in his sovereignty, and he thought differently as king than he did as proprietor. He accordingly sent word to the governor and council in New York that he did not think fit to confirm the Charter of Rights and Privileges above mentioned, and in terms revoked it. The last Assembly under the charter had adjourned in September, 1685: and thus ended, for a time, free government in New York. Directions were also sent to Dongan that the liberty of the press was to be restrained—no person was to keep a printing-press—and nothing was to be printed without the governor's license.

We come now to what is known as the Dongan Charter of 1686, the two hundredth anniversary of which occurred on the 22d of April last. This is the notable grant of rights, privileges, and estate to the City of New York, which substantially founds its present civic *status*.

Soon after Colonel Dongan's arrival in November, 1683, the mayor and commonalty sent in a petition reciting their ancient privileges, under Governor Nicolls, and praying for the division of the city into wards, and

for the election of aldermen and other minor officials, and also for a grant of vacant lands on the island. The governor seems to have had the matter long under consideration, and probably it was referred to the duke. An answer making some objections to the petition was returned in March, 1684. In April, 1684, the charter, as amended, was read and allowed by the governor in Council. There were further delays, however; instructions being probably waited for from England; and a new petition was sent in. Finally, the charter was granted and promulgated.

There had been theretofore granted a short charter, by the first English Governor, Nicolls, in 1665, constituting the city as a body politic, under a mayor, aldermen, and sheriff, and confirming the terms of surrender, by which liberty of conscience and worship was accorded; and the inhabitants were to retain their lands and goods and customs of inheritance; and certain magistrates were to be chosen by the people. This charter from Governor Nicolls, under the change of sovereignty, was probably deemed abrogated. Besides, it was informal and not extensive.

The venerable instrument termed the "Dongan Charter" bears date on the 22d of April, 1686. It recites that New York is "an *ancient* city; and the citizens of said city have, anciently, been a body politic and corporate; and have had various rights, grants, and immunities, under several governors, and under the Nether Dutch Nation; and have received the same, either under the name of *Schout*, *Burgomasters* and *Schepens*, or in their name, as Mayor, Alderman, and Commonalty." After other recitals, the charter confirms all prior grants, liberties, and franchises made to the city. There is specially mentioned, as confirmed, the right of the city to its City Hall or State House, two market-houses, the bridge into the dock, the wharves or dock, the new burial-place out of the city gate, and the ferry from the city to Long Island.

There is also a grant of all the streets and highways, for the public use, and a right to lay out others. Prior grants to inhabitants are also confirmed. An important grant is also made to the city of "all the waste, vacant, patent and unappropriated lands on Manhattan island, extending to low water-mark, and of all waters, creeks, &c., not theretofore granted." Hunting and mining privileges are also conferred, for which one beaver skin is to be rendered annually. Jurisdiction is given over all the Island of Manhattan and its waters, to low water-mark. The city officers are determined to be a mayor, recorder, town clerk, six aldermen, and six assistants, a chamberlain, a sheriff, and some minor officers. The aldermen and assistants are to be elected by the people annually, one from each ward. The mayor, sheriff, and town clerk are to be appointed by

the governor, and the city is made a body corporate and politic, under the name of "the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty of the City of New York," and is to have perpetual succession; with power to get, receive, and hold, lands, rents, liberties, franchises, and chattels, and to transfer the same. The charter also gives to the mayor, recorder, and aldermen the right to hold a court for common pleas, for cases of debt and other personal actions. Out of the grants made, the Fort (James) is excepted, and a piece of ground by the gate called the Governor's Garden; "and the land without the gate called the King's Farm—with the swamp next to the same land, by the fresh water." As to the localities named in the charter—the dock was the only landing-place of importance in the city and extended from the present Broad Street to Whitehall Street, along the East River; the ferry was that from the foot of the present Peck Slip to "Breuckelen;" the new burial-place was at the present Trinity Churchyard: the church was not then erected. The Governor's Garden adjoined it, and extended from Broadway to low water-mark. The King's Farm extended at that time from Fulton to Chamber Street; subsequently extended, this King's Farm was granted to "Trinity Church," and has been the great bone of contention between that institution and the invincible heirs of Mrs. "Anneke Jans,"—"one of the few immortal names," as has been grimly remarked, "that were not born to die."

The charter was a voluminous document, and is full of local matter interesting to the city; but space will not allow of a more extended review of it. It is still to be seen at the City Hall, inclosed in a tin box, where it is carefully treasured. The parchment is as complete and the



THE GREAT SEAL.

writing as legible as on the day it was written ; and with it, but now detached by time, is the venerable seal of the province, having on it the Lion, the Irish harp, the Thistles, and the *Fleurs de lys* ; with these is the legend of the Order of the Garter, and "*Sigillum Novi Eboraci*." To the document is appended, in a bold hand, the signature of the fourth governor of New York, "Thomas Dongan." Endorsed on the charter are two receipts for beaver skins, as quitrent, one dated as late as 1773. The Common Council passed a vote to present the sum of £300 to the governor on receiving the charter. The secretary also received £24. All this was done openly, and probably was credited by the governor in his accounts with his government, he being obliged to raise his salary out of the revenues.

Perhaps it was singular that the Dongan Charter should be granted, when, at the same time, James was restricting all governmental power except his own, and was carrying on a general attack on chartered rights. Partiality for the province bearing his name may have been a motive ; and, perhaps, a desire to keep the mixed population peaceably disposed, so that there might be no trouble about his revenues—and, as he still preserved the law-making power absolutely, the concession of a municipal government for local purposes was not a matter of much importance to him.

The subsequent colonial charters to the city were those of Governor Cornbury, who, in 1708, granted ferry rights and the East River bed, up to the low water-mark on the Brooklyn shore, and that of Governor Montgomerie, in 1730. The latter recited in full and confirmed the Dongan Charter, with additional grants and powers. As regards Governor Edward, Viscount Cornbury, who was a cousin of Queen Anne, a curious anecdote has come down to us. He often used to dress in female attire, in the full fashion of the period, fan and all, and so promenade about the fort. The comical reason assigned for this masquerade by the eccentric governor was that, as he represented a *female sovereign*, it was quite proper that he should assume a female costume.

The above charters have been ratified and confirmed by various acts and subsequent charters passed by the New York Legislature. There are various changes, however, as to the mode of election and the numbers of the city representatives. Recent events, and perhaps the experience of the last thirty years, have shown that it is no longer wise that each ward should elect its own aldermen. That system, under a broad, elective franchise, gives too wide a scope for low electioneering systems ; and wise thinkers are of opinion that the Board should be elected on a general ticket made up of citizens at large, and not necessarily inhabitants of any particular ward.

By the views of the courts, as first expressed, it was determined that the City Corporation, besides having a political and ministerial constitution, and, as such, subject to legislative action, which might change its political or governmental powers, had also a distinct existence as an individual body, with rights of property and authority over such property,



Edward Hyde Lord Cornbury.
after the 3rd Earl of Clarendon.

which could not be disturbed except through the constitutional provisions that affect all the citizens of the State. The modern legal doctrine, however, is, that whatever title or estate the City Corporation may have in the streets, lands, or public places, it is held by them for the use of all the people of the State, and, being *publici juris*, is vested in the Legislature, as representing the whole people; and is subject to all such uses, for pub-

lic purposes, as the Legislature may determine. Under this view, the Legislature has so claimed and so extended its power over the city franchises and property, that the city has virtually no control over them. This is too complex a question for present discussion. Perhaps, in view of the manner in which the city government has been administered, it is not unwise that the Legislature should have had tacitly conceded to it a supervisory or controlling power.

Among the notable events during the period of Dongan's administration was the Declaration of Indulgence of 1687, by James II. This was promulgated in New York, and not only authorized public worship by any sect, but repealed all religious tests as qualifications for office. In April, 1688, the second Declaration of Indulgence was issued, the prosecution of the bishops for not reading which cost James his crown. Dongan's duties as governor of the great Province of New York were no light ones, and his place was no sinecure. He had to govern a rather restless community, composed mostly, as he reported, of "strangers." He had to watch and ward over a large territory. He had to counteract the efforts at encroachments by Penn, who was continually trying to secure possession of that part of the province on the upper Susquehanna. The boundary between New York and Massachusetts was also a constant source of trouble. He had to protect his northern frontier from the incursions of the French, who were continually either intriguing with or attacking the Five Nations. These tribes were allies of England and under its protection; but their alliance was difficult to maintain. The boundaries of Canada, too, were a continual subject of diplomatic protest and discussion, and even of actual warfare. In a petition for pay of arrears, sent by Dongan to Parliament after his return to England, he relates how the French, in 1686, exasperated at the Five Nations taking the side of the English, with an army of 3,000 men marched into the Indian country, burned their villages and took many captives. That he, Dongan, thereupon raised three or four hundred Christians, and joined them with 2,000 Indians, which he had dispatched into Canada, and that the combined force burned and ravaged the country, destroyed crops, killed many, and took 500 prisoners. That the State revenues being small, he was obliged to mortgage his lands and sell his plate and furniture; and that the war lasted a year and a half, during which he disbursed £10,000, almost his whole fortune.

The rival trade of Connecticut and New Jersey was also a source of anxiety; and there was a continual problem to collect sufficient revenue from trade and taxes to meet the expenses of government, which were always in arrears. The charters of the towns, too, had to be renewed,

and many of the private patents and old quitrents were to be collected. The governor was also active in suppressing pirates and sea-rovers, many of whom came to New York or to New England to refit or to dispose of their booty. There was a long controversy, too, between Dongan and the collector of the port. The latter made charges of taking perquisites and for sharing with privateers against the governor; but the collector's charges were not sustained, and he was subsequently removed for defalcations. In answer to the above charges, the governor denied that he had been niggardly, and says, in his statement, that "I have been so put to it to make things do, that what small perquisites I have got I have disbursed; and I have pledged my credit and pawned my plate for money to carry on the King's affairs."

After a wise and just administration of his trust, Governor Dongan was superseded by Sir Edmund Andros, who arrived to take charge of the province in the summer of 1688: the old seal of the province was solemnly broken, and Governor Dongan's public life came to an end. This change was not made by the King from any fault found with Dongan; but James determined, under increasing French aggressions, to consolidate and strengthen his power in America by a union of his Northern colonies there. A great dominion was formed, uniting New York and the New England colonies in one vice-royalty, under Andros as captain-general. At this proposed connection with New England the Province of New York felt a great repulsion; and, it is recorded, "contemplated this absorption into New England with just dissatisfaction, as an unmerited state of degradation!"

On being superseded, Dongan was offered a regiment and the rank of major-general by James, which the ex-governor refused, retired to his farm at Hempstead, and preferred to remain in the province to settle his affairs. Perhaps, too, he deemed it wise to watch events from this side of the water—the coming storm of the revolution of 1689 was already sounding its alarms. William and Mary were proclaimed King and Queen, in February, 1689; and the arbitrary and cruel monarch who had encouraged the massacres of Kirke, and who had upheld the enormities of Jeffries and given that judicial murderer the "great seal," as a reward for obsequious blood-service, ceased to reign.

When news came of James' abdication, civil war broke out in New York. In June, 1689, Jacob Leisler took possession of the Fort, asserting himself the champion of Protestantism, and claiming to hold the government for William and Mary, against James and his partisans, who, it was given out, had entered into a plot to seize the province. Loud cries of a

Papist plot were raised. Andros was thrown into prison at Boston; and Dongan, charged as a Papist, was hunted about by Leisler from place to place—writs were issued for his apprehension, and a proclamation was issued to disarm all Papists. After lying in the bay for a fortnight, seeking to sail for England, Dongan was compelled to return, under stress of weather. He escaped to Rhode Island, with some of his friends, and there met Andros, who had escaped from prison. Dongan's manor residence at Staten Island was ransacked for arms, and a great cry made over four guns found there. Some time in the year 1691 Colonel Dongan sailed from Boston, where he had gone for "quiet," according to the old records, and returned to England, where the new dynasty was peacefully reigning. The new governor, Sloughter, appointed by William and Mary, soon after arrived; and the over-zealous Leisler swung from the gallows.

It is interesting to trace the final career of Governor Dongan in England. He found great changes. He had no children, and his near relatives were dead or scattered. His elder brother, William, who had been made Earl of Limerick by James in 1685, had followed the fortunes of his ill-starred master into exile, and his estates had been confiscated and made over to Ginkell, created Earl of Athlone, one of William's most successful Dutch generals in the Irish campaign. Colonel Dongan, being in New York, of course had no hand in James' contest with William, and was not under the displeasure of the government.

When his brother William was created Earl of Limerick the title had been conferred, in remainder, on Thomas; and, as the first earl died in France in 1698, old, poor, and paralytic, his son Walter having been killed at the Boyne, Thomas, the late governor, legally succeeded to the title, and was heir to the estates that had been confiscated, unjustly, so far as he was concerned.

When Governor Dongan returned to England, he seems not only to have been in reduced circumstances, but to have been almost impoverished. He made several applications to the government to regain his family estates, the title-deeds to which had been lost during the troublous times. He applied, also, for payment of long arrears of his pension, and for his advances to the government while in America. He states, in one of his petitions, that he is old and poor, and that, at least, £17,000 is due him. He was at first allowed £2,500, and, subsequently, William III. made an order in council, reciting the facts of his case and the inability of the earl to live in England without some payment, and that he was disposed to live upon a small estate he had in America; and it was ordered that a small prize vessel, of 160 tons and 8 guns, be given to the earl, to assist

in transporting him and his goods to America, and to be retained by him there. An act of Parliament was also passed in May, 1702, recognizing his succession to his brother's estates; but he was only to be allowed to redeem these on the payment of claims of purchasers from the Earl of Athlone. Dongan also petitioned Queen Anne, in 1704, stating that if a third of what was due him were paid, he would release the rest; and that it would be better, under the circumstances, to live in Turkey than in England. In a petition referred to the Commissioners of the Treasury, in 1714, he states that, after paying his brother's debts and his own, he had little left for his support. By his will, made in July, 1713, he provides that he is to be buried by his kinsman, Richard Barnwell, at an expense of not over £100; and, after certain legacies, he leaves the residue of his estate to his niece, formerly Bridget Barnwell, and to her husband, Colonel Christopher Nugent.

In December, 1715, the long and adventurous life of the late governor—the soldier, the statesman—the last Earl of Limerick of his race, was brought to a close, peaceably, at London. He had seen great changes in his country, on the Continent, and in America. A witness to the stormy period of the rise of the Puritans, the rule of the Long Parliament, and of the fall of Charles, he had seen also the exit of the Presbyterians and the restoration of the Stuarts. He had seen the Stuarts supplanted by the house of Nassau; the rule of Queen Anne; the struggle of the Pretender; and, finally, the settlement of the house of Hanover on the English throne. He had watched the varying fortunes of the war of the "Spanish Succession," and the changes of the map of Europe established by the Treaties of Utrecht. He had been a fugitive during the civil war in the Province of New York, and lived to see the British colonial rule in America established on a firm basis, and the charter of privileges restored to the province under the liberal rule of William and his successors.

Dongan was a man of experience in war and politics, and filled the public duties of his difficult post with activity and wisdom; he was considerate and moderate in his government—just and tolerant—and his personal character was that of an upright and courteous gentleman. The colonial historian, Smith, says: "He was a man of integrity, moderation, and genteel manners." One of the most zealous of the Puritans, Hinckley, of Plymouth, bears testimony to Dongan's liberal character, in saying that "he was of a noble, praiseworthy mind and spirit, taking care that all the people in each town do their duty, in maintaining the minister of the place, though himself of a different opinion from their way." Dominie Selyns wrote to the *classis*, at Amsterdam, that Governor Dongan was "a

man of knowledge, politeness, and friendliness." On his tombstone at St. Pancras is this inscription: "The Right Hon. Tho^s. Dongan, Earl of Limerick. Died, Dec. 14, 1715, aged 81 years. *Requiescat in pace—Amen.*"

Governor Dongan, when he left New York, was the owner of a manor house and extensive grounds at Castleton, Staten Island, whereon there was a grist-mill and hunting lodge, the latter of which is still there. He also owned lands at Martha's Vineyard. These estates were left in the hands of agents for rental or sale. By a deed of May, 1715, he directed a messuage and house in New York, also a tract called the "Vineyard," to be sold for the grantor's benefit and that of his three kinsmen, John, Arthur, and Walter Dongan, to whom he gave all proceeds over £600. He also gave his Staten Island estate to the above three kinsmen, Thomas, John, and Walter Dongan, who seemed to have become domiciled there. In this deed he states he gives this property to his kinsmen, "in order that they may preserve, advance, and uphold the name of '*Dongan.*'"

Of the three kinsmen to whom the governor disposed of his property in America, John died in the fall of 1715, unmarried, at Staten Island; Thomas, who sold the farm at Hempstead to pay the governor's debts, died before April, 1725. Walter was the founder of the family in America. He married a daughter of Richard Floyd, of Setauket, Long Island, by whom he had five children. All lived at Castleton, Staten Island, at the present West Brighton. The eldest son of Walter, Thomas, was familiarly called the Colonel, and his son John was a member of Assembly in 1788, and was familiarly known on the island as "Jackey" Dongan. The descendants of the second son, Richard, survive at the present day, and his family is now represented by descendants bearing the name of Toombs of Brooklyn, and Alston of West Brighton. There are also descendants in Virginia of the old name of Dongan, and two in New York. The widow of another of the Dongans, James Walter, is traced to Portsmouth, Virginia, where, last year, she survived with four children living, one a son. The youngest son of Walter, by a second wife, was Edward Vaughan Dongan, a lawyer by profession. At the beginning of the hostilities of the Revolution he joined the British, and, in the attack by General Sullivan on Staten Island, in August, 1777, was mortally wounded, after gallant fighting, at the head of a battalion of Tory volunteers, and died in his 29th year.*

* Mr. Kelby, the assistant Librarian of the New York Historical Society, has gathered many interesting facts as to the history of the Dongans in America. His researches were made with a view to authenticating two fine portraits, belonging to the Society, said to represent some of the Dongan family.

The question arises, what has become of the once active colonial race—descendants of Batavian and Anglo-Saxon—who so ardently sought their chartered privileges under Governor Dongan, and, finally, were among the first to assert their right to them, in arms?

The Batavian, the Anglo-Saxon, the French, and other nationalities that colonized the city have disappeared under climatic influences and race admixture; and although the Anglo-Saxon is the controlling parental stock, a distinct colonial type has resulted. This type, according to many observers, is fast disappearing, or is still in the throes of acclimatization, there not having been sufficient endurance in it to reach the stage of re-naturalization. The characteristics of the colonial race, as continued to our day, distinguish the present colonial New Yorker of three or four generations' descent from the colonial Anglo-Saxon ancestor, as much as the latter is distinct from the Latin races. Such deviation is apparent in the physical, mental, and, perhaps, moral attributes of the new race, and also in its lingual expression. It requires but a glance to distinguish the colonial descendant, physically, from the race ancestor. The neck has become elongated, the hair is darker and straighter, the bones are smaller, the jaws, or jowls, have become contracted, the normal pulse is quicker, the voice higher, the complexion dry and pale; and, above all, the power of nourishing the species has materially diminished. So pronounced are these changes that there are anthropologists who consider them signs of race degradation and of an approaching extinction, which can only be prevented by continual admixture from more robust sources. If the purity of a race blood is essential to natural bodily and mental vigor, as some contend, then the dominance of the New Englander, through a more pure Anglo-Saxon descent, may be cited as an example.

Under the small increase in the numbers of the descendants of the original settlers, the City of New York is practically in the hands of others, and the ancient colonial element is being rapidly eliminated, or, at least, has lost prominence. The City of New York is now indirectly, if not directly, ruled by immigrants or the sons of immigrants. While the invasion of New England thrift and pertinacity have placed the New Englander comparatively at the head of its commercial, and of very much of its professional life, those of immediate Irish blood are practically the political power. It is natural that the foreign element should keep rule, if they have the enterprise to grasp it, and when the door is left wide open; and the descendants of the ancient inhabitants must often bear the rule even, at times, of those morally unfit for power, if they are unwilling or unable to contend with the more aggressive races.

Under the subsidence of the numbers, and perhaps the energy of the old native element, probably there is no city of Christendom where there is such indifference, on the part of the enlightened citizen, to public affairs, and where public spirit is so sluggish. This may perhaps arise from the fact that the civic character, not being yet harmonized, but continually crystallizing under new ingredients, is wanting in that unity of thought and interest that forms public sentiment and impels it to action.

But public morality and political freedom depend for permanence upon such a sound public sentiment. Liberties uncared for may result in the usual course of empire: license, anarchy, reaction,—the triumph of ignorance and then of despotism.

Under the indifference of the community in New York, what has become of their chartered rights and liberties as free citizens—once wrested from governor and king—and hallowed by patriotic blood? Now that the citizens of New York have a free Burgher government, what good does it do them? The answer is that their liberties are left practically in the hands of the vicious and ignorant classes; and its citizens have recourse to the state legislature to save them from the action of their own municipal representatives, or fly to the courts for injunctions on the powers of such representatives, or else bind them in prisons to prevent their criminal action.

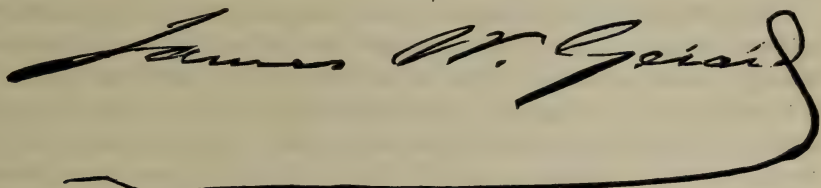
All this, strangely enough, is happening only since education has been extended, intelligence diffused, freedom of the press established, and all restriction on the elective franchise removed. It has been ruefully remarked that all the passions which are most fatal to public institutions spread with an increasing territory, whilst the virtues which maintain their dignity do not augment in the same proportion. Practically, under the neglect of the intelligent and the educated to take active part in political life, what wonder is there that the community is preyed upon by factions and placemen?

Liberty was here planted by Dutch enterprise and courage, developed by robust Anglo-Saxon energy—watched by the descendants of the victims of political misrule and religious persecution—of men who had contended against the tyranny of Philip II., the hierarchy of Charles, the oppression of James, and the exactions of George III. That Liberty blossomed here into a complete and fair fruition. To preserve it there is need of watchful action, of a harmonized public opinion to rectify abuses and control the action of political parties, an active patriotism that will lash wrong-doers from the temple of the State, and a moral sense that will inflict a stern and sure retribution on the vampire preying upon the city's life.

There is no fear of autocratic or aristocratic invasion of public rights. The danger is rather from below. The cultured classes, absorbed in personal interests, shrink from public duty and satisfy themselves with denunciation. They fear the mighty monster with the hydra head which they have created, but do not aim to direct it; they succumb to its control, while they deprecate its power.

There is abundance of high-toned political and patriotic expression: but, in practice, our extended liberties tend to be the means of our subjugation. The advantages of free institutions are lauded but neglected: and political privileges become, as often, through neglect and abuse, the instruments of evil as of good.

The public-spirited citizen who treasures his chartered liberties must be active as well as appreciative. In such hands only is liberty safe; and by such only are the honor and prosperity of a great city secured and maintained.

A large, elegant handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "James W. Geisler". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above a long, horizontal, slightly wavy line that spans most of the width of the page.

HISTORY OF THE FISHERIES QUESTION

An international question of vital importance is at the present moment engrossing attention from the two English nations which have grown up side by side upon this North American continent. In the eyes of their statesmen, the responsible directors of their affairs, of the editors, who so sagely advise them, and of the merchants and manufacturers, who supply the sinews of war for both, this question overshadows all others now calling for their concern; and it is simply whether the fishermen of the United States shall be excluded from participation in the magnificent fisheries which render the waters adjacent to the Canadian coasts a veritable mine of wealth.

The present is by no means the first appearance of this question in the national arena. Time and time again has it arisen to be the bane of peace-loving statesmen, but the hope of soldiers, who trusted that it might find a settlement only through the arbitrament of the sword. And time and time again have peaceful counsels prevailed, and a respite been found through the decisions of tribunals armed with no other weapons than principles of enlightened justice and international equity. Previous to the war in which the thirteen colonies won their independence, and became thenceforth the United States of America, all the British colonists upon this continent enjoyed equal privileges in matters connected with the fisheries. They might range the coast from Labrador to Florida without let or hinderance. But immediately when peace was concluded, and the American colonies were no longer colonies, but a rival nation, it became a question how far the revolutionists had by their success forfeited those privileges, and to what extent they might reasonably be restored to their enjoyment. This matter was very fully discussed in the negotiations which preceded the Treaty of the 3d September, 1783, and although Great Britain did not deny the right of American citizens to fish on the Great Banks of Newfoundland, or in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, or elsewhere in the open sea, she did deny their right to fish in British waters, or to land in British territory for the purpose of drying or curing their fish. A compromise was at length reached, the terms of which were embodied in Article III. of this treaty (generally called the Treaty of Paris), which is as follows:

"It is agreed that the people of the United States shall continue to enjoy unmolested the right to take fish of every kind on the Grand Banks and on all the other banks of New-

foundland ; also in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and at all other places in the sea, where the inhabitants of both countries used at any time heretofore to fish ; and also that the inhabitants of the United States shall have liberty to take fish of every kind on such part of the coast of Newfoundland as British fishermen shall use (but not to dry or cure the same on that Island), and also on the coasts, bays and creeks of all other of His Britannic Majesty's Dominions in America ; and that the American fishermen shall have liberty to dry and cure fish in any of the unsettled bays, harbours and creeks of Nova Scotia, Magdalen Islands, and Labrador, so long as the same shall remain unsettled ; but so soon as the same, or either of them, shall be settled, it shall not be lawful for the said fishermen to dry or cure fish at such Settlement without a previous agreement for that purpose with the inhabitants, proprietors, or possessors of the ground."

It will at once be observed that the rights conceded to United States fishermen under this Treaty were by no means so great as those they enjoyed as British subjects previous to the War of Independence, for they were not to be allowed to land for the purpose of drying or curing their fish on any part of Newfoundland, and only on those parts of Nova Scotia, the Magdalen Islands, and Labrador, where no British settlement had been, or might be formed. Matters remained in this position until the war of 1812 unhappily placed the people of the United States in the attitude of belligerents once more, and, consequently, all their privileges in connection with the fisheries terminated. In the course of the negotiations which preceded the peace of 1814 this question naturally revived, and the alleged right of American citizens to fish and cure fish within British waters was fully discussed by the British and American Commissioners assembled at Ghent to draw up the Articles of Peace. At that time, however, the circumstances had very considerably changed since the Treaty of Paris. The British North American possessions had become more thickly populated, and there were fewer unsettled bays, harbors, and creeks in Nova Scotia than formerly. There was, consequently, greater risk of collision between British and American interests, and the colonists and English merchants engaged in the fisheries petitioned strongly against a renewal of the privileges granted by the Treaty of Paris. It was under these circumstances that the negotiations for peace were entered into. At the first meeting in August, 1814, the British Commissioners stated "that the British Government did not intend to grant to the United States *gratuitously* the privileges formerly granted to them by treaty, of fishing within the limits of British territory, or of using the shores of British territories for purposes connected with the fisheries." They contended that the claim advanced by the United States of immemorial and prescriptive right was quite untenable, inasmuch as the inhabitants of the United States had, until recently, been British subjects, and that the rights which they possessed

formerly as such, could not be continued to them when they had become citizens of an independent state.

After a prolonged discussion it seemed impossible to arrive at a mutually acceptable conclusion, and it was finally decided to omit all mention of the Fisheries Question from the Treaty which was signed at Ghent in December, 1814. Orders were now sent out to the Governors of the British Colonies not to interfere with citizens of the United States engaged in fishing on the Newfoundland Banks, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, or on the high seas, but to prevent them from using British territory for fishing purposes, and to exclude their fishing vessels from the harbors, bays, etc., of all British possessions. The result was that several American fishing vessels were captured for trespassing within British waters, and as these seizures aroused much angry feeling, which further instances could only aggravate until the *entente cordiale* between the two countries would be seriously imperilled, the President of the United States thought it well, in 1818, to propose to the Prince Regent that negotiations should be opened for the purpose of settling the question in an amicable manner. Commissioners were accordingly appointed by both parties to meet in London, and as the fruit of that meeting the Convention of London was signed on the 20th October 1818. Article I, of this Convention, is in these words:

“Whereas differences have arisen respecting the liberty claimed by the United States for the inhabitants thereof to take, dry, and cure fish on certain coasts, bays, harbours, and creeks of His Britannick Majesty’s dominions in America, it is agreed between the High Contracting Parties that the inhabitants of the said United States shall have, forever, in common with the subjects of His Britannick Majesty, the liberty to take fish of every kind on that part of the southern coast of Newfoundland which extends from Cape Ray to the Rameau Islands, on the western and northern coast of Newfoundland, from the said Cape Ray to the Quirpon Islands, on the shores of the Magdalen Islands, and also on the coasts, bays, harbours, and creeks from Mount Joly, on the southern coast of Labrador, to and through the Straits of Belle Isle, and thence northwardly indefinitely along the coast, without prejudice, however, to any of the exclusive rights of the Hudson Bay Company; and that the American fishermen shall also have liberty, forever, to dry and cure fish in any of the unsettled bays, harbours, and creeks of the southern part of the coast of Newfoundland, hereabove described, and of the coast of Labrador; but so soon as the same or any portion thereof shall be settled, it shall not be lawful for the said fishermen to dry or cure fish at such portion so settled, without previous agreement for such purpose with the inhabitants, proprietors, or possessors of the ground. *And the United States hereby renounce forever any liberty heretofore enjoyed or claimed by the inhabitants thereof, to take, dry, or cure fish on or within three marine miles of any of the coasts, bays, creeks, or harbours, of His Britannick Majesty’s dominions in America not included within the above-mentioned limits.* Provided, however, that the American fishermen shall be admitted to enter such bays or harbours for the purpose of shelter, and of repairing

damages therein, of purchasing wood, and of obtaining water, and for no other purpose whatever. But they shall be under such restrictions as shall be necessary to prevent their taking, drying, or curing fish therein, or in any other manner whatever abusing the privileges hereby reserved to them."

The exact terms of the article have been given because, as a consequence of the expiration of the fishery clauses of the Washington Treaty, the Convention, after having lain in abeyance for many years, is revived, and by it, and it alone, must the respective positions of the United States and Canada, in reference to the fisheries, be now determined. Under the Convention of London matters proceeded with tolerable smoothness, and without any modification of relations until the year 1847, when, in consequence of a petition addressed to the Queen by the Canadian Parliament, negotiations were opened between the two governments for the establishment of reciprocal free trade between Canada and the United States, and in May, 1849, Sir H. Bulwer, who was then about to proceed to Washington as British Minister, was authorized to enter into an arrangement by which access to the fisheries of all the colonies (except Newfoundland, which refused to consent on any terms), should be given to the citizens of the United States in return for a reciprocity of trade with the United States in all natural productions such as fish, wheat, timber, and so forth. The proposal was favorably received by the United States government, but some delay occurred owing to the death of General Taylor in 1850. The new President, Millard Fillmore, moreover, doubted whether the matter was a proper subject for treaty, and thought that action should take the form of legislation. A bill was therefore introduced for the purpose, but it was rather summarily thrown out, and from one cause or another no further steps were taken until 1852, when the United States government manifested a desire to come to an arrangement on the subject, and a draft convention having been prepared a copy was sent home by the British Minister in December, 1852, with the remarks of the President thereon.

A lengthy correspondence then passed between the two governments, and owing to difficulties connected with the tariff question the United States government sought to have the Fisheries Question dealt with separately. But to this the British government would not consent. The fishing season of 1853 accordingly opened without any agreement having been effected with the United States, and fortunately, owing to the measures taken by both authorities for the preservation of British rights, came to a close without any further complication. In the meantime the efforts for a treaty had been continued, and in May, 1854, Lord Elgin, who was on his way to resume his duties as Governor General of the British

North American Provinces, received instructions to visit Washington, and ascertain the views of the United States government. So successfully were his negotiations conducted, that, by the 12th of June of the same year, he was able to announce that he had executed a treaty with Secretary Marcy relative to the Fisheries, and Reciprocity of Trade. This was the famous Reciprocity Treaty, signed on the 5th of June, and confirmed by the United States Senate on the 3d August, 1854, and a renewal of which in whole or in part the Canadian government make a *sine qua non* to the admission of American fishermen to their fisheries. Its main provisions were as follows: British waters on the East coast of North America were to be thrown open to United States fishermen, and United States waters north of the 39th parallel to British fishermen, excepting always the salmon and shad fisheries (which were exclusively reserved to the subjects of each country), and certain rivers and mouths of rivers. Certain articles of native produce of both countries, such as timber, wheat, fish, fish-oil, etc., which were specifically enumerated were to be admitted to each country free of duty. The treaty was to remain in force for ten years, and further for twelve months after either party should have given notice to the other of its wish to terminate the same.

From 1854 to 1865 the Reciprocity Treaty continued in force, and the course of events as relating to the fisheries passed on in perfect harmony, but on the 17th of March, of the latter year, Mr. Adams, then United States Minister in England, broke in upon this halcyon serenity by giving notice that at the expiration of twelve months from that day his government desired the Reciprocity Treaty to terminate. The British government made earnest efforts to effect a renewal of the treaty, but there was no convincing the Americans that they were not giving much more than they were getting under its provisions, and so it came to an end on the 17th March, 1866, thus bringing the London Convention once more upon the scene. It now became necessary for the British authorities to consider what steps should be taken to protect their rights, and Lord Monck, the Governor-General of Canada, issued a notice, warning the citizens of the United States that their right to fish in British waters had ceased. The imperial government was very desirous of mitigating so far as possible the injury and loss the Americans would inevitably suffer through a sudden withdrawal of the privileges they had been enjoying for the past twelve years. But anxious as it might be in this direction its hands were tied by acts, both of its own and the colonial legislatures, imposing severe penalties upon all persons, not being British subjects, who might be found fishing within British jurisdiction. Eventually it was decided, on the sug-

gestion of Lord Monck, that American fishermen should be allowed to fish in all provincial waters upon the payment of a merely nominal license fee to be exacted as a formal recognition of right. This system, however, which was maintained for four years, proved unsatisfactory, as the United States fishermen soon neglected to provide themselves with licenses, the number taken out in 1866 being three hundred and fifty-four, and in 1869 only twenty-five, while there seemed no corresponding decrease in the number of vessels prosecuting the fisheries. Thus in 1870 stricter measures for the enforcement of British rights were again rendered imperative, and accordingly a British naval force, supplemented by a highly efficient Canadian Marine Police, was organized for this service. It was not long before the need of these precautions found proof in the capture of many American vessels for infringement of the provisions of the London Convention, the delinquents after being duly adjudicated upon in the Admiralty Court suffering the penalty of forfeiture in the majority of cases. The difficulties caused by these untoward events, and the well grounded apprehension shared by both parties lest international complications of a serious nature were only too possible, led to the reopening of negotiations which, happily, ere the year 1871 had well begun, reached a creditable conclusion in the consent of the United States government to the reference of the whole question to a Joint High Commission. The commissioners held their first meeting at Washington on the 27th February, 1871, and what is known as the Treaty of Washington was signed on the 8th of May, of the same year. By this treaty it was agreed, among other things, that the United States fishermen, in addition to any rights conferred upon them by the Convention of 1818, should for a certain term of twelve years, and for as long thereafter as the contracting parties should mutually agree, be permitted to take fish of every kind, except shell-fish and river fish, on the sea-coasts, shores etc. of Canada, with permission to land for the purpose of drying their nets and curing their fish, a corresponding liberty being conferred upon British subjects as regarded the United States coast north of the 39th parallel. It was further agreed that the claim put forth by the British government for compensation for the extension of privileges thus accorded to American citizens should be referred to a commission which should determine what amount, if any, ought to be paid by the United States. By a proclamation dated at Washington June 7, 1873, the 1st of July of that year was fixed as the day on which this treaty should go formally into operation.

The Treaty of Washington having been ratified, the next proceeding was to constitute the commission, which it provided should meet in the

city of Halifax, the capital of Nova Scotia. According to Article XXIII. the commissioners were to be appointed in the following manner: One by the Queen of England, one by the President of the United States, and the third by both acting jointly; but in event of a failure to agree, the representative at London of the Emperor of Austria-Hungary was to name the third. Owing to the delays which are inseparable from such weighty diplomatic undertakings, the commission did not assemble until June, 1877, from which time until November of the same year, the quiet Nova Scotian capital was the scene of another of those remarkable contests between the two great English nations of the world, in which words, not swords, were the weapons employed, and dollars, not deaths, the only damage that might be suffered.

The commission was constituted as follows: Sir A. T. Galt, a Canadian statesman of note, named by the Queen of England; Hon. Ensign H. Kellogg, named by the President of the United States; and Her Majesty and the President having failed to coincide on the third, His Excellency, M. Maurice Delfosse, Belgian Minister at Washington, was named by the Emperor of Austria-Hungary. The Hon. Dwight Foster attended as Agent of the United States, and Francis Clare Ford, Esq., as Agent of the Queen, each having associated with him a brilliant group of counsel learned in the law, while secretaries, official reporters, and other clerical assistants combined to make up quite an imposing gathering. It is not possible to follow the proceedings of this commission, interesting and important as they were. Suffice it to say, that on the 23d November, 1877, the commissioners by a majority report, their United States colleague dissenting, awarded the sum of \$5,500,000 to England as compensation for the privileges accorded to the citizens of the United States under the terms of the Washington Treaty. This amount, after some demur on the part of the United States, was subsequently paid, and the much-vexed Fisheries Question slumbered in undisturbed peace until last year it was once more brought to life by the action of the United States government in giving notice that it did not desire the treaty to extend beyond the time limited therein. On the 30th June, 1885, therefore, the treaty expired, and now for the third time the Convention of London comes to the front, as the only authority whereby the mutual relations of Canada and the United States may be determined.

The present aspect of the Fisheries Question does not come within the scope of this article, but before closing my brief review of its past history, I hasten to express the hope, if not indeed the confidence, that warmly argued as it may be by statesmen and editors, it will once more find a

settlement through the same peaceful processes as have hitherto distinguished it. The convention of 1818, the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854, the Washington Treaty of 1871, and the Halifax Commission of 1877, when placed side by side with the Geneva Tribunal at which the Alabama claims found harmonious adjustment, present a picture that every right-thinking subject of Great Britain and the United States, those two peerless sister nations, must look upon with unbounded pride; and the lesson that picture teaches is one which the world greatly needs to learn in these days of myriad armies, and marvelous machinery for the slaughter of men. In the language, let us trust prophetic, of the superb peroration with which the late Mr. S. R. Thompson, the most eloquent perhaps of all the brilliant array of counsel there assembled, brought to a close his address before the Halifax Commission: "The spectacle presented by the Treaty of Washington and the arbitrations under it, is one at which the world must gaze in wonder and admiration. While nearly every other nation of the world settles its difficulties with other powers by the dreadful arbitrament of the sword, England and America, two of the most powerful nations upon the earth, whose peaceful flags of commerce float side by side in every quarter of the habitable globe, whose ships of war salute each other almost daily in every clime, and on every sea, refer their differences to the peaceful arbitrament of Christian men, sitting without show or parade of any kind in open court. On the day that the Treaty of Washington was signed by the High Contracting Parties an epoch in the history of civilization was reached. On that day the heaviest blow ever struck by human agency fell upon that great anvil of the Almighty, upon which in His own way, and at His appointed time, the sword and the spear shall be transformed into the ploughshare and the reaping-hook."

Macdonald Osley

MARINE DEPARTMENT, OTTAWA, *June*, 1886.

THE SPEECHES OF HENRY CLAY

By common consent Daniel Webster is the representative of American public life. His possibilities were great. He moved in that stage of our national growth, which determined the cast of political thought and fixed the lines of constitutional interpretation. Endowed with profound intellect, an imposing mien and a magnificent chance, he could become one of the great of the race. This was the basis of his career, and he wrought as became it. Such is the reverential homage of his countrymen and the acknowledgment of culture beyond the sea. To detract from his just fame would be unpatriotic; yet we are vain of his memory. The profusion of fulsome eulogy pronounced upon him has been such as to obscure the other great characters of his day. Admiration has grown to panegyric, and panegyric to an adulation that not long ago prompted a noted writer to say that when Daniel Webster walked down State Street the buildings about him looked small. Appreciation does not require his deification, but justice to others demands that his fame be not exclusive. With him in the national councils were associated an array seldom surpassed in brilliancy or ability. Their names are familiar, though but little else. The works of Daniel Webster alone are studied, admired, and declaimed. They alone have become a component part of our literature. A few of his orations are classic, and will doubtless remain so. But turning to those who were equally conspicuous, and whose labors were as useful and lasting, we find their volumes dust-covered on the shelves, rarely mentioned and more rarely perused.

The cause of the superior regard for Webster's works may be readily assigned. Parliamentary speeches, to which most public men are confined, cannot as a rule contain the elements of lasting literary excellence. We do not search for it in tomes of talk upon tariffs, public lands, and internal improvements. But Webster's renown in speech, though mostly acquired in this field, now rests mainly upon studied discourses on occasions afforded only to a Massachusetts man and in the literary center of America. Thus a literature by itself has grown around them and their author, and much of it from the unchecked admiration of his literary neighbors and constituents. Time enough has not elapsed to dull this glamor, and it may be long before the illustrious New Englander shall pose more naturally in the general opinion. But time will eventually strip from his shoulders the robes of exaggerated praise and reveal a form more humanly noble.

Webster's distinction is triple—the chief source of his pre-eminence.

Yet as a jurist he must yield to Marshall; as a constructive statesman, to Hamilton; and as a political leader and debater, to Henry Clay. For nearly fifty years Clay was the most conspicuously-admired and abused man in the United States—such are the conditions of political leadership. Considering that whole period, he was its most potent political factor, and has left most marks upon its history. Entering national politics in time to lead the incitement of the war with England he continued in the public service until he died at his post, almost an octogenarian, still hopeful for his country and unsoured by his fortunes. His adequate biography has not been written; few pens have been busied in his behalf, and little of him or his works is known at large beyond the lingering magic of his name and the traditions of his political sway.

It is not proposed here to dissect his political creed or political measures. Whatever the criticism, they deserve attentive study in the light of his surroundings, mindful that he wrought shoulder to shoulder with Webster, maintaining the same principles and supported by the same party. With these considerations let us open his neglected works.

His productions are essentially *speeches*. They were made to secure votes and the popular approval of the measures they advocated. They contain no studied grandiloquence and no flaming passages on American institutions, liberty, and patriotism. They furnish little for the emulous schoolboy to declaim or to test the epic range of the English tongue. So they are not orations, sumptuous, classic, and grand, reared as polished monuments to astonish the eye of posterity; they caught the ear. They are left as they fell amidst crowded benches animated with extempore life; careless of their future as literature, he did not revise and varnish to appease the taste of the coming makers of books and biography. For this reason largely, they may seem here and there more partisan than philosophical, and, though by this means they best reflect the spirit of the time, they suffer in comparison with the more elaborate efforts of Webster, who by contemporary evidence was Clay's inferior in the exigencies of political debate.

Clay was a political genius; Webster, the incarnation of an intellect. One, the natural leader of political action; the other, the selected representative of a New England constituency. One, ardent and constructive; the other, cold, logical, and analytic. One inspired affection; the other, awe of his mental strength. One chose the field for a political fight; the other led on the charge of the heavy dragoons. One carried his friends on his shoulders, and the other was carried on the shoulders of his friends.

Webster was the offspring of a silent and black-browed Puritan, from

whom he inherited his characteristics. Maternal love and paternal aid supplied the means of a liberal training according to the highest standards of the day. In the center of culture and commerce, law held attractions and opportunities fitting the bent of young Webster's mind. Conscious of his powers and expectant of his future, he spurned humble but lucrative place, as a bar to his ambition. And with such hopes and helps was molded the mind to expound the Constitution and become the intellectual pride of the nation.

Some degrees of latitude south (where rugged winters are unknown) his great colleague came into the world; if in the midst of slavery and aristocracy, still with warm and impetuous Virginian blood in his veins. Fatherless, indigent and ignorant, he was soon thrown out for himself "to steer his course as he might or could." With next to no schooling he became the "Slashes mill-boy," then a grocery-man's clerk, then copyist to the prothonotary. With this practical training and his rare natural parts, he caught a Chancellor's eye, became his amanuensis and gained a venerable friend. Amidst such propitious surroundings his genius unfolded. He heard the eloquent Henry on his native heath and caught the inspiration. With brief preparation he procured his license to practice law and emigrated to the West. "I remember how comfortable I thought I should be if I could make £100 Virginia money per year; and with what delight I received my first fifteen shilling fee. My hopes were more than realized. I immediately rushed into lucrative practice." Intuitive sense and perception were his tutors. With these and his power of speech, as native to him as hemp to Kentucky, he won an admiration and a following which soon pervaded the Union.

Nativity, training and mental composition, made the two men a complete antithesis. Webster repelled; Clay attracted, and the story was once current that a leading opponent refused introduction to Clay for fear of his address. The grand, grave and haughty Webster was admired at a distance for his mental stature; Clay was beloved by his enthusiastic adherents, and the long personal influence he exerted has no example in the history of modern politics.

The result was natural. When the Constitution was to be construed through the function of argument, Webster was a master; but when a dissentient people were at the verge of disunion, Clay could calm the storm. When politics of banking and finance were to be calmly discussed, Webster had no superior; but when the dignity of the flag was insulted, our seamen impressed and our commerce destroyed, Clay could raise the tempest of indignation and stir the people to resistance and war.

Yet the statesmanship of Clay has been impugned as a series of expedients to postpone the inevitable crisis. The disease, it is said, was in the blood and could not be cured on the skin; neutrality was cowardice, and compromise an insult to principle. The bull should have been seized by the horns; instead of multiplying both terms of the equation, the problem should have been solved while the forces were small. But the event has shown the wisdom of delay. It took a million years to produce a Darwin. Political economy is still in its youth. The perfect government is not yet. Evolution is but the progress of expedients. And even undevout minds may think it Providence that reconciled to external peace the rival elements that waxed in our midst. The future of republican government was at stake; and they were wise who saw that the right would profit most by time, and in the end prevail.

It is evident from such a career that the immediate source of his power lay in his eloquence—the combination of his mind, temperament, character and physical organization. He was the personification of speech; he made argument a fascination. We find him at an early age the most effective criminal advocate at the Lexington bar, achieving the marvelous success of saving every life he defended against the charge of murder. Whether at the bar, on the stump, or in Congress he was always an advocate. And with this quality united with a person graceful and commanding, a delivery fluent, strong and often impassioned, and a voice that the dying Randolph longed to hear once more, we may concede his power when pleading for life and liberty, when denouncing the Alien and Sedition laws, the injustice of England or the arbitrary acts of Andrew Jackson. Many men can argue well and clearly exhibit their views; some can pronounce polished orations on set and ceremonious occasions with impressive dignity and artistic finish; but only few have ever lived who could deliver *speeches* in a crisis of events that would direct their course and shape the public will.

Judging from the logic of Webster and the inferable lack of poetic imagination it would be natural to suppose that Clay's speeches, flowing from a fertile Southern brain, would possess a ruddier tinge of fancy. But the reverse is true. Nothing can be found in his works of the type of Webster's famous peroration containing, "When my eyes shall behold for the last time the sun in heaven —." There are no attempts at such display; his insight was too keen and his taste too sure.

The following passage may illustrate his notion of declamation: "And how often have we witnessed the Senator from South Carolina (Calhoun) with woeful countenance and doleful strains, pouring forth mournful and

touching eloquence on the degeneracy of the times, and the downward tendency of the Republic? Day after day in the Senate have we seen the displays of his lofty and impassioned eloquence. Although I shared largely with the Senator in his apprehensions for the purity of our institutions and the permanency of our civil liberty, disposed always to look on the brighter side of human affairs, I was somewhat inclined to hope that the vivid imagination of the Senator had depicted the dangers by which we were encompassed in somewhat stronger colors than they justified."

Perhaps the finest of his speeches in point of composition is the one on the Mexican War delivered among his neighbors in 1847. It has a deeper and richer hue than any which preceded. It seems the harmonious blending of his habitual fluency and ease with a ripened taste and softened temper. It is not majestic or Websterian; that is not the quality. It is the rare combination of beauty and power—not alternate but united—practical wisdom made enticing. The opening portions of his speech on American Industry, in the House in 1824, are most impressive. They form a fine example of the rapidity, clearness and grace of his style. But doubtless the best remembered of his efforts is the one pronounced on retiring from the Senate. Considering its purpose and surroundings, the performance is a marvel. Its political dexterity is fully equaled by the charm of the sentiment, and the propriety of its expression. Even Benton was forced to say: "It was the first occasion and thus far has been the last; and it might not be recommendable for any one, except another Henry Clay—to attempt its imitation."

With his lack of purely scholarly tastes and training the elegance of his style seems remarkable. There are few things in the language that excel his best productions in this respect; and it is so characteristic that in the impromptu colloquies of debate, were the names of the speakers omitted his remarks could be readily distinguished; not that it is the result of mannerism, but of a certain ampleness of sound and meaning satisfying both to the ear and the apprehension. His style is neither diffuse nor compact; not gorgeous like Burke's, nor unique like Choate's. It is not Anglo-Saxon, as Webster's was studiously intended to be; its rhythm and flow do not admit of the rugged force of unmixed English. He seems to have no favorable method of speech or choice and selected vocabulary. That word, whatever its length or its origin, was used that best combined the idea and the intonation; but if there be any preference in his choice of words it is for smoothness and softness of sound. And so native and inherent were these qualities that in the heat of debate they never forsook him. His style was the index of his character and is the key to his career.

Just before the opening of what may be termed the Jackson Period culminated the series of events which brought on the war of 1812. Among those who were instrumental in arousing the warlike sentiment of the people against the insolent aggressions of Great Britain, Clay was leader. The occasion was opportune for the display of his highest talents. Independence was but a name and the flag but a decoration. Citizenship was no protection, and commerce but a skulker on the sea. The result of that war was the new birth of the nation. It was the corollary to the Revolution. The treaty of Ghent—whatever its wording—not only put an end to the political domination of England, but gave us industrial, commercial and intellectual freedom. It liberated the genius of the nation. And whatever motives partisanship may have ascribed to the promoters of that war the future will pronounce it a large and practical patriotism.

The speeches of Clay on the cause and conduct of the war naturally form a brilliant portion of his works. But the one on the New Army Bill, in 1813, contains the essence of his policy and of his genius in enforcing it. It exhibits perhaps more than any other of his speeches the variety of his powers, and is one of the finest, as it was one of the most effective, pieces of parliamentary eloquence. It is impossible to read it at this day without some of the emotions it is said to have excited upon its delivery. His strictures upon the opposition, edged with deep and genuine feeling, are only equaled by his bitter execration of the English press-gangs. And while his appeal for sailors' rights is most pathetic and affecting, his reply to the scurrilous vituperation of Quincy is one of the most blasting and powerful blows ever dealt in our partisan debates.

It is impossible to conceive of loftier eloquence on the causes of this war than they were instrumental in producing. In these speeches of Clay, which are the best, there is nothing to recall the stormy force of Mirabeau or the thrilling energy of Patrick Henry. That type of speech was unrequisite, as it was unsuitable. The sentiments he voiced were not those of a nation, but of a party. The opposition was both strong and captious. No means were neglected to stay hostilities, even at the cost of national humiliation; and peace itself they jeered as the fitting end of a political instigation. The bold and lofty strain of revolution would have been mocked as extravagance. Patriots were lampooned and patriotic sentiment was parodied. When the strength of political parties is balanced, the conflict is waged upon details. And with such conditions no one but a Henry Clay, and none but his methods, could have achieved a like success.

But the greatest epoch of Clay's career began with the "reign of

Andrew Jackson " the most splendid period of our parliamentary, as it is the most remarkable of our political history. The philosophy of our institutions was being formulated. Political economy was deemed mere speculation, and the constitution was an unsolved riddle. The statesmen of the time were numerous, gifted and able, and the vital issue was being waged by parties, and not by armies. Our politics now freed from every foreign restraint and unhampered by precedent revelled in domestic experiment. Idolatry and villification of leaders were the order of the day. And looking back upon the irritating partisanship of the time we can often justify wrath and pardon spleen.

The career of General Jackson at this day, when the glamor of his popularity has faded, presents a strange anomaly of ability, ignorance and pugnacity. Few things he did were admirable either in principle or execution; and the most laudable of his deeds acquire their character from their necessity for blind vigor and prompt action. Daring in his conceptions, resolute in his purposes and reckless in his means, his record vies in life and excitement with the exploits of Jack Cade. Although primarily honest in his motives, he was deficient in knowledge, insane in his zeal, and as arbitrary in his conduct as a Zulu king. The experience of his earlier years had equally strengthened his merits and defects and qualified him to succeed as prosecuting attorney on the border and to fight duels as a recreation. His first noteworthy act after the Battle of New Orleans—that great victory of peace—was the rash performance which nearly projected his country into war with Spain. Yet such dazzling energy was potent from its very audacity and forthwith excited an admiration as fervid and enthusiastic as that of the hoodlums for Jesse James. But his ill-advised act provoked the criticism of the better judging, who recognized his possibilities: and here dates the beginning of that bitter hostility between him and Clay which has left its mark upon history.

The political features of that relentless struggle are not to be recounted here; they are historical. But whatever may have been the opinion of the men and measures of that eventful period, or of Jackson's ascendancy in it, later judgment has begun to sanction in a large degree the position of the Whigs. At any rate, the strife produced a series of Clay's greatest and most characteristic speeches, the first of which is upon the General's conduct in the Florida war, already alluded to. That the violent animadversion of the whole Whig element was more or less justified, a simple statement of the facts will show. In the ardor of his zeal, and without authority, he chased the Indians he was sent to subdue over the border into Spanish territory and forcibly seized one of its military posts because of an imag-

ined complicity. In the throes of his passion he hanged a couple of offenceless traders on their own soil after the most farcical of martial proceedings. Meantime, committing a variety of acts of flagrant cruelty, he took brutal advantage of his opportunity and wrested from the vanquished Seminoles a treaty, as it was styled, which only inspires amazement and regret that an American general should be guilty of its perpetration even upon a savage foe. As might be supposed, this series of depredations furnished a fruitful text for partisan attack, and he received it without stint or feeling, and from those, it is only fair to say, who feared or foresaw his abnormal growth as a factor in future politics. Clay's speech upon the subject embodies about all that could be said within the range of propriety, and was altogether sufficient unto its intended purpose. The excuse of Jackson's friends that he did the right thing in the wrong way, only strengthened the handle for censure and assault. The speech is bare-handed and scorching, and abounds in prophetic glimpses of Jackson's future, destined to memorable fulfillment. We here discover the first ample display of Clay's unrivaled power of smooth but stinging invective. Yet whatever its distinctive traits, they were intensified and excelled in the speeches that followed in the course of the contention.

The address issued by Clay to his constituents in relation to the Adams election scandal together with his speech at Lexington may only be mentioned. They are in his usual manner and contain many of the same forceful touches that distinguish his parliamentary war on Jackson. They are argumentative and historical, rather than phillipic, though charged with spirit and feeling. His remarks upon the Bank veto present a new phase of attack, and though dignified are uncommonly caustic and severe. But the next speech of the series evinces the full growth of his antagonism and is marked by every excellence of style which made his power unequalled in political debate. It opened the discussion of the now historic removal of the deposits.

It is impossible even now to study Jackson's administration unmoved. It is amazing to trace step by step his extraordinary assumptions. As had been foretold, his high-handed proceedings in the Seminole war were apt fore-runners of what would follow his admiring exaltation. They were the fit beginning of his rampant career. And his assumptions were no more remarkable than his pertinacity in adhering to them. His wanton policy was only measured by the wild insanity of his partisan hate. Audacity had won him distinction, and he used the same means to increase it. Soon forgetful of the primal theory of his Democratic creed, he pressed his new dogmas with a vigor and violence that executive patronage made irresist-

ible. In short order, he had transformed the public into a Jacksonian empire. Then came the war on the Bank, imperial and malevolent, unwarranted and unjust; then the removal of the deposite, like thunder from a clear sky. And this despotic act brought down upon him all the maledictions of the Whigs, whose alarm was neither feigned nor excessive; and Clay's resolutions and speech were the signal for the last stand.

This speech is one of the ablest he ever delivered. Naked statement and cogent, exhaustive reasoning are combined with impassioned denunciation. It has few equals of its kind in the language and was "one of the most masterly efforts ever heard within the walls of the Capitol." Jackson's financial exploits are vividly arrayed and his extravagant pretensions are handled without mercy. It is difficult to find in this, as in the other speeches, seperable passages to quote, so completely are all his considerations blended with the main design; but there are few speeches of our statesmen that will better reward the attention of the historical student. While its partisanship may appear to some as too intense, we nevertheless feel its deep sincerity; and hereditary admirers of Jackson would do well to study its facts and its reasoning before pronouncing the opposition of such statesmen as Webster and Clay factious and unsound.

A fitting and worthy supplement to this speech was delivered some three years subsequently, at the passage of Benton's expunging resolution—the most preposterous thing the Senate ever did. It reflects the qualities of its predecessor, though marked by less asperity: and as a piece of sarcasm when argument is useless its conclusion is extremely good. But his second speech on the Sub-treasury scheme was his last systematic blow at the Jackson dynasty, VanBuren being President. His arraignment of Jackson, to say nothing of his successor, was the most trenchant invective he ever pronounced. Long practice on the theme had doubtless strengthened his powers to treat it; and perhaps no one thing was more influential in bringing about the Whig success of 1840. The plan of the speech was bold, and novel in its execution, considering its purpose leaves nothing to desire. It is a gilded raw-hide wielded as the last chance. His opinions of Jackson and his administration are summarized in the following passages:

"War and strife, endless war and strife, personal or national, foreign or domestic, were the aliment of the late President's existence. War against Bank, war against France and strife and contention with a countless number of individuals. The wars with Black Hawk and the Seminoles were scarcely a luncheon for his voracious appetite and he made his exit from public life announcing war and vengeance against Mexico and the State Banks."

Again :

"His administration consisted of a series of astounding measures which fell upon the public ear like repeated bursts of loud and appalling thunder. Before the reverberations of one peal had ceased, another and another came louder and more terrifying. Or rather, it was like a volcanic mountain emitting frightful eruptions of burning lava. Before one was cold and crusted, before the voice of the inhabitants of the villages and cities were hushed in eternal silence, another more desolating was vomited forth extending wider and wider the circle of death and destruction."

Of his purely argumentative speeches little need be said. They were made upon occasions which called alone for argument, and to discuss them in this aspect would evolve his whole system of statesmanship and economy. Nevertheless, for style and construction they honor the vernacular. Those, for instance, in support of the American System contain the most admirable as well as the most practical exposition of the protective theory as applied to this country, while that on the recognition of the South American Republics is a model of sound logic and fine expression.

This simple classification may afford an idea of the dimension and variety of his powers. The task, however, has been slighted by attempting to study these speeches, so far as possible, apart from the politics with which they were connected. They cannot in fairness be weighed alone in the delicate and exacting scales of literary criticism; they helped make history. Whatever the sentiment, we doubt not its sincerity. Whatever the argument, there is no obscurity. Whatever the materials, they fit like mosaics. Whatever the subject, we are charmed by the copious ease of his diction. There are no sudden bursts of eloquence surrounded by a desert of dullness capable of being severed with heightened effect. Style, sentiment, argument and purpose are always in harmony and inseparably bound together. All in all, his utterances become the greatest political genius America has yet produced. He will rise in the esteem of the future. Admirers of his speeches will increase, if not numerous enough to form a current of literary opinion, they will at least admire in silence, and a niche in the library wall will hold a bust of Henry Clay.

Chas. H. Beck,

TORYISM IN THE CANADIAN CONFEDERATION

He who essays to write history should respect facts. To obscure them by half-statements or by making assertions based on insufficient evidence is in effect direct misstatement. Mr. Griffin, in his article on "The Consolidation of Canada," published in the April number of this Magazine, tells us, "Many citizens of the Young Dominion had no faith in its future. They predicted all kinds of disasters and declared that the consolidation of Canada could never be anything more than a name." The writer might fairly have stopped here. But when he proceeds to indicate that these "doubting Thomases" were all Reformers, while the Confederationists were Conservatives, he belies the party record of the past twenty-five years. The paragraph to which I take special exception is as follows: "So the people formed themselves into two parties, the Dominionists and Provincialists, the one having unbounded confidence in the future of enlarged Canada, and holding that where the interests of one of the provinces conflicted in any matter with those of the country at large, the province must give way to the Dominion; the other taking a most gloomy view of the future of the Confederation, and insisting that the autonomy of the provinces should be restored in part, at least. Most of the Dominionists allied themselves with the Conservatives, while the Provincialists joined the Reformers, and thus, while the names Dominionist and Provincialist have never been used to designate the two parties, the distinguishing characteristic of the one is nationalism and that of the other provincialism. No review of Canadian history since the Confederation that ignores this distinction can satisfactorily explain the present situation, and no forecast of the future is reliable unless it takes this into account." Now, if this means anything it is that to the Tories Canada owes Confederation, and that the Reformers were, and yet are, ranged in opposition to the scheme and its principles. I propose to elucidate some facts bearing on this statement.

That there is a marked difference between the Tory and Liberal views of Confederation I grant. The Liberals hold and always have argued that the less the federal authority intermeddles with affairs of purely local concern the better; that the interests of the nation would be best conserved by recognizing the fullest degree of provincial autonomy consistent with the letter and spirit of the Act of Confederation; that, within their

spheres, the peoples of the provinces should be clothed with full legislative powers, and that the Federal Government should not encroach upon them ; that the veto power should be sparingly exercised and that the less legislative friction produced the better for the general good. They did not forget the fact that each of these provinces were supplied with an equipment of legislative machinery, and they pointed out that the confederated nation would become, as it were, the multiple of which the several provinces were the units—not the unit of which they were the factors—and asked that in matters which were of purely provincial interest the federal authorities be completely isolated. They appreciated the fact that the federal system always presupposes the existence of an autonomy, and they objected to sinking it in a legislative union. They advocated Confederation and were content to give up, and a majority of the people, in the B. N. A. Act, agreed with them in giving up to the Central Government that proportion of authority necessary to the smooth working of Confederation. A brief *résumé* of the events leading to, and subsequent to the passage of, the Act of Confederation may be of value in determining the position of Reformers on the question and of estimating what measure of praise or blame attaches to their action in that regard.

The Government under which Confederation was accomplished was a coalition. A series of Parliamentary deadlocks had threatened the very existence of government, and a temporary union of forces was resorted to in order to carry some scheme which might once more put the legislature on a working basis. Of that government Hon. George Brown, the then leader of the Liberal Party, was President of the Council ; and Hon. John A. Macdonald, now the Rt. Hon. Sir John, was Attorney-General West. Mr. A. Mackenzie, Member for Lambton, and subsequently premier in the Reform Administration from 1873 to 1878, was then in the Assembly, and to note the part taken by them may be pertinent to the issue. Here, however, I may say that a union of the provinces was not at all a new consideration when it was discussed by the Conference of Delegates, at Quebec, in 1864. I find that as far back as 1831, Mr. Wm. Lyon Mackenzie, leader of the Upper Canada Radicals, declared that he wished with his whole heart that there could be a union of all the British North American provinces. In the year 1837, both Houses of the Imperial Parliament adopted a resolution setting forth that for reasons given, "It is expedient that the Legislatures of the said provinces respectively be authorized to make provision for the joint regulation and adjustment of such their common interests." Thus, it seems, that a very early official directory impulse to the movement emanated from Britain. In the year following (1838) I

find the Colonial Office thus expressing itself: ". . . It will be for your Lordship, in conjunction with the Committee to consider . . . some joint legislative authority, which should preside over all questions of common interest to the two provinces, and which might be appealed to in extraordinary cases to arbitrate between contending parties in either, preserving, however, to each province its distinct Legislature, with an authority in all matter of an exclusively domestic concern." (*Vide* Lord Durham's Instructions, 1838.) In the following year (1839) Lord Durham recommended a scheme for a union of Upper and Lower Canada, to which, by mutual consent, the other provinces might be admitted. He recommended the appointment of a commission charged with the arrangement of the constituencies and representation on a basis of population; the establishment of local legislatures with *exclusive* domestic control, and protected by Imperial Act from federal encroachment, and a Supreme Court of Appeal. (*Vide* his report, 1839.) In the same year, Lord John Russell introduced a bill, based on these recommendations, into the Imperial House, but on the second reading, it met with much opposition and was withdrawn. In 1849 (a year made memorable by the issue of the celebrated Annexation Manifesto, signed by so many of the leading Tory politicians of the federated Canada of to-day), the British American League, in a manifesto, expressed its advocacy of union, with increased powers of self-government, but did not define the system. In that year some such union was felt to be a necessity, and that "peace and prosperity were endangered" for lack of it, the official statement of the basis, on which the Brown-Dorion government was formed, expressing it in so many words. Thus it will be seen that there had been a long period of constitutional unrest out of which our politicians looked for some such solution as we obtained in Confederation. I come now to some evidence more clearly indicative of the parts played by Toryism and Liberalism in the great constitutional drama.

In 1859 the Lower Canada Liberal members issued a manifesto, in which it was asserted that "the true, the statesmanlike solution is to be sought in the substitution of a *purely federative* for the present so-called Legislative Union. . . . The proposal to federalize the Canadian Union is not new. . . . It was no doubt suggested by the example of the neighboring States where the admirable adaptation of the federal system to the government of an extensive territory, inhabited by people of divers origins, creeds, laws, and customs, has been amply demonstrated; but shape and consistency were first imparted to it when it was formally submitted to Parliament by the Lower Canada Opposition (Reform), as offering in their

judgment the true corrective of the abuses generated under the present system." We get a fairly representative expression of Reform opinion in the resolutions unanimously adopted by the National Liberal Convention, consisting of five hundred and seventy delegates from all parts of Western Canada, which met in Toronto in 1859. They declared for "the formation of two or more local governments, to which shall be committed the control of all matters of a local or sectional character, and some joint authority charged with such matters as are necessarily common to both sections of the province," and that "no government would be satisfactory to the people of Upper Canada which is not based on the principle of representation by population." During the following session of Parliament which opened at Quebec, on February 28, 1860, Mr. Geo. Brown moved these resolutions on the floor of the House, and on May 8, they were defeated by large majorities. (*Vide Journals of the House*, 1860.)

In conformity with the resolution of a large Parliamentary Committee, composed of most of the members of the House, and which was moved for by Mr. Brown, to consider methods for the extrication of the country from the grave situation in which the deadlock in legislation placed it, Messrs. Brown, McDougall and Mowat entered into coalition with their Conservative opponents for the express purpose (*vide* Mr. John A. Macdonald's speech, *Confed. Deb.*, 1865, page 26) of bringing about a union of the provinces, a perfect understanding to that effect being precedent to the compromise. They went before their constituents on this understanding, with the result that Messrs. Brown and Mowat were unopposed, and although Mr. McDougall was defeated he was immediately after elected by acclamation for another constituency. Nor was public sentiment less emphatically expressed in the elections of the members who went before their constituents after the disclosure of the Government's policy at Charlottetown. Thirteen elections for the Legislative Council took place; only three candidates declared themselves opposed to the scheme of Confederation, and of these but one was returned. Eleven elections for the Assembly were held and not an opponent of the scheme was returned. A man of less temerity than Mr. Griffin, with these facts accessible to him, would have been deterred from making such a statement as I have just quoted. The fact is, the country was ripe for the scheme, and "though extreme parties here and there grumbled at these arrangements, the great body of the people of all shades of opinion, thankful that the dangerous crisis had been safely passed, gladly accepted the situation and calmly and confidently waited the progress of events. Never before had coalition been more opportune." (McMullen's *History of Canada*, chap. xxvi.)

While participating in the canvass in favor of the scheme, Hon. Mr. Brown and a number of his colleagues attended the meeting of a Conference of Delegates from the Maritime Provinces, held at Charlottetown, P. E. I., with a view to bringing about a Confederation of those provinces, and so ably did they present their views that the conference abandoned the lesser scheme and agreed upon a meeting of delegates from all the provinces, to be held at Quebec, on the 10th of October, 1864. In the interval, Hon. Mr. Brown and several of his colleagues canvassed New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, and did much to press on the people the merits of the scheme of federal union. Of Mr. Brown's devoted and disinterested patriotism and the earnestness, vigor and persuasiveness of his advocacy of Confederation, at the Quebec Conference, supporter and opponent alike testify. To his broad statesmanship and keen perception is due in a marked degree the measure of perfection attained in the resolutions agreed to by that body. It is not too much to say, that the spirit of forbearance and generosity manifested by him and his Reform colleagues—their willingness to waive minor points and meet as far as possible the views of representatives of all sections of the country in the promotion of the general good—was indispensable to the success attending the undertaking.

The series of resolutions adopted at the Quebec Conference were introduced simultaneously into the Legislative Assembly and Council of Canada, on the 3d of February, 1865. On February 20th, they received the approval of the Legislative Council by a vote of 45 to 15 and, on the 23d, that House waited on His Excellency, the Governor-General, with an address, praying that a measure based on these resolutions be submitted to the Home Government. In the Assembly the debate was of great interest, being confined to the main motion, owing to Hon. Attorney-General Macdonald moving the previous question, the resolutions being adopted on March 10, by a vote of 33 to 13, and on the 14th of the same month this House also presented His Excellency with an address. Having shown how evenly parties were balanced, I might confidently submit my case to the judgment of the intelligent reader. But I have a much better case made out for me in the public records of the utterances of representative Liberals on the subject. They show that while, for reasons which I will have occasion to refer to subsequently, individual Reformers felt constrained to vote against the scheme at that juncture, there were not lacking Tories similarly disposed. They show also, that the Reform leaders went heart and soul into the work of Confederation, accepting the scheme as embodying in the greatest measure then attainable the principles which a generation of Reform had advocated; and that with some, at least, of the Tory leaders,

acquiescence in its provisions was but a *sine qua non* to the retention of office ; in short, that when their acceptance was found to be coupled with the retention of power the principles to which they had hitherto given a consistent and strenuous opposition suddenly found favor in their eyes. On April 14, 1864, Hon. Attorney-General Macdonald voted that there were no constitutional changes necessary ; but on the following day he found his government defeated, promptly reconsidered the matter and voted that there was urgent need for such changes (*vide Journals of the House*, 1864). When Hon. Mr. Brown's committee was asked for, I find that he voted against it, and again, when he became a member of that committee, he recorded his vote against the principles of Confederation. He was consistent in so doing, as he strongly advocated legislative union in opposition to the federal system ; although when the adoption of the latter promised the renewal of an expiring lease of office he did not hesitate to accept. It was an action quite in keeping with his course on the questions of the Secularization of the Clergy Reserves, the abolition of the Seigniorial Tenure and the introduction of the elective principle into the Legislative Council, to all of which he gave ten years of consistent opposition and then, under similar circumstances, Saul-like, became as suddenly convinced of their desirability as he temporarily did of Confederation. In the official record of the *Confederation Debates*, page 29, we find him quoted as follows : " Now as regards the comparative advantages of a Legislative and a Federal Union, I have never hesitated to state my own opinions. I have again and again stated in the House, that, if practicable, I thought a Legislative Union would be preferable. I have always contended that if we could agree to have one government and one parliament, legislating for the whole of these peoples, it would be the best, the cheapest, the most vigorous, and the strongest system of government we could adopt It was found that any proposition which involved the absorption of the individuality . . . would not be received with favor by her people. . . . There was as great a disinclination on the part of the various Maritime Provinces to lose their individuality, as separate political organizations, . . . so that those who were, like myself, in favor of a Legislative Union, were obliged to modify their views and accept the project of a Federal Union as the only scheme practicable." How different this sentiment to that desire for Confederation expressed by the Liberals for years prior to the decisive discussion ! No clearer expression of preference for Legislative Union, or candid admission that he unwillingly accepted the situation, could be adduced. He had been a consistent opponent of Confederation up to the defeat of his Government in April, 1864, and his

inconsistency in supporting the terms agreed upon at the Quebec Conference extended over but a brief period, since which he has persistently worked toward a realization of his ideal of a Legislative Union by a series of systematic unconstitutional attacks upon the rights of the Provincial Legislatures, which, happily, owing to the fact that the court of final resort—the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council—is beyond his influence, have thus far failed in producing the desired disintegration or modification of our system.

Hon. Mr. Brown and Mr. A. Mackenzie gave no uncertain sound on the question. In the case of the Reform leader I refer the reader to the official record of his utterances in *Confederation Debates*. His splendid orations, particularly those found on pp. 84-115, 709-710, and 989-995, are the expressions of a vigorous and well-informed mind fired with the devotion of true patriotism and conscious that the realization of the aims of a lifetime was about to receive its consummation. Mr. Mackenzie's views similarly expressed will be found on pp. 421-434, and at various other stages of the debate. The Reform leaders rejoiced in the success of the measure and they did so with the approval of the great mass of their followers. Individual members strongly advocated the submission of the scheme to the people, but the government felt that however constitutionally correct might be their contention it was likely to imperil the success of the undertaking and cause a lapse into that very condition from which the coalition had been formed to extricate the country. I am not prepared at this day to indorse their view or to sit in judgment on those who, upon this ground, cast their votes against the measure. They were not confined to one party, but included prominent members of both, and in their contention they were supported by the chief Tory organ in Upper Canada, the *Toronto Leader*.

Reformers did not accept the terms as incapable of improvement. They did not regard it as did Attorney-General Macdonald, who, in his new-born fervor for Confederation (p. 32 *Confed. Deb.*), said: "I think and believe that it is one of the most skillful works which human intelligence ever created." They looked upon it, in the words of Hon. Mr. Brown (p. 995, *Confed. Deb.*), as "an admirable compromise," considering the vast and varied interests involved. Hon. Mr. Brown saw in it the foundations for a Dominion stretching from ocean to ocean (p. 86 *Confed. Deb.*), but he was not unconscious of the elements of danger it contained. With Mr. Mackenzie and the rest of his colleagues he appreciated the fact (pp. 108 and 427, *Confed. Deb.*), that great intelligence and political knowledge on the part of the people and honesty on the part of those intrusted with the

administration of government would be necessary to realize the full benefits of the principle involved in Federal Union. He joined Mr. Mackenzie in his advocacy of the abolition of the Second Chamber, but waived the point rather than jeopardize the general result. To quote Mr. Brown's exact words (p. 87 *Confed. Deb.*): "It was necessarily the work of concession; not one of the thirty-three framers but had, on some points, to yield his opinions; and for myself, I freely admit that I struggled earnestly, for days together, to have portions of the scheme amended." He opposed the Provincial Subsidies clause and advocated instead, that the expenses of the local governments be defrayed by direct taxation. Had it been so arranged I believe the people would have obtained cheaper and better government, both Dominion and Provincial, and that what promises to become a very grave source of difficulty would have been avoided. With a single chamber the travesty on legislation annually enacted by our Senate would have been impossible. But these aims could not be realized; concessions had to be made by all in order to arrive at any agreement and they were a part of the Reform sacrifice. But the Tory leader's hostility to Confederation was exerted in more than one direction while the final arrangements were being made, and there are not lacking reasons for suspecting him of attempting to influence, at least one of the deputation of four who went over to confer with the Imperial Government, in order to seduce him from his allegiance to the scheme. I am aware that great credit is claimed for Sir John A. Macdonald in the bringing in of the North-west Territory, but the basis is purely hypothetical—an instance of his application of the doctrine of expediency. Mr. Macdougall (who was then a member of Sir John's cabinet) in his famous pamphlet, says: "I am disclosing no secret of the Council-room when I affirm that in September, 1868, except Mr. Tilley and myself, every member of the Government was either indifferent or hostile to the acquisition of the North-west Territory. When they discovered that a ministerial crisis . . . could only be avoided by an immediate agreement (and immediate action) to secure the transfer of these territories to the Dominion, they were ready to act."

Imperfect as the Confederation Act is, the only difficulties experienced in operating it are of a kind directly traceable to the hostility to the federal system entertained by those intrusted with the administration of the affairs of State. It is impossible, in the space of a single article, to do more than mention in passing a few of the evidences on the part of Toryism to trench on the reserved prerogatives of the legislatures, which have occasioned so much friction in Confederation. The principal attacks have been made upon Ontario, and a few specimens may be cited. The settle-

ment of the northerly and westerly boundaries of the province, referred to a Board of Arbitrators during the term of Mr. Mackenzie's administration and adjudicated upon in 1878, the award of the arbitrators being made on August 3d of that year—just one month and fourteen days before the Reform defeat—was repudiated by the Macdonald government on its accession to power. The award involved (in round numbers) 100,000 square miles of territory, much of which is valuable for its timber and minerals, and, under the decision of the arbitrators, was declared to be a part of Ontario. The Dominion Government disputed the claim for years, the premier, Sir John A. Macdonald, declaring that "not one stick of timber, not one pound of ore," would ever belong to Ontario. Strangely enough, he was sustained, in the effort to plunder the province, by its Tory representatives in the House! Negotiations for the submission of the case to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council proved, for a long time, abortive, the Dominion refusing, in the interim, to recognize the right of Ontario to exercise her powers in the maintenance of law and order in the territory of which it was desired to despoil her. The case had been further complicated by the Federal Government arbitrarily handing over a portion of the territory to Manitoba. Ultimately the case was carried before the Privy Council, the Dominion, notwithstanding an expressed willingness to have the whole difficulty finally settled, declining to join to have the north-easterly boundary defined. The result was eminently satisfactory to Ontario, the judgment of their lordships being on the line of the award, and almost in its precise language. The Federal Government still resists the award, however, by refusing to make restitution to the province of the vast quantities of valuable timber sold therefrom and parceled out among their supporters while the case was pending. Within the past few months a test case has been entered, and already the Chancery Court and Court of Appeals have given judgments in favor of the province, and I do not doubt the issue. The Streams Bill, an Ontario measure, frequently disallowed by the Dominion Government, was another source of difficulty, and, like the Boundary Award case, was carried to the highest court in the realm, and the right of the province to enact such legislation triumphantly vindicated. The Hodge case, the Insurance case, the Escheats case, each in turn were struggled over, in every instance the Tory Government at Ottawa being the aggressor, and the decisions invariably justifying the contention of the province. Recently great demoralization threatened the liquor traffic, owing to a conflict of authority precipitated by Sir John A. Macdonald. The licensing function, specifically and *exclusively* reserved for the provinces by the B. N. A. Act, he deter-

mined to seize upon, informing a gathering of his followers at Yorkville that he would "humble that little tyrant, Mowat," by taking from the province the control of the licenses. He declared the excellent provincial enactment, familiar as the "Crooks Act," was "not worth the paper it was written on," and staked his reputation as an authority on constitutional law upon the result. He passed his Act, and, after some delay, appointed inspectors and commissioners, who proceeded to collect fees and issue licenses, and at once a case to test the question was submitted. The Canadian Supreme Court was against him, but he did not allow it to rest there. It was carried to the Privy Council, and with the usual result of affirming the right of the provinces to exclusive control within their spheres, to which it was decided to have been relegated. At this session of Parliament, in progress as I write, it is proposed to appropriate a large sum to pay the expenses of the attempted enforcement of the unconstitutional License Act, and to recoup those from whom money was extorted for worthless licenses. The policy of interfering with the Provincial Legislatures in matters amply within their competence, and disallowing acts of great local importance, thus necessitating vexatious strife and costly appeals to the Privy Council, the expenses of which fall upon the province attacked, both as plaintiff and defendant, is pursued in conformity with the well-known desire for legislative union and contempt for local authority which mark the course of the present Tory premier, and it has not tended toward the consolidation of which Mr. Griffin writes. It is the merest obscurantism to call Reformers "Provincialists." They are the true friends of Confederation who scrupulously respect the authority of the provinces and of the Dominion, each within its sphere. The indisputable fact that in each of six consecutive contests of authority, brought up through the courts to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, the federal authorities were decided to be the aggressors, ought at once to settle the question as to responsibility for the friction engendered in the Confederation machinery. In none of these cases has the fault been one inherent in the federal system. They were purely of administrative origin, and sprung from the present premier's centralization policy and the supineness of his Ontario following. No law has a fair trial when its administration is intrusted to hostile hands.

In 1872 government pledged the country to the construction, within ten years, of the Canada Pacific Railway. Mr. Griffin says the Provincialists—which term he applies to Reformers—opposed the building of it from the first. They did protest against undertaking such an engagement on such terms. I do not think the result discredits their foresight,

as—after an expenditure of money, enormous for our population and resources, and after giving away the road, paying a company many millions of dollars, and 25,000,000 acres of land to bribe it to own and operate it, and giving it an absolute twenty years' monopoly of the North-west, together with perpetual exemption from taxes—we are likely to have the road opened during the present month. The policy of the Reformers was to build the road as speedily as the resources of the country justified and the needs of settlement required; and on that principle Mr. Mackenzie proceeded, with the approbation of no less a Tory authority than Dr. Tupper, Minister of Public Works in the Conservative Government, now High Commissioner to England. He said: "I feel that the Ministry of the day are entitled to the support of this House, and especially of those gentlemen on the opposition benches, in any measure which is required to carry out the pledge—perhaps a somewhat imprudent pledge—that was given by their predecessors in relation to this work; and I feel that they may look to this side of the House for their most energetic support of the measures they have taken—I believe wisely taken—for the redemption of that pledge." That was his opinion of the Reform policy as recorded in *Hansard*, 1875. One circumstance in the history of this work seems to have been overlooked by Mr. Griffin, "without which no review of it will be complete." I allude to the celebrated scandal growing out of the sale by Sir John A. Macdonald of the charter of the C. P. R.'s, his acceptance of a sum approximating \$360,000, to be used, and which was proven to have been used, as a huge bribery fund, and his consequent fall in disgrace. The report of the Royal Commission, which investigated the matter, and Lord Dufferin's dispatch to the Home Government on the subject, will convince the most incredulous, and give an insight into Tory methods more clear than any other single Canadian public document of which I am aware.

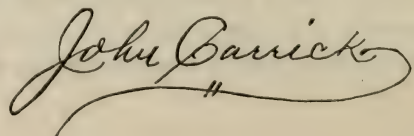
A few of the more important measures passed by the Reform Government, 1874-1878, may be mentioned: The Controverted Elections act, placing the trial of elections in the courts; the Insolvent act; the Supreme Court act; the Ballot act; the Farmers' Sons' Franchise act; the Petition of Right act, by which citizens' claims against the government may be enforced; the New Postal act; the Maritime Court act; Improvements to the Election Law; the Independence of Parliament act; the Public Accounts Audit act, which places the auditor beyond the control of the ministry of the day; the Canada Temperance act, giving local option; the Homestead Exemption act; Criminal and Railway Statistics acts; the General Insurance act; the acts organizing the North-west Terri-

tories; Improvements to the Extradition Laws, and many others of great and permanent importance. During its term much correspondence passed between the Canadian and Home Governments on the instructions given Lord Dufferin, which directed him to "extend or to withhold a pardon or reprieve according to (his) your own deliberate judgment, whether the members of our said Privy Council concur therein or otherwise." Nothing could be more odious to a Liberal Government or subversive of the representative principle, and vigorous action on the part of Reform statesmen led to the omission of the offensive paragraphs from the instructions of his successor, Lord Lorne.

Mr. Mackenzie's government fell on September 17, 1878, on the question of protection, upon which the Tories appealed to the country, after bitterly denouncing the Reform Administration for an increase of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., imposed for the purpose of stimulating a declining revenue. The policy has been in force seven years, and no remark I could make could emphasize its disastrous failure or its influence for evil on the Government and on the country. Of Mr. Griffin's remarks anent the Metis chief, Riel, I submit they only serve to obscure the main question by raising a side issue. The real question is the government's treatment of the half-breeds, of whom Riel was the chosen leader. For years they had been asking redress, and government, Mr. Griffin admits, did not regard their prayers and entreaties until it became "wearied by their importunity." In the meantime tracts of land on which they were settled were given to speculating companies empowered to eject the unfortunates. Their treatment was a disgrace to Canada. To quote the chief Tory organ, the *Toronto Mail*, "Had they had votes, like white men, or, if like Indians, they had been numerous enough to command respect and overawe red tape, without doubt the wheels of office would have revolved for them; but, being only half-breeds, they were put off with an eternal promise, until patience ceased to be a virtue." For years petitions had been received and pigeon-holed, and, for the hundredth time, government had promised to "consider the request," when suddenly the rattle of musketry at Duck Lake awoke them to a realization of their folly. Mr. Griffin's remarks would lead to the inference that a commission had been appointed before the trouble developed. Such is not the case. The battle of Duck Lake took place on March 26, 1885; by the report of the commissioners before me I learn that they were appointed on March 30, just four days afterwards. I find that they dealt with 1,815 claims, 1,710 of which were proven, and that a very large number yet remain to be adjusted. The inference is plain.

In the first year of Confederation, 1867-8, our expenditure was \$13,486,-

092; in 1873-4, the year the Pacific Scandal Government was expelled from power, it had risen to \$23,316,316. In 1878-9, when the Reform Government was defeated, it was \$24,455,381, an increase of but \$1,129,065, although the retiring government, in 1873, had contracted for considerable increases. In 1884-5, after six years of Tory rule, it is \$35,037,060, with many large items of expenditure properly chargeable to current account charged to capital. The gross liabilities on July 1, 1867, were \$93,046,051; assets, \$17,317,410; in 1874, four months of which fiscal year the Tories were in power, they were \$141,163,551; assets, \$32,838,586; in 1878, when the Liberals went out, \$174,957,268; assets, \$34,595,199. Since then we have had a Tory Government, with Sir John A. Macdonald as premier, and on July 1, 1885, our liabilities were \$264,703,607; assets, \$68,295,915. Our gross debt now is probably close upon \$300,000,000. Much is made by Mr. Griffin of the proposal to give the North-west representation in the Dominion Parliament. Any one who cares to examine *Hansard* for some sessions past will find that the matter has been brought before the House several times by the Reform members, and that motions recognizing the propriety of granting such representation were defeated by strict party votes. The general charge of annexation tendencies launched at Liberals scarcely merits refutation; but if it did, it already has it in the honors heaped, by the present Tory Government, upon gentlemen who were but recently prime agitators in such a movement. But, I submit, it is not for an apologist for the present Canadian Government to hurl such a taunt. History will, I venture to say, class as true patriots many who are thus stigmatized. For the destiny of Canada I have no forebodings, however dark may be her political horizon or overcast her sky. Our troubles are not inseparable from our system; they are purely administrative, and the remedy is always available. I have a strong faith in the character of the Canadian people. They will yet shake off the incubus of debt and misrule which afflicts them, and, whether as an important part of federated Britain, a more closely welded Confederation of provinces, an independent nation, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, or a part of one great Anglo-Saxon-speaking America, their status is assured; and there will not be wanting in time of need men of "high heart and strong endeavor," who have the courage and patriotism to fight the battle of principle, though it doom them to perpetual opposition; and whose resolution will neither be seduced by the temptations of office nor coerced by taunts of political heresy.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "John Barwick". The signature is written in dark ink and includes a long, sweeping horizontal flourish at the bottom.

CEDAR MOUNTAIN *

I

By an order of the President, dated June 26, 1862, the Army of Virginia was organized, and Major-General John Pope was designated as its commander. This army comprised the various forces which had been acting independently, and without effective co-operation or satisfactory results, under Frémont, Banks, and McDowell. It was composed of three army corps and a division of cavalry, numbering in all an effective force of about 43,000 men. The troops of the Mountain Department which had been engaged in the campaign against Jackson constituted the First Corps, 11,500 strong, under Frémont; those of the Shenandoah Department, the Second Corps, numbering on paper 14,500, but, less detachments, really only 8,000 strong, under Banks; and those of the Rappahannock Department, excepting the Washington garrisons, the Third Corps, 18,500 strong, under McDowell. The cavalry, numbering about 5,000 horsemen, very imperfectly mounted and equipped, comprised two brigades under Brigadier-Generals Buford and Bayard. The Mountain Department and the Departments of the Shenandoah and Rappahannock were abolished.

General Frémont, unwilling to serve under General Pope, who was his junior in rank, and had been his subordinate in the West, asked to be, and was, immediately relieved of the command of the First Corps. The following correspondence is of interest in this connection:

Middletown, June 27, 12.30 P.M.

Hon. E. M. Stanton,

Secretary of War:

I respectfully ask that the President will relieve me of my present command. I submit for his consideration that the position assigned me by his recent order is subordinate and inferior to those hitherto conceded me, and not fairly corresponding with the rank I hold in the army. I further desire to call his attention to the fact that to remain in the subordinate command to which I am now assigned would virtually and largely reduce my rank and consideration in the service of the country. For these reasons I earnestly request that the President will not require the order to take effect so far as I am concerned, but will consent immediately to relieve me.

J. C. Frémont,

Major-General U. S. Army.

* Copyrighted by Alfred E. Lee.

War Department, June 27, 1862.

Major-General Frémont,

Middletown :

Your telegram requesting to be relieved from duty has been received and laid before the President, who directs me to say that, Congress having by special resolution vested him with authority to assign the chief command between officers of the same grade as he might consider best for the service of the country, without regard to priority of rank, he exercised that authority in respect to the Army of Virginia, as he has done in other instances, in the manner which, in his judgment, was required for the service, and without design to detract from the "rank and consideration" of any general. General Pope was the junior in rank, but of the same grade not only of yourself but also of Generals Banks and McDowell, neither of whom have considered their rank and consideration in the service of the country as a condition upon which they should withdraw from that service. The President regrets that any officer in the service should withdraw from the service of his country in any position where he is lawfully assigned by his commander-in-chief, but he cannot consistently with his sense of duty grant your request that an order made, according to his judgment, for the welfare of the nation, should not be required "to take effect so far as you are concerned." The obligation of duty is the same upon all officers in the service, whatever their rank, and if there be any difference it should be most readily observed by those of highest rank. Your request, therefore, to be relieved from your present command is granted. You will turn over your command and orders to the officer next highest in rank to yourself, and direct him to report to the Department for further orders.

Edwin M. Stanton,
Secretary of War.

General Rufus King, commanding at Fredericksburg, was assigned to lead the First Corps in lieu of Frémont, but the German troops who constituted the greater part of the corps indicating a strong desire to have Major-General Sigel for their commander, the orders were almost immediately so changed as to gratify their wishes. General Sigel had been sent by the War Department on the first of June to command the troops at Harper's Ferry under Banks, and after Jackson's retreat he had advanced with a division 5,500 strong to Middletown.

On the first of July the Army of the Potomac, beaten back by the combined forces of Lee and Jackson, withdrew to Harrison's Landing. At that time the Army of Virginia was scattered from Winchester to Fredericksburg, and it became the immediate concern of General Pope, looking to the contingencies of the near future, to concentrate the whole of his forces east of the Blue Ridge. He therefore directed that Sigel's Corps (lately Frémont's), at Middletown, should move by way of Luray and Thornton's Gap to Sperryville, and that Banks' Corps should come in on the left of Sigel's, six miles farther to the east. Of McDowell's Corps, the head-quarters of which were at Manassas Junction, Ricketts' Division

was directed to take its position at Waterloo Bridge, east of Banks, and King's Division was required to remain, as yet, at Falmouth. At Madison Court-house, twenty-five miles south of Sigel's new position, Buford's Cavalry, joined on the left by Bayard's, kept watch along the line of the Rapidan.

With a view to securing harmony and co-operation among the armies of the Union, particularly those operating in Virginia, Major-General Halleck was appointed (July 23) to the general command, with his head-quarters in Washington. To what extent this arrangement produced harmony, and with what success field operations in Virginia were supervised and directed from a desk in the Capital, will be seen in the sequel. While the foregoing preparations were in progress, General Pope, our new commander, introduced himself to us in a series of remarkable general orders. The first of these, dated from Washington, July 14, ran thus :

To the Officers and Soldiers of the Army of Virginia :

By special assignment of the President of the United States I have assumed command of this army. I have spent two weeks in learning your whereabouts, your condition, and your wants ; in preparing you for active operations, and in placing you in positions from which you can act promptly and to the purpose. These labors are nearly completed, and I am about to join you in the field. Let us understand each other. I have come to you from the West where we have always seen the backs of our enemies ; from an army whose business it has been to seek the adversary, and to beat him when he was found ; whose policy has been attack, and not defense. In but one instance has the enemy been able to place our Western armies in defensive attitude. I presume that I have been called here to pursue the same system, and to lead you against the enemy. It is my purpose to do so, and that speedily. I am sure you long for an opportunity to win the distinction you are capable of achieving. That opportunity I shall endeavor to give you. Meantime I desire you to dismiss from your minds certain phrases which I am sorry to find so much in vogue amongst you. I hear constantly of "taking strong positions and holding them," of "lines of retreat," and of "bases of supplies." Let us discard such ideas. The strongest position a soldier should desire to occupy is one from which he can most easily advance against the enemy. Let us study the probable lines of retreat of our opponents, and leave our own to take care of themselves. Let us look before us, and not behind. Success and glory are in the advance, disaster and shame lurk in the rear. Let us act on this understanding, and it is safe to predict that your banners shall be inscribed with many a glorious deed, and that your names will be dear to your countrymen forever.

Jno. Pope,
Major-General Commanding.

Read as a sequel to the campaign of which it was the unfortunate prelude, this pronouncement needs no exposition as a masterpiece of un-wisdom. On the 18th of July it was followed by a second order, also issued from Washington, declaring that "hereafter, as far as practicable,

the troops of this command will subsist upon the country in which their operations are carried on." When supplies were taken from the inhabitants, vouchers were to be given, payable at the conclusion of the war on proof of loyalty. A third order, dated Washington, July 20, proclaimed the summary and severe punishment of all bushwhackers and guerillas, with their aids and abettors. A fourth order, of July 23, likewise from Washington, directed the immediate arrest of all disloyal male citizens within our reach, and the expulsion beyond our lines of all such as refused to take the oath of allegiance. If any of the persons thus expelled should afterwards be found anywhere within the circuit of the Union pickets, they were to be treated as spies, and any citizen detected in violating the oath of allegiance administered to him in conformity with the order, was to be shot, and suffer confiscation of property. Verily, the Secession had fallen upon hard lines so far as orders and proclamations were concerned.

Sigel's Corps began its march eastward from Middletown on the 6th of July. The camps of Schurz's Division were pitched the next evening near Front Royal, and the division head-quarters were established at the house of a Mr. McKay, with whom the famous Confederate spy, Belle Boyd, then paroled, was staying. "Belle's appearance," says one of the division staff officers, "was not especially striking, except her large, black eyes, which were really fine. Her face was thin, and she looked fatigued and careworn. Apparently she was about thirty years of age."

McKay and family were fierce Secessionists, and refused to take "greenbacks" in pay for their hospitalities—that is to say, for meals and the privilege of sleeping on the floor. They insisted on payment in gold, but on being informed that they must accept the national paper currency or nothing, they chose the currency. On the 7th the First Corps crossed the Shenandoah River by pontoon bridges, and the march was resumed. The midsummer heat was intense, and the troops suffered much from the scarcity of water. The First Corps was at this time commanded by General R. C. Schenck, in the absence of General Sigel, who had been called to Washington on business connected with the reorganization of his command, much of which, at the time Sigel took charge of it, was in an exceedingly indifferent state of discipline and equipment.*

* The organization of the First Army Corps was at this time as follows: First Division, Brigadier-General R. C. Schenck commanding: First Brigade, General Julius Stahel; Second, Colonel N. C. McLean. Second Division, Brigadier-General A. Von Steinwehr: First Brigade, Colonel John A. Koltes; Second, Colonel Lloyd (afterwards Lieut.-Col. Gustav A. Mühleck). Third Division, Brigadier-General Carl Schurz: First Brigade, Brigadier-General Henry Bohlen (afterwards Colonel A. Schimmelpfenneg); Second, Colonel W. Krzyzanowski. Independent Brigade, Brigadier-General Robert H. Milroy. Detached Brigade, Brigadier-General A. Sanders

Milroy's Independent Brigade led the column, followed by Schenck's Division under Colonel Von Amsberg; Schurz's Division brought up the rear. Regardless of the excessive heat, and the absence of any special occasion for haste, Milroy rushed his men along so rapidly that many suffered permanent injury from exhaustion and sunstroke. On the evening of the 10th Schurz overtook the commands of Milroy and Von Amsberg encamped near Luray. This pretty village lies at the foot of the Blue Ridge, in the midst of a fruitful valley watered by the bright current of the Shenandoah. The war had caused, as yet, few ravages in this beautiful region. The fences were in order, the barns well filled, and the farmers undisturbed in the tillage of their land. Shields' Division, which had passed through the valley some weeks before, had committed no serious depredation.

Writing at this stage of the march a division staff officer says in his diary: "When we marched from Luray next day, Milroy, as usual, had the advance, followed by the First Division, and then by ours. We were ready to move at the time fixed, but the First Division did not stir. An aide was therefore despatched to Colonel Von Amsberg, inquiring the cause of the delay, and returned reporting that most of Milroy's men were yet in camp, having refused to march until they had drawn rations for the day; and that Milroy, after failing to persuade the men that rations would be brought up in the wagons, had gone off with one regiment, telling the others to go to the devil, and come on when they wanted to. On that same day, while we were crossing the Blue Ridge through Thornton's Gap, I saw General Milroy in another character. There were a great many cherry trees along the line of march, and they were fairly bending with the burden of their fruit. I had occasion to ride forward during a temporary halt, and found the men improving the few minutes allowed them to get as many cherries as they could. After passing through the First Division, I looked in vain for Milroy's men, although, since he had the advance guard, I expected to find his men kept together. At last I saw the muskets of a regiment, with knapsacks, coats, caps, and cartridge-boxes lying around, and here and there a soldier sleeping under the shade of a

Piatt. This brigade, though temporarily attached to the corps, really never served with it. The original intention was, that the brigades of Milroy and Piatt should form a division, under Milroy, but that design was not carried out. The artillery and cavalry of the corps were distributed amongst the various infantry brigades, but a cavalry brigade was afterwards organized under Colonel John Beardsley. The Blenker Division (infantry) was broken up, and its regiments were distributed among the divisions of Schenck, Von Steinwehr, and Schurz. The reserve artillery was commanded by Captain Louis Schirmer.

tree, minus his coat, boots, and accoutrements. I asked a tall sergeant carrying the limb of a cherry tree who these men were, and he replied, 'Milroy's.'

" 'And where is your general?' I asked.

" 'Why, don't you see him? There he is, in that cherry tree.'

"And sure enough, Milroy and his staff had climbed a cherry tree, and were enjoying the fruit as unconcerned as if they were at home, and no enemy at hand. The whole advance guard was picking cherries, the battery was standing in the road, and no pickets were stationed. It was fortunate that none of Stuart's cavalry happened to be around about that time. The following evening we arrived at Sperryville, and after the troops were encamped we established our head-quarters at the house of a Secessionist named Miller. *Three days later* the remaining regiments of Milroy's Brigade arrived."

In these incidents the reader will perceive something of the nature of General Sigel's task in bringing about a proper state of discipline and military *morale* in his new command. With its head-quarters at Sperryville, the First Corps covered, with two divisions—Schenck's and Schurz's—the roads centering at that village, while Von Steinwehr's Division held a post of observation at Luray, and occupied the pass over the Blue Ridge at Thornton's Gap. Milroy's Brigade pitched its camps at Woodville, a pretty hamlet on the Culpeper turnpike, three miles south of Sperryville, and here, after fifteen days' absence caused by sickness, the writer found again his comrades of the Valley Campaign. On the 19th of July a detachment comprising two infantry regiments, four guns and some squadrons of horsemen under Colonel Gustav P. Cluseret—he of Frémont's advance guard—was thrown forward to Criglersville, five miles north-west of Madison Court-house, to watch the enemy in that neighborhood, and act as a reserve to the cavalry brigade of General Buford. Cluseret had served over twenty years in the French army, in which he had fought at Algiers, in the Crimea, and in the Austro-Italian War. Coming to this country in 1862, he received an appointment as an additional aide-de-camp, and was assigned to duty with Major-General Frémont, in whose command he performed the services already narrated. Cluseret was an energetic and ambitious officer, brave even to recklessness. He knew little of the English language, and disdained to learn it. While he was stationed at Criglersville, he caused all the citizens of that neighborhood to be brought before him for the purpose of administering to them the oath of allegiance, as required by the orders of General Pope. In his broken English he addressed them as follows:

"All who vants to take ze oats go on zis side, and all who vants not to take ze oats go on ze ozer side."

The astonished Virginia farmers, hardly knowing what to make of this, thought the colonel wanted them to take back some wagon loads of oats which he had seized for the cavalry. Furious at this misapprehension, Cluseret began swearing in French, and told the bewildered rustics to go to "ze devil," when a member of his staff who could speak French explained to him the mistake he had made in his pronunciation and set matters right. After that Colonel Cluseret renounced the English language entirely.

In January, 1863, he was appointed a brigadier general, and commanded a brigade at Winchester; but during the ensuing May he resigned his commission, owing to some difference with General Milroy, commanding that department, and went to New York, where he became a correspondent of several French newspapers. After the war of 1870 between France and Germany, in which he participated, Cluseret took sides with the Paris Commune, and was arrested and condemned to death, but escaped.

After passing east of the Blue Ridge our troops were permitted to enjoy a period of rest, which was most opportune. The hardships of the Valley Campaign had been extreme, and the depletion of our regiments from the joint effects of sickness and the casualties of battle was enormous. Some of the newer regiments, which had gone into the campaign a thousand strong, had now not over two hundred and fifty men in the ranks. Many had perished from disease, and thousands were in the hospitals. Fortunately our camps were pitched in a healthful and agreeable region, and the weather was propitious for the recovery of the men from their campaign ailments. I venture to reproduce here, from my diary, the following description of the surroundings of Milroy's Brigade.

"July 25.—Camp Dewberry is the name given by our soldiers to their encampment near Woodville. It derives its name from the *Rubus Canadensis*, or trailing blackberry, which grows in great abundance in the unplowed fields of the neighborhood. The camp lies in the midst of a gently-rolling country, and commands a fascinating view of the distant mountains, and the intervening hills and valleys. Ranged along the western horizon, the notched outline of the Blue Ridge trends away to the northward, enveloped in a vapory shroud of delicate, ever-living blue. Through the long midsummer day

' White fleecy clouds
Are wandering in thick flocks along the mountains,
Shepherded by the slow, unwilling wind ;'

their shadows creep up and down the massive slopes of the range, and their silvery volumes group together and linger as if engaged in cloud gossip, or whispering their confidences to the solemn cliffs. When the sun goes down, the mountains project their lengthening shadows upon the heated camps, and as darkness gathers their giant forms are silhouetted against the star-sprinkled sky."

Camp life at Sperryville had also some interesting personal phases. Here is one taken, perhaps I should say purloined, from the diary of a young German officer of Schurz's Division.

"Whilst we were encamped near Sperryville, I made the acquaintance of a charming young lady, Miss Bertha H—. Captain G—, of an Ohio regiment, introduced me, and I soon found that Miss Bertha was a perfect lady, and very beautiful. Such eyes I never before beheld! Her mouth was dimpled and rosy, her teeth like pearls, her hair dark and wavy, and her figure delicately molded. She was highly accomplished, sang well, played the piano to perfection, and was called the belle of Sperryville. I must confess that the young Secesh damsel captivated me, and every afternoon found me in her delightful company. I endeavored to make myself as agreeable as I could, and Miss Bertha was particularly pleased with the little German songs I sang. She wanted to learn German, and we were getting along very well, when the order to march came, and all vanished. The parting was very affectionate, and she told me if I should ever be captured, to write a few lines to her through her father, the Honorable Mr. H—, a member of the Confederate Congress, and I would be well treated. I thanked her for her kindness, jumped on my horse, and never saw her again."

Alfred E. Lu

REMINISCENCES OF LIBBY PRISON

In approaching the somewhat forbidden topic of military prisons, I may in truth say that we have forgiven much and forgotten more ; with us, as with the schools of our childhood, there lingers the memory of only the pleasant. We are therefore willing to accord to our adversaries many deeds of heroism, of magnanimity, and of charity, satisfied that original sin is not always a constant factor. So, too, although we have exchanged volleys, both sides may have done so without undue animosity and with scarcely other than patriotic motives. Once a captive by the fortune of war the conditions were changed ; there were no political discussions, no vituperation of leaders, and no impugment of sincerity. Weapons, as contraband of war, were confiscated, and many a quarter-master's receipt was given for a good horse ; but life was safe and even feelings were respected. There was a sort of healing balsam in the greeting, " Well, boys, it may be our turn next and then don't you forget us," which took away the sting. And right here I desire to pay our captors a tribute, and more especially the detail of the Eighth Virginian Calvary which escorted us from Rogersville, Tennessee, through many a town on the march and by rail to Richmond. They foraged for us, they chatted with us, and rebuked the mobs that reviled us at the depots. " Only home-guards, boys," said they ; " never mind them, you have them too." They treated us so well, in fact, that we almost felt in honor bound not to attempt to escape. Then, as ever since, I realized that the true soldier is neither a brute nor a tyrant.

It was my fortune to have served with the Second East Tennessee Mounted Infantry, made up of mountaineers, and which, with others of like disposition, found active employment in raiding. It was very frequently decimated by details for scouting, and also made considerable of a record in the dangers of bridge burning. It likewise, in common with several other regiments from the same section of the Cumberland Range, waged a fierce war upon guerrillas.

Of these East Tennesseans it may be said they were men through whose veins coursed the blood of Covenanters mingled with that of the liberty-loving Hollander—all of them descended from conquerors of the wilderness, and were soldiers by birth and instinct, Indian fighters by inheritance, skilled in woodcraft, alert, tall, straight and wiry, who as martyrs centuries ago might have gone singing to the stake. Of intense individuality and

not much given to discipline, they expected from their leaders brave deeds as well as brave words. Of such lineage came the uncompromising Brownlow, and another equally intrepid parson, Carter, whose brother, the general, obtained a transfer from the navy that he might share his fortunes with his beloved neighbors in the service on land. Maynard, a patriot too, but eastern-born, and incorruptible Andy Johnson, the same grand figure no less behind than before the curtain of obloquy, had also cast their lot with these mountaineers, not in the field but equally effectively in the forum. These were the valorous yeomanry who tilled their own soil,—“poor whites,” not worth the ink of war correspondents, but to whom unionism meant exile, sundered ties and devastated homes, who knew their friends by whispered pass-words, who hid by day and crawled by night, who followed the flag with the eye of faith, and who, silent warriors as they were, went down to silent graves, many of them in the hour of deepest gloom. There were thirty thousand of them, more rather than less, to whom no Homer has yet come with glowing song. They were heroes known only to God. The Great Republic knows them merely as sparkles of patriotism.

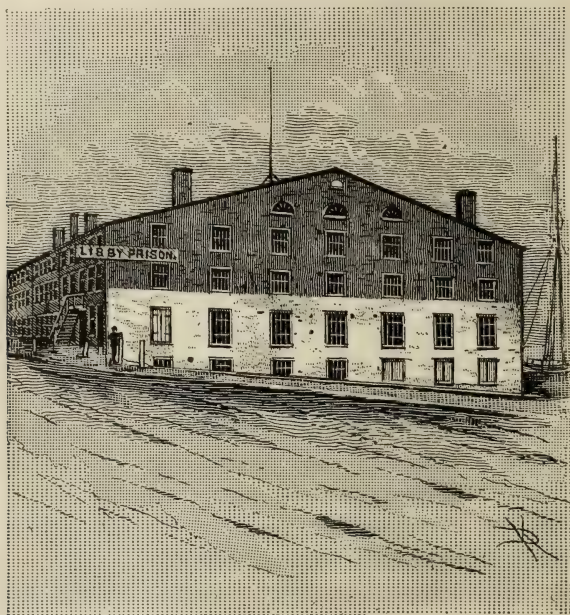
Our regiment, together with the Seventh Ohio Cavalry and a battery of artillery, was captured early one morning—not without a brisk fight—after a wild, howling storm, while on outpost duty at Big Creek, one of the forks of the Holston, four miles above Rogersville. The demonstration against us in particular which ended in our disaster was in fact part of that series of movements begun by Wheeler's Cavalry, which culminated later on in the siege of Knoxville. Burnside, with his Ninth Army Corps, with the baptism of the Fredericksburgh disaster, the idol of our section because he ever meant fight and was known for his even-handed justice, held the city until Sherman came to raise the siege. Soon after our disaster a Confederate captain rapidly selected from among his old neighbors five or six of our command, whom he claimed as deserters. The truth was that they had been “impressed,” but had not yet been “mustered in” before their escape to our lines. We left them in the cold gray morning, a sombre group around a burnt-out log fire under a close guard. Among them was poor Dabney, the bugler, the soul of our party, mimic, storyteller and wit, with streaming eyes looking away from a hilarious life into the gloom beyond—and Lincoln, too, for so we called him from his resemblance to the martyr President, straight and slender as a ramrod, with teeth set and his old, changeless battle face. Another was watching the curling clouds from a corn-cob pipe. The broken blue wreaths seemed mute emblems of crushed hopes, as they dissolved in the keen, frosty air. We never heard of them again—unflinching heroes all, beggars not even

for their lives. The neighbor had gratified his malice, his patriotism, perhaps even his conscience, but our execrations fell upon the Judas, and our prayers went out with the victims.

Perhaps Libby cannot be fairly regarded as the worst specimen of a prison; it certainly had none of the horrors of Andersonville, with its shifting dead line and slow starvation, but this might have been due to the more immediate espionage of our own government and its policy of checking cruelties by threatened reprisals. Thus, when the lots were drawn for two captains to be executed in retaliation for two rebel officers shot by Burnside in Kentucky for recruiting within the Federal lines, and the choice fell upon Henry Washington Sawyer, First New Jersey Cavalry, and John M. Flynn, Fifty-first Indiana Infantry, Secretary Stanton promptly notified General John H. Winder, Commandant of Prisoners, that a like doom would be meted out to General Lee and Captain Winder, both presumably near relatives of the more noted bearers of the same name. It is needless to say that there were no executions. Then, again, Libby was an officer's prison, and personal identity was not so likely to be lost; while of the rank and file in other prisons records were carelessly kept, names and regiments clerically twisted, in fact, the poor fellows became in many instances mere numerals.

After a somewhat labyrinthine march, we were halted in front of an old three-story brick building on the north bank of the James River, corner of Twentieth and Cary Streets, east side of the city. It still stands, a fertilizing depot very little changed in appearance, a point of attraction to visitors of the once proud Confederate Capital. Its dimensions were, and are, one hundred and fifty feet on the street by one hundred deep, the occupied space being broken into nine rooms, not including basements, which served, so rumor said, as bread and water dungeons. The building was three stories high and the gable made it imposing, as it was peaked at a very obtuse angle and had four tiers of seven windows each, overtopped by a single tier of only three windows. The front chimney served as a support for the Confederate flag, or at least for one of the many forms of that piece of bunting. As most of our readers know, this building once did duty as a tobacco warehouse, from whose proprietors it derived its name. During the war it had for its presiding genius Captain Thomas P. Turner, a sort of Falstaffian Dogberry with a gruff voice, whose obesity undoubtedly exempted him from service in the field. He was pompous, consequential, and generally wrathful. To quote a phrase from Hawthorne, his were "many acts, from which it were the best charity to turn one's eyes away." Still, no man is expected to speak well of his jailor; in fact, in some in-

stances, usage has made him the last man with whom one is expected to shake hands. At all events, I must needs vouchsafe him a kind remembrance, since once in my experience when brought before him, a victim of mistaken identity, he asked the guards to substantiate their charge by an oath; this they were unwilling to do, and so I was returned to my still desirable quarters. On this occasion he chided them sharply for their careless charges, reminding them that they had once brought before him a chaplain for profane swearing.



LIBBY PRISON, RICHMOND.

Our doughty captain received us with scant courtesy, volunteering the assurance that we should be kept perfectly safe at least from shot and shell. We were duly searched for valuables, and our greenbacks were exchanged for Confederate scrip, at the rate of one to ten, the currency of the foe, which was just then at a point of its greatest expansion. Our poverty, however, was at about its height, inasmuch as the sutler had forestalled the enemy. Then, "Fall in, prisoners—march," and the doors were barred and further secured by the guards without. Numerous cries now greeted us; "Fresh fish! Fresh fish!" as applied to all neophytes seemed the most prominent, especially at the start. "Not so bad, doctor, after all," said Captain Marney of Co. A., who chuckled to himself that oysters might be

included in the bill of fare. "What hotel, gentlemen?" "Fifth Avenue," "Prescott," "Girard," "Gibson," "Galt House," "This way, gentlemen," for all the world, I thought, like New York Jehus. Lighted lath sticks added a grotesque weirdness to the scene. "Don't join mess No. 22," bawled out another, "it is the meanest mess in Libby." "Where were you gobbled?" shouted another. "What's your corps?" "How are we doing in the West?" "Got any papers?" "Say, old fellow," piped out one of our tormentors to a foot-sore member of the party, "this is a good place to get shut of your gout." "Oh, yes! we know how it happened. Overwhelmed by superior numbers," chimed in another.

Our next step was to get into camp; in other words, to hunt for quarters for the night. We discovered no bunks, chairs, or seats. In the final triumph of the stomach, they had probably all gone for firewood. We soon rose in favor by reason of our facilities in adjudicating disputed plants, for we agreed, so it is said, to furnish two captains for *totem* posts, as each had a pronounced squint; and then we had to spare a lieutenant, a champion snorer who much resembled in figure Benjamin Franklin, of Printing House Square. To make my meaning more intelligible, we soon found that we had to stake out our own sleeping claims, and to recognize it by our neighbors on either side. Every new-comer deprived the aborigines of just so much ground, and every candidate for a fat man's club was looked upon with aversion as encroaching upon territorial rights. But few, and they the sound sleepers only, were permitted to pass the night on the floor except at the approved angles. We missed our saddles, which made excellent pillows in the field when a bivouac was ordered. Thus, without blanket or ponchon, and overrun by those atoms of creation which generally came to an ignominious end between two thumb-nails, we were expected to court the gentle god as best we could. Even Libby had its first families,—the original pre-emptors, after whom all others were but vulgar intruders, mere parvenues. Our aristocracy had grown gray in wisdom, if not in years. They were known as "old rats." Their pride was centered in the fact that they were the "Mayflowers" of the institution, and that here they intended to remain. One of them wore a faded black buckram cravat, very old, but stiff enough to keep the chin well aloft and his feet from stumbling. His hands would often wander to the upper brim in vain search for a collar. His coat knew a button or two, but how much there was beneath it would be temerity to guess. He was familiar with the Cabinet secrets of both sides, divined all movements, knew the blunders of every general, and could conduct a campaign as well as any newspaper editor of the day. How he came to Libby was a mystery, and how the war

closed without his aid is another. At all events, we accepted his authority on exchange, just as we would take any other food for the imagination. He, with a few companions, would stalk up and down the different rooms,—for we had a large liberty in that respect—and would occasionally in a figurative sense “wrap his black cloak around him gloomily and stand like one whom mightiest cares concern.” Another character was Brigadier-General Neal Dow, officially known as of the First Brigade, Second Division, 19th Army Corps, generally with book in hand and wearing a red fez cap without a tassel. He was then, as now, a vigorous temperance orator, and as the direct outcome of his teachings I may say that during my entire residence at the famous hostelry, I never saw a single case of intoxication. Sometimes he would burst out in diatribes against Jeff. Davis, taking due precaution that the guards were not within ear-shot. I remember how at least one fine invective was spoiled by a low whistle, and how intemperance and the Confederacy became most wofully mixed. Colonel Abel D. Streight, of Indiana, was another type of the soldier—tall, loud-voiced, and of robust physique, not given to economy in his denunciations of the “Johnny” government—a terror to the guards, who evidently did not desire him to commit an overt act. I left him there, to find his way out by the tunnel, and to become the occasion of a bad pun which precipitated the discovery of the plot, some one having explained to the prison clerk, confused in his count, for there never was a roll-call that “he couldn’t see *Straight*.” The pun took, but too late for the fortunate colonel. Lieutenant-Colonel J. M. Sanderson, popular with the prison authorities, was our commissary, and was subsequently commissioned by General Winder to issue the clothing sent by the United States Government to the enlisted men on Belle Island, the general depot of the Potomac army prisoners. He was slim, tall, with a pronounced military air, and the court of last resort on whist.

As regards the rations, I might premise the assertion that a Libby graduate never grumbles in any hotel, be it ever so humble. He has been taught by adversity. How we lived I have almost forgotten. There was a wide difference between rations on paper and rations consumed. We must have had soup at least, for almost every prisoner had some bone trinket of his own carving. Corn bread made from unbolted meal and generally regarded as “a dangerous missile,” coffee made of rye, quarter of a pound of meat per day, about two quarts of rice to every one hundred men, sweet potatoes occasionally, salt and vinegar in sufficient quantity, I think to be about a just statement. The writer was fortunate enough to win the confidence of a lieutenant of colored troops to the extent of about

three quarts of rice, for which said lieutenant had lost his appetite, but which he had hoarded for purposes of barter. Doctor Leary, the cook of our mess, South Carolinian by birth but Kansas Jayhawker by conviction, whose habits were all medical, was wont to announce its service every second hour. Still, in all honesty, our guards fared no better, but they with a larger liberty were better satisfied.

Of the much-talked-of essential cubic feet of air we certainly had our modicum, for in all Libby there was not a single pane of glass. Fuel was scarce, and all of us missed the ready fence rail. What soldier is there who will hew, split, or chop for himself, much less for another? So railings, partitions, and doors soon "vanished into thin air," as sacrifices to the great Moloch of our stomachs. Still, when perhaps for the sake of a little cheap sympathy, we afterwards reported to Surgeon-General Barnes, at Washington, he, with a merry twinkle in his eye, had the cruelty to inform us that "we did not seem very much emaciated." We were permitted to buy what we could from without, sometimes our guards, sometimes our own commissary, and sometimes the visiting clergymen were our purveyors, but prices were ruinously high—flour \$40 a barrel, potatoes \$16 a peck, with other necessities in proportion, and, worst of all, with a constant upward tendency. The situation was that of Wall Street, all bulls and no bears. Our adjutant embarked in an apple speculation, but did not protect himself well enough with collaterals, and so got only a portion of his money back by turning prison barber. I have recently heard of him as a fashionable dentist in Philadelphia. He was the factotum of our party, rollicky and gay; always fruitful in resources, always happy-go-lucky, and well deserving of his subsequent good fortune. Boxes from our friends North found their way through the lines, broken open and rifled at times, but always welcome. On these occasions not a little selfishness was exhibited; the happy recipients would hoard little squares of sugar and a modicum of coffee with as much care as the miser his gold; in fact, they would defer their consumption to the very last. With the fresh arrivals, whose purse and sword were, in true army style, at the service of every friend, this seemed indeed a strange manifestation of human degradation.

On Sundays, religious exercises generally crowded out all secular affairs. We had singing and prayer, and sometimes a sermon from clergymen of the various denominations outside our walls. To do the prison authorities justice, religious ministrations could be had for the asking. We knew the day by its quiet sobriety, and writing of letters which might or might not pass the lines! Week-days, however, changed the aspect of affairs. There was broad-sword exercise with whittled weapons of lath; there were classes

in French, German, trigonometry, stenography, and engineering; there were pastimes by way of chess, the titular dignitaries with rank duly inscribed and made of beef bones, button checkers, and every known game of cards. Moot courts were now and then held, the sentences of which partook of a Draconian severity—one poor fellow was exiled from Libby for having rehearsed his experience at Delmonico's, but heed was given to his appeals to remain. Sometimes an aide on General Fremont's staff regaled us with an air upon his violin. We thought him an Ole Bull, and his instrument a Cremona. He was a Hungarian by birth, and his strains were weirdly startling. There were some three or four quartettes who supplied the vocal music on national holidays, under imputations of attempts at riot and acts of insubordination toward the Jeff. Davis Government. At nine o'clock, when the few candles of the short-six brand were lighted, the fun began in earnest, and woe to the man of peculiarities, or as we would now call him, the crank! An ever ready source of amusement was a lieutenant of Ohio, who was exceedingly irascible and consequently the victim of every practical joke. Every night he was stumbled over by a misdirected stranger, and his barrel which he kept for his dead line was toppled down! Then would he make the air blue! For his credit I had better not say how, and the whole floor would break out into a pandemonium of most vociferous laughter. A ventriloquial voice would ask, "Who is the meanest man in Libby?" The honors were usually divided or answers varied by caprice. "Who thinks himself the handsomest man in Libby?" "McFadden," would respond a tremendous chorus. "Who greases his mustache with ham fat?" "McFadden." Now McFadden was voted vain, and worst of all, good looking. For a long time after his release he hailed on all hotel registers as from Libby Prison, Richmond.

At length the tormenting rumors of exchange which daily floated around the prison merged into reality, and the fiat of "Doctors, fall in," went forth. Need I say that every interested person found his place and that the valuables taken from us were only of secondary consideration in our minds? We went out in the next batch after the chaplains, and antedated the escape of the one hundred and fifteen through the tunnel, or the "Great Yankee Wonder," as it was afterwards known, when for a short time on exhibition. Of this daring exploit I know nothing personally. The painstaking operations must have been going on for weeks, and of course during our stay. Yet so well kept was the dangerous secret that literally no one knew of it but the workmen, and they communicated the fact only to their most intimate comrades. Once in the open air we breathed more freely, but still had our misgivings that something might

occur to mar our good fortune—most of all lest letters under our shoulder-straps and in our metallic buttons might be discovered. But matters went on smoothly for us until, after a somewhat bewildering march along docks and a river-front, we at last found ourselves under the hatches of the *Schultz*, a spiteful, noisy little craft used for the exchange of prisoners. Commissioner Robert Ould of the Confederacy accompanied us to our destination, but we saw nothing of him until the gang-plank connected us with the *City of New York* in Hampton Roads. He was dignified, suave, and courteous. He requested of us "John Brown," which was effectively rendered with a full chorus, as well as other army melodies. In the fullness of our joy, we really thought that he sympathized with us in our hilarity. He and Major Mulford talked over affairs in an official way, chatted with each other pleasantly, and then we learned that we were safe at last.

And with what grateful hearts did we once more behold that flag so lately scorned, mocked, derided, and execrated, now glorious with an effulgent halo! How brightly beamed its stars! How fervidly burned its crimson! How purely showed its white, and how bonny was its blue! To us, then, what an emblem of majesty it seemed. As the shipwrecked mariner drifting aimlessly upon an ungovernable raft greets a sail, as the invalid, wearied by the vigils of the night, hails the morn which exchanges bustle for monotony, as staggers the dazed culprit forth into liberty, so felt we when we clumsily clambered over into our boat as it rocked in the misty, moonlit sea. I would that the reader could have heard the jocund shout, the robust cheer, have seen the trickling tears of joy upon that night of nights, for were we not free? How some danced, how some turned somersaults, how some made a new theme of home, how some rolled out into space the marching soul of "John Brown's Body," how some proclaimed "the Year of Jubilee," and how some shouted their "Coming" way down to "Father Abraham" in Washington! Can it be told how clamor murdered sleep? How all forgotten were wails, shrieks, and moans, "the quick prayers of sudden deaths," the gleaming blade, the crashing bullet, the screaming shell, for were we not beneath scudding clouds, splashing through the foaming waves of the Chesapeake? And were we not singing, as we may never so lustily sing again, that old, old melody of "Home, Home, Sweet Home?"

John Shradley, M.D.

AN OLD MORMON CITY IN MISSOURI

Old Far West, formerly a thriving and busy city, and the Mormon Mecca in Missouri, which is now reduced to meadows, pastures, and corn-fields, and known only in history, was founded in 1836, and for three years, up to autumn of 1839, occupied by the Mormons. It was a prosperous city, with a population at one time reaching into thousands. Substantial frame and log dwellings and a school-house were built, and mills, shops, and stores were erected and opened, and there pervaded the settlement an air of industry and thrift never before known so far west. Joseph Smith, the founder of Mormonism, and the recognized head of the Church of Latter-Day Saints, came out from the Mormon colony of Kirtland, Ohio, and assumed control and government of this settlement early in the spring of 1838, but during the summer of that year disturbing quarrels arose among the Mormons themselves. These were first produced by the actions of the so-called prophet Smith and his immediate circle of counselors, who made pretended divine revelations an excuse and shield for many licentious and immoral acts of their own and their friends. These controversies waxed warmer, until finally two of the ablest men and most righteous citizens of the colony, David Whitmer and Oliver Cowdery, who were also two of the three "original witnesses" to Smith's "Book of Mormon," and of the delivery to him of the sacred plates by an angel of God, withdrew from the settlement at Far West, and removed to Richmond, Ray County, Missouri, where Cowdery died in 1850, and where Whitmer resided until the time of his death in 1885, a leading and respected citizen of his county and State, and a lawyer of considerable prominence and ability, having, at different times, filled the positions of judge and district attorney very satisfactorily to his constituents.

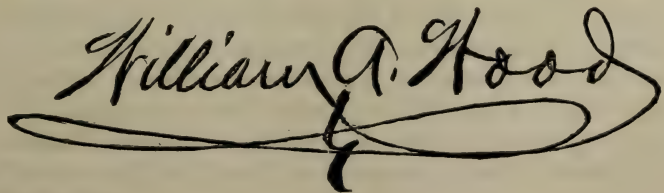
The town site of Far West was one mile square, and located five miles northwest of Kingston, the present county seat of Caldwell County, and was situated in a magnificent prairie country, diversified and made more beautiful and habitable by scattering groves of fine oaks and walnuts near the streams and springs, and covered with wild flowers of every hue, loading the air with their fragrance. Game was abundant and various; the streams were filled with fine fish; the soil was fertile and the climate pleasant. Is it to be wondered that the poor deluded followers of the crafty Smith and his cunning associates, many of whom had come from the cold and unproductive countries of Northern Europe, thought they had indeed arrived in "the promised land of God." The city was laid out in blocks, three hundred and ninety-six feet square, with broad streets and grand avenues, the four principal ones being one hundred and thirty-two feet in width, and all others nearly one hundred feet wide. A public square was laid out in the center of the town, and dedicated as the chosen spot on which to build a magnificent temple, which Smith claimed he was, by divine command, ordered to erect.

Work was begun on this temple in the summer of 1838, and an excavation was

made for a basement under the contemplated structure, one hundred and twenty feet due east and west by eighty feet north and south, and five feet deep. Between five and six hundred men were engaged in this work, which was all done by hand, the dirt being removed on wheelbarrows, and was accomplished in a few hours. The corner-stones of the temple were laid with solemn and impressive ceremonies on July 4, 1838, and the walls were built to a height of about two or two-and-a-half feet above the level of the ground, but here, as at the building of the Tower of Babel, the work was interrupted by dissensions among the builders, and but little more was done—as, soon after this, in 1839, the Mormon war broke out, and Far West was depopulated and its inhabitants driven from the country on account of their immoral practices and petty depredations, by the indignant Missourians.

All that to-day remains of this temple, thought by the Latter-Day Saints to be the appointed work of the Deity, is a depression in the earth three or four feet deep, about the size of the original excavation, and some fragments of crumbling walls, all covered with “blue” grass, weeds, and loose stones. Only one building remains of this once, in the day in which it flourished, considerable city, with its hundreds of buildings. This house is said, by some of the older settlers here, to have been occupied by the prophet, Joseph Smith, and his first or true wife. It is situated on a slight eminence, fronts the South, is a one-and-a-half story log and frame building of four rooms, and has a capacious fire-place and chimney of red home-made bricks, at either end. This house is now occupied as a farm-house. Two or three of the buildings of Far West were hauled to Kingston after they were abandoned by the Mormons, and are still in use for shops and dwellings.

Notable among the residents of Far West at the time of which we write were John D. Lee, the leader of the brutal Mountain Meadow massacre in Utah several years ago; Mrs. Morgan, whose husband was, it is claimed, abducted and murdered by Masons, in 1826, for his so-called exposure of the mysteries of the craft to which he belonged; and Brigham Young, the ablest ruler this peculiar sect has ever had. A few of the inhabitants of Far West refused to go with the Mormons to Salt Lake, withdrew from the Church of Latter-Day Saints, and renounced its tenets and practises, and they and their descendants have since been honorable and well-esteemed citizens of Caldwell and neighboring counties in Missouri. The post-office at Far West, discontinued about forty years ago, was recently re-established and named Kerr, in honor of the husband of a niece of David Whitmer, before-mentioned, a prosperous farmer of the vicinity, and it is kept in a farm-house located on the old town site.

A large, stylized handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "William A. Hood". The signature is written in a cursive style with a prominent, sweeping underline that extends across the width of the signature.

MINOR TOPICS

DANIEL WEBSTER

The March *Century*, 1885, contained an article, "Reminiscences of Daniel Webster," by Stephen M. Allen, the first president of the Webster Society. It is interesting, as is all that relates to the great statesman who filled so large a space in the minds of his contemporaries, and whose fame, unlike that of most public men, seems to increase with time. It is to be regretted, however, that Mr. Allen should have thought fit to mention as probable the story that Webster tore up his diploma on the day of graduation, saying he did not need it to make a man of himself. Connected with that is the story that he was an idle student in college. These stories have no evidence to support them, have often been denied, and, like the Washington hatchet story, are simply the creation of some one's imagination. I remember once while a Dartmouth student having a long talk about Webster's college days with the venerable Professor Shurtleff, who was in college with him, and who spoke of him as a hard student, and, I think, denied this very story about the diploma. All the probabilities are against it. He was a poor boy, and he would not have paid the required fee for the sake of tearing it up, and it was not characteristic of him to make such a foolish display. Curtis, in his admirable "Life of Webster," speaks of this story, and quotes the opinions of several of Webster's classmates in regard to it. Dr. Merrill, the best scholar of the class, and a tutor at Dartmouth for three years after graduation, had never heard of it till a quarter of a century afterward; and another classmate, Rev. Elihu Smith, was by his side when he received his diploma with a graceful bow, and would have known if he had destroyed it. This foolish story has no claim even to be called a tradition, and should not be dignified by repetition.

Professor Shurtleff told me he slept in the same room with Webster the first night the latter spent at Dartmouth, and he was a tall, spare, dark, awkward boy, dressed in homespun.

A native of the same State, though I never spoke with him, he was the object of my boyish admiration. When very young, listening one evening to the conversation of some guests at my father's fireside, who were discussing the trial of the White murderers, one said: "Mr. Webster is the smartest man in the United States." It struck me as a wonderful thing to be the smartest man in the country, and my curiosity was aroused to know all about him, and I read everything where his name was mentioned, and he became my hero. Though a boy, I attended the great Harrison Convention on Bunker Hill, September 10, 1840, mainly to see this man, and I well remember every feature of his as he was first pointed out to me. He presided at that convention which was called to order by Robert C. Winthrop,

then a young man of brilliant promise. He presided, also, at a meeting in Faneuil Hall in the evening. With much effort, I made my way through the dense crowd up to the platform, then but little raised above the floor, and was so near Mr. Webster before he called the meeting to order that I could touch him, and I did touch him, that I might boast with boyish enthusiasm that I had put my hand on Daniel Webster. As he stood there I heard him say: "Mr. Mason, I wish I had a seat to offer you." I turned and saw a man towering above all around him, and I knew it was that giant in body and mind, Jeremiah Mason, who as an antagonist did so much to train Mr. Webster, and whom he most dreaded as an opponent, as shown by the remark he is said to have made, when told that William Wirt had been employed against him in a celebrated Boston case: "I was afraid they would get Jerry Mason." As he called the meeting to order, the hall was packed to its utmost capacity, and his first words were: "Our opponents make a great mistake, as you can all attest, when they say there is no pressure that an honest man need feel." He spoke very briefly, saying it was simply his duty to introduce distinguished gentlemen from other States, among whom were Benjamin Watkins Leigh, of Virginia, Ogden Hoffman, the celebrated advocate, of New York, and others long since dead and now hardly remembered.

There are many associations with Mr. Webster in this vicinity. Two miles from Newburyport, on the opposite side of the river in Salisbury, was the home of his mother; the house has long since disappeared, but the cellar is still shown. The story has been published of the introduction of his father to her. Left a widower, he wanted a wife, and returned to his old home in Kingston, New Hampshire, in search of one. A friend recommended a Miss Eastman and gave him a letter of introduction. Reaching her home, he knocked at the door, and said to the young lady who opened it that he wished to see Miss Eastman for whom he had a letter. She told him that was her name—invited him in—and his business was soon made known and satisfactorily arranged.

Joshua Coffin, the historian of Newbury, told me that Mr. Webster applied to him to hunt up his genealogy, and knew so little of his family that he gave him his grandfather's name incorrectly.

Here in Newburyport, near the home of Richard S. and Harriet Prescott Spofford, was the scene of the Goodrich sham robbery, the trial of which added so much to Webster's legal fame. A few miles distant is the academy in Atkinson, New Hampshire, where his wife Grace Fletcher was educated, and I have heard a schoolmate describe her as a pale-faced, quiet, modest girl, whom all loved. An artist, a native of this city, and one of the two surviving artists to whom Webster sat, told me recently that Webster declined an invitation to the excursion on the ill-fated *Princeton* on the ground of an engagement to sit to him. The next day he came and said: "You have saved my life."

In conversing lately with a gentleman about orators, one who has opportunities to hear the best of our country, he spoke of the deep impression made on him by

Webster and Choate, whom his business as a reporter had enabled him often to hear in court. He thought Mr. Choate at times the most eloquent man to whom he had ever listened. He was always earnest and absorbed in his case, however small. Mr. Webster, on the other hand, was often heavy and not easily aroused, yet when moved to call out his best powers, he was the grandest of orators. One of the finest efforts he had ever heard from Mr. Webster was in a case where he had been employed to obtain justice for a man whose land had been taken for some public use with great injury and small compensation. Mr. Webster had become deeply interested in his client, and depicted in the most eloquent language the wrong done him and the meanness of his treatment, though hardly a dozen spectators were present. Once Mr. Choate and Mr. Webster were opponents in a trial, as often happened, and after a magnificent plea of the former, with all that exuberance of language of which he was such a master, the latter rose, turned to the jury, and waving his hand to Mr. Choate, said in his grand manner: "Poetry, gentlemen of the jury, all poetry, now let us come down to the facts." What could be finer?

Webster gave a Fourth of July oration in Concord, New Hampshire, in 1806. Of those who listened to it, probably Col. William Kent, now at the ripe age of ninety-two, is the only survivor. He was a student at Atkinson Academy, and his father sent down a horse by the postman, as there was no public conveyance, and told him he could come home for the Fourth, as a young lawyer from Boscawen was to give an oration. He well remembers that the young lawyer came to his father's house as a guest, and drove his horse to the barn and put him up himself, before he entered the house. It was Daniel Webster, who had recently opened his office in Boscawen.

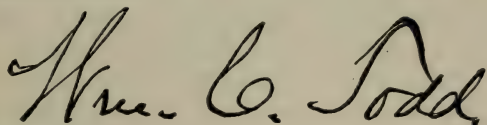
I was in Dartmouth College during John Tyler's administration, and at that time made the acquaintance of General Samuel Fessenden, who had two sons members of the college. He was the father of William Pitt Fessenden and of eight college graduates, and from boyhood a particular friend of Webster. It was when the Whigs were very angry with Tyler for his veto of the Bank Bill, and were not a little displeased with Mr. Webster because he consented to remain in the Cabinet. General Fessenden said Mr. Webster told him he had done all he could to influence Mr. Tyler, and might have succeeded if it had been a question of argument; but Mr. Tyler had made it a matter of conscience, and it was not easy to argue with one's conscience.

There is no doubt that Mr. Webster, with all his great abilities, knew well how to avail himself of the labors of others. Judge Tenney, of Maine, told me that when in Portsmouth, Webster heard some of Mason's students talking, and one said: "The old man has been puzzling for a long time over an ugly question, and has settled it to his satisfaction," at the same time explaining it. Webster fixed it well in his mind. Some years after, in New York, Aaron Burr sought an interview with him and wished his opinion on this very question, saying it had given

him much study and perplexity. Webster at once explained it to Burr's satisfaction and astonishment at his legal knowledge, giving the solution of Mason.

I asked ex-Senator Wilkinson, one of the first senators from Minnesota, who of all the public men he had seen had most impressed him, and he answered at once, "Webster most, by far." For many years before 1850, Webster, Clay, and Calhoun were the most prominent men in Congress, and probably we have never had another such marked trio at one time. I once asked a distinguished old gentleman of Washington who had often heard them, and has been familiar with all our leading men since, how just is the comparison often made between one of these and some well-known statesmen of the present day. With a look of contempt far more expressive than his language, he replied: "There is no room for a comparison."

Webster's grand presence, his magnificent voice, his piercing black eye, the dignity of his whole manner, strangely impressed all who saw him. His speeches are models of fine Saxon English, and are now read, and seem destined to be read, more than those of any other American statesman.



NEWBURYPORT, MASSACHUSETTS, June, 1886.

THE CELEBRATED LEWIS MORRIS ON CONNECTICUT

THE SEQUEL

Under this head the June number of the *Magazine of American History* [xv. 612] published among its original documents an extract from the will of Lewis Morris, dated November, 1760. His direction that his son should not be educated in the colony of Connecticut had a curious sequel as related by Judge Ogden Edwards to an eminent lawyer of this city.

"Gouverneur Morris, who had none of the small narrowness of his father, but whose mental strength and reach were, as the world knows, of high order, when a member of the convention which framed the Constitution of, the United States, took his seat with, and especially sought the society and counsels of the members from Connecticut, whom he said he regarded 'as eminently honorable and upright men, and the wisest delegation in that body.'"

REPRINTS

EXTRACTS FROM THE CORRESPONDENCE OF EDWARD GIBBON, THE HISTORIAN,
RELATIVE TO AMERICAN AFFAIRS, 1774-1783

[From a printed copy, very rare, almost unknown.]

Edward Gibbon to J. Holroyd—afterwards Lord Scheffield.

(Continued from page 507.)

February 23d, 1778.

Dear Holroyd

You probably know the heads of the plan ; an Act of Parliament to declare, that we never *had* any intention of taxing America : another Act, to empower Crown to name Commiffioners, authorifed to fufpend hoftilities by fea and land, as well as all obnoxious Acts ; and, in fhort, to grant every thing, except independence. Oppofition, after expreffing their doubts whether the lance of Achilles could cure the wound which it had inflicted, could not refufe their affent to the principles of conduct which they themfelves had always recommended. Yet you muft acknowledge, that in a bufinefs of this magnitude there may arife feveral important questions, which, without a fpirit of faction, will deferve to be debated : whether Parliament ought not to name the Commiffioners ? whether it would not be better to repeal the obnoxious Acts ourfelves ? I do not find that the world ; that is, a few people whom I happen to converfe with ; are much inclined to praife Lord N.'s ductility of temper. In the fervice of next Friday, you will, however, take notice of the injunction given by the Liturgy : “ And all the people fhall fay after the *Minifter*, “ Turn us again, O Lord, and fo fhall we be turned.” While we confider whether we fhall negotiate, I fear the French have been more diligent. It is pofitively afferted, both in private and in Parliament, and not contradicted by the Minifters, that on the 5th of this month a Treaty of Commerce (which naturally leads to a war) was figned at Paris with the independent States of America. Yet there ftill remains a hope that England may obtain a preference. The two greateft countries in Europe are fairly running a race for the favour of America.

The Same to the Same.

ALMACK'S, Saturday Night, March 21, 1778.

As bufinefs thickens, and you may expect me to write fometimes, I fhall lay down one rule ; totally to avoid political argument, conjecture, lamentation, declamation, &c. which would fill pages, not to fay volumes ; and to confine myfelf to fhort, authentic pieces of intelligence, for which I may be able to afford moments and

lines. Hear then—the French Ambaffador went off yefterday morning, not without fome flight expreffion of ill humor from John Bull. Lord Stormont is probably arrived to-day. No *immediate* declaration except on our fide. A report (but vague) of an action in the Bay, between La Motte Piquet and Digby ; the former has five fhips and three frigates, with three large ftore fhips under convoy ; the latter has eleven fhips of the line. If the Frenchman fhould fail to the mouth of the Delawar, he may poffibly be followed and fhut up. When Franklin was received at Verfailles, Deane went in the same character to Vienna, and Arthur Lee to Madrid. Notwithstanding the reports of an action in Silefia, they fubfide ; and I have seen a letter from Eliot at Berlin of the tenth infant, without any mention of actual hofilities, and even fpeaking of the impending war as not abfolutely inevitable.

The Same to the Same.

ALMACK'S, Friday, June 12th, 1778.

Since D'Eftaing's fleet has paffed through the Gut (I leave you to guefs where it muft have got out) it has been totally forgotten, and the moft wonderful lethargy and oblivion, of war and peace, of Europe and of America, feems to prevail. Lord Chatham's funeral was meanly attended, and Government ingenioufly contrived to fecure the double odium of fuffering the thing to be done, and of doing it with a good grace. Their chief converfation at Almack's is about tents, drill-ferjeants, divifions, firings, &c. and I am revered as a veteran.

The Same to the Same.

Wednefday Evening, July 1, 1778.

Keppel's return has occafioned infinite and inexpressible confternation, which gradually changes into difcontent againft him. He is ordered out again with three or four large fhips ; two of ninety, two of feventy-four, and the fiftieth regiment as marines. In the mean time the French, with a fuperior fleet, are mafters of the fea ; and our out-ward bound Eaft and Weft India trade is in the moft imminent danger.

Lord North, as a mark of his gratitude, obferved the other day, that your regiment would make a very good figure in North Carolina. Adieu.

The Same to the Same.

Saturday Night, September 25th, 1778.

No news from the fleets ; we are fo tired of waiting, that our impatience feems gradually to fubfide into a carelefs and fupine indifference. We fometimes yawn, and afk, juft by way of converfation, Whether Spain will join ? I believe you may

depend on the truth, not the fincerity, of an anfwer from their Court, that they will not fupport or acknowledge the independence of the Americans. But on the other hand, magazines are forming, troops marching, in a ftile which threatens Gibraltar. Gib is, however, a hard morfel ; five thoufand effectives, and every article of defence in the moft complete ftate. We are certainly courting Ruffia. So much for the Republic.

The Same to the Same.

Tuefday Night, November, 1778.

You fometimes complain that I do not fend you early news ; but you will now be fatisfied with receiving a full and true account of all the parliamentary tranfactions of *next* Thurfday. In town we think it an excellent piece of humour* (the author is Tickell). Burke and C. Fox are pleafed with their fpeeches, but ferious patriots groan that fuch things fhould be turned to farce. We feem to have a chance of an additional Dutch war : you may depend upon its being a very important bufinefs, from which we cannot extricate ourfelves without either lofs or fhame.

The Same to the Same.

ALMACK'S, Wednesday Evening, 1778.

No news from America, yet there are people, large ones too, who talk of conquering it next fummer with the help of twenty thoufand Ruffians. I fancy you are better fatisfied with private than public war. The Lifbon packet in coming home met forty of our privateers.

The Same to the Same.

Februâry 6th, 1779.

I would fend you some news ; but we are afleep ; no foreign intelligence, except the capture of a frigate ; no certain account from the Weft Indies, and a diffolution of Parliament, which feems to have taken place fince Chriftmas. In the papers you will fee negotiations, changes of departments, &c. and I have *fome* reafon to believe, that thofe reports are not entirely without foundation. Portfmouth is no longer an object of fpeculation ; the whole fteam of all men, and all parties, runs one way. Sir Hugh is difgraced, ruined, &c. &c. ; and as an old wound has broken out again, they fay he muft have his leg cut off as foon as he has time. In a night or two we fhall be in a blaze of illumination, from the zeal of naval heroes, land patriots, tallow-chandlers ; the laft are not the leaft fincere. There is a buz about a peace, and Spanifh mediation.

* The Title of the Pamphlet—*Anticipation.*

The Same to the Same.

May 7th, 1779.

By some of the ftrangeft accidents, (Lord G. G.'s indifcretion, Rigby's boldnefs, &c.) which it would require ten pages to explain, our wife refolution of laft Thurfday is changed, and Lord Cornwallis will be examined; Sir William Howe's enquiry will proceed, and we fhall be oppreffed by the load of information. You have heard of the Jerfey invafion; every body praifes Arbuthnot's decided fpirit. Conway went laft night to throw himfelf into the ifland.

The Same to the Same.

May, 1779.

ALAS! alas! fourteen fhips of the line: you underftand by this, that you have not got a fingle long-boat. Miniftry are more creft-fallen than ever I knew them, with the laft intelligence; and I am forry to fay, that I fee a fmile of triumph on fome oppofition faces. Though the bufinefs of the Weft Indies may ftill produce fomething, I am much afraid that we fhall have a campaign of immense expence, and little or no action. The moft bufy fcene is at prefent in the Houfe of Commons; and we fhall be involved, during a great part of next month, in tedious, fruitlefs, but, in my opinion, proper enquiries.

EDWARD GIBBON to Mrs. GIBBON.

BRIGHTHELMSTONE, Nov. 2d, 1781.

MRS. * * * * wrote a melancholy ftory of an American mother, a friend of her friend, who in a fhort time had loft three fons; one killed by the favages, one run mad from the fright at that accident, and the third taken at fea, now in England, a prifoner in Forton hofpital. For *him* fomething perhaps might be done. Your humanity will prompt you to obtain from Mrs. * * * * a more accurate account of names, dates, and circumftances; but you will prudently fupprefs my requeft, left I fhould raife hopes which it may not be in my power to gratify.

EDWARD GIBBON to Lord SCHEFFIELD [J. HOLROYD].

BENTINCK STREET, October 14th, 1782.

I AM at a lofs what to fay or think about our parliamentary ftate. A certain late Secretary of Ireland reckons the Houfe of Commons thus: Minifter one hundred and forty, Reynard ninety, Boreas one hundred and twenty, the reft unknown, or uncertain. The laft of the three, by felf or agents, talks too much of abfence, neutrality, moderation. I ftill think he will difcard the game.

I am not in such a fury with the letter of American independence ; but I think it seems ill-timed and useless ; and I am much entertained with the metaphysical disputes between Government and Secession about the meaning of it.

EDWARD GIBBON to Lord SCHEFFIELD.

DOVER, Wednesday, 17th September, 1783,
ten o'clock in the morning,

Last night the wind was so high, that the vessel could not stir from the harbour; this day it is brisk and fair. We are flattered with the hope of making Calais harbour by the same tide, in three hours and a half ; but any delay will leave the disagreeable option of a tottering boat or a toffing night. What a cursed thing to live in an island ! this step is more awkward than the whole journey. The triumvirate of this memorable embarkation will consist of the grand Gibbon, Henry Laurens,, Esquire, President of Congress, and Mr. Secretary, Colonel, Admiral, Philosopher, Thompson, attended by three horses, who are not the most agreeable fellow passengers. If we survive, I will finish and seal my letter at Calais. Our salvation shall be ascribed to the prayers of my Lady and Aunt ; for I do believe they both pray.

BOULOGNE, Thursday Morning, Ten o'clock.

Instead of Calais, the wind has driven us to Boulogne, where we landed in the evening, without much noise and difficulty. The night is passed, the custom-house is dispatched, the post-horses are ordered, and I shall start about eleven o'clock. I had not the least symptoms of sea-sickness, while my companions were spewing round me. Laurens has read the pamphlet,* and thinks it has done much mischief. A good sign !

PETERSFIELD

* Lord Sheffield's Observations on the Commerce of the American States.

NOTES

LEOPOLD VON RANKE, the celebrated German historian, died Sunday, May 23, 1886, in the ninety-first year of his age. He was born at Wiehe, December 21, 1795, and completed the sixtieth year of his professorship at the University of Berlin, March 31, 1885. His first work, *The History of Roman and German Nations* from 1494 to 1535, was published in 1824, and since then his pen has never been idle. From the year 1829 to 1833, he examined the public archives of Vienna, Venice, Florence, and Rome, amassing material for his *Princes and Peoples of Southern Europe* and his renowned *History of the Popes* (1834). As a historian, Von Ranke holds highest rank. Among his more recent publications are *A History of Wallenstein*, 1869; *The German Powers and the League of Princes*, being a history of Germany from 1780 to 1790, published in 1871; *A History of England, principally in the Seventeenth Century*, 1875, and two biographies of Frederick the Great and Frederick Wilhelm, 1878; and his colossal *History of the World*, which he began in his eightieth year; of this, six volumes are completed, but it is believed he has left notes sufficient to enable his literary executors to prepare another. Ranke outlived all rivalry; he was hailed by Döllinger as *præceptor Germaniæ*, and Arneth declared that he alone among prose writers had furnished a masterpiece for every country.

GARRETT NOEL, THE FIRST NEW YORK BOOKSELLER—Mr. Noel was mentioned by Rev. Dr. Vermilye, [xiii. 113] in the account of Ebenezer Hazard, the first

Postmaster-General, as his partner in business for several years. We hear of Noel as a bookseller in New York, as early as about 1755, and for many years thereafter. Previously, the bookselling of the city seems to have been done exclusively at the newspaper printing offices. Until quite recently Garrett Noel's birth-place and family origin have eluded every clew within our reach. But we now learn, from Mr. A. L. McDonald, his great-grandson, that he came hither from Cadiz, Spain, in 1750, with one son and his daughter Mary, who, in 1763, married Anthony Lispenard Bleecker of New York. Their mother, a Spanish lady, died in Spain. Their father married secondly, Experience Young, of this city, a member of the Wall Street Presbyterian Church. Garrett Noel removed to Elizabethtown, New Jersey, towards the Revolutionary period, where, as stated in the late Rev. Dr. Hatfield's history of that place, he died in 1776, in his sixty-sixth year. His house there, once the abode of Colonel Elias Boudinot, the first President of the Continental Congress, and also of the American Bible Society, is still standing and in fine preservation.

W. H.

SIR WILLIAM PEPPERELL'S RING—On Thursday, as D. H. Bemis, Jr., was plowing near his father's house, on the Neck in Lancaster, he saw something shining on the ground, and upon searching, he found a gold mourning or funeral ring inscribed, "Sir William Pepperell, Baronet, July 6th, 1759, aged 63 years." Hereby hangs a tale: This same Sir

William Pepperell was commander of the expedition from Boston which captured Louisburg, Cape Breton, from the French in 1745, and for which he received his title. In that expedition were several Lancaster men: among them Colonel Samuel Willard and his son, Captain (afterwards Colonel) Abijah Willard, were intimate friends of Sir William, and lived in the house now owned and occupied by Dr. Charles Nichols. It is supposed that this ring was given to this Colonel Abijah or some other of Pepperell's friends and lost at this place. It must have lain where found for considerably more than 100 years, as the Willards were Tories, and left the country at the time of the Revolution.—*Clinton Courant*.

SALEM CUPBOARDS—In the quaint little work on "Old Salem," by Eleanor Putnam, recently edited by Arlo Bates, we find the following curious paragraph: "There were cupboards in Salem. They were, moreover, real cupboards; no after-thoughts, built across the end of an entry here or the corner of a room there—places into which to huddle umbrellas and overcoats, or to hustle

mending and children's litter out of the sight of visitors. Salem cupboards were always intentional. The builder understood his responsibility, and acted accordingly. The housewife regarded her cupboards as the inner and most sacred portion of her trust. It was no light task even to keep the keys always counted and polished. As for losing one, or forgetting which was which, that would indicate a mind so utterly frivolous that one could hardly conceive of it.

"It took no ordinary brain to keep watch and ward over these cupboards. They were tall and narrow beside the fire-place, or low and chubby above it; they lurked behind the wainscoting like Polonius back of the arras. One of them was to be reached only by a step-ladder; another jolly pair occupied crannies under two deep window-seats. In one house was a cupboard which pretended to be solid wall, but was really a deep recess for the concealment of fire-arms; and in yet another was a narrow closet about which hung the horror of an old Genevra-like legend of smothering to death. There was literally no end to the number and variety of Salem cupboards."

QUERIES

JOEL BARLOW AND THE SCIOTA LAND COMPANY—In the *Life and Letters of Joel Barlow*, Mr. Todd, in the chapter devoted to the above-mentioned subject, says: "It is also proper to state that Colonel Benjamin Walker, who, in 1790, was sent to France by the trustees to investigate Barlow's proceedings, returned a report completely exonerating him." Was this report ever published? If not,

where is it? I have paid a good deal of attention to this subject, but never before heard of it. It seems to me that Barlow's biographer has been singularly remiss, in not giving the report, if, by so doing, he could have removed the cloud which has so long hung over the memory of Joel Barlow. Who was Colonel Benjamin Walker? I. C.

ALLEGHANY, PENNSYLVANIA

BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY—*To the Editor of the Magazine of American History*: Has not the time arrived for a Biographical Dictionary which will give something more than a barren outline of facts and figures?

America ought now to produce a work wherein persons worthy of being cited shall be grouped with other members of same family who have distinguished themselves. This would show the qualities of each group, as well as those of the individual, and indicate how far intellectual heredity prevails.

JOHN MEREDITH READ

FLAG AT HALF-MAST—*Editor of the Magazine of American History*: Can any of your readers tell me the origin of the custom of putting the flag at half-mast for affliction, and how the term "scandalizing the yards" was brought to indicate the same thing? "HEYWARD"

June 9, 1886.

THE WAR-SHIP JASON—*Editor Magazine of American History*: The war-ship *Jason*, of 64 guns, was one of the vessels

that composed the French fleet that bombarded Cornwallis out of his works at Yorktown, Virginia, in 1781. Does anybody know the names of her officers?

JOHN D. MCCORMICK

TRENTON, NEW JERSEY, June 7, 1886.

AMERICANS ON GUARD—When and by whom was the order given, "Put none but Americans on guard?"

P. STUYVESANT

June 10, 1886.

ARISTOCRATIC—The question has been asked of me which family in this country, *i. e.*, American Colonial family, is the oldest and most aristocratic. Perhaps some of your readers can answer this query.

R. H. M.

CHARLESTON, S. C., June 7, 1886.

THE STAMP ACT CONGRESS—In what building did it hold its sessions in New York in 1765? The question has arisen whether the City Hall in Wall Street was or was not the scene of the important sessions of this body of patriots? Will some one kindly give the desired information?

S. A. T.

REPLIES

THE TRENT AFFAIR [xv. 559]—*Editor Magazine American History*: In your June number there is a paper by Hon. Charles K. Tuckerman, in which he stoutly claims that the United States did not eat "humble pie" in the "Trent affair," but adroitly led the British Government to concede that the principle advocated by the United States against visitation and search on the high seas was the true principle of international law. As I remember the events and dip-

lomatic intercourse relating to that affair, there was no concession of that kind, and nothing determined as to the right of visitation and search. What was determined was that the persons of *diplomatic agents* were not, by rules of international law, liable to seizure as contraband of war, although the persons of military men on a neutral vessel might be liable to such seizure. The United States conceded that their naval officer, Commodore Wilkes, had made a mis-

take, and wisely and graciously acknowledged it by returning Messrs. Slidell and Mason. In that point of view they did—according to Mr. Tuckerman's expression—eat a little "humble pie."

J. W. G.

OLDEST CHURCH EDIFICE [xv. 615]—Hingham, Massachusetts, has a meeting-house still in use, which was first occupied January 8, 1682. This is the oldest in New England, certainly, and it has been said to be the oldest in the United States. A local name for it is "The Old Ship." Nason gives a cut of it in his *Gazetteer of Massachusetts*, p. 261.

G.

DUDE [xv. 615]—The following explanation of this word shows that it is not of recent origin. We quote the following letter from the New York *Evening Post* :

B.

"SIR: Will it not surprise you and your readers to learn, as it did me to discover, that ancient Rome in the days of Terence had its 'dudes,' and called them even by the same name? In the '*Eunuchus*' of Terence, act iv., scene iv., l. 15, it is written :

'Ita visus est

Dudum quia varia veste exornatus fuit,'

which literally translated into English would read, 'He seemed a dude, because he was decked out in parti-colored clothes,' or still more literally 'in a vest of many colors.'

"The fact that he was called *Dudum* rather than *Dudus* (masculine) implies much as to his general public estimation even in that early age. I can find no mention of him in Juvenal, where we might expect to find him above all other

places. Perhaps Juvenal himself was a dude ; Rome was full of them then."

NICHOLAS E. CROSBY

116 EAST NINETEENTH STREET

THE BATTLE OF CROSS KEYS—*Editor Magazine of American History*: In the interesting and well-written article on Cross Keys [xv. 483] in your May issue, there are one or two errors. On page 489: The forces of Fremont and Ewell at Cross Keys were not "about the same." Ewell's line was formed with Trimble on the right and Stewart on the left. Elzey's brigade was in reserve in rear of the center. Ewell had in these commands less than 5,000 men. Subsequently Patton's brigade (800 men) and Taylor's (possibly 2,500 men) were sent to reinforce him ; but Taylor did not become engaged. Fremont reports his force (which had been over 14,000 on May 31) as reduced to 10,500. Bayard's cavalry, which was then with him, made it over 11,000. On page 490 Trimble is spoken of as having been reinforced "from Taylor's brigade and by two regiments from Elzey's." Elzey's regiments were all that joined Trimble before the contest was over. So again, page 491, "part of Taylor's brigade" is said to have been "almost annihilated" by Dilger's battery. The "part of Taylor's brigade" which was sent to Trimble's assistance was not engaged at all and lost not a single man. Two of Taylor's regiments were sent to the other wing—Confederate left—to oppose Schenck's movements. They were not engaged either, but being exposed to the fire of the Federal artillery, lost two men killed and fifteen wounded.

W. ALLAN

McDONOUGH, MD., May 30, 1886.

SOCIETIES

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—At the stated meeting, May 4, numerous additions to the library and cabinet since the previous meeting were reported by the librarian. A memorial notice of the Society's valued associate, the late Mr. John B. Moreau, prepared at the request of the Executive Committee, by Mr. Benson J. Lossing, was read by Dr. George H. Moore. The paper of the evening was furnished by the Hon. James W. Gerard, on "The Dongan Charter to the City of New York of 1686; its Two Hundredth Anniversary." The history of that important instrument and the effects of its provisions were succinctly and clearly traced to the present time. Like Mr. Gerard's other researches into the early history of New York, now in the libraries of scholars, the paper possessed great historical value, which renders its preservation in printed form highly desirable.

At the June meeting, in a paper entitled "How the Church of England was established within the Province of New York," the Society was favored with an able monograph by Mr. Edward F. De Lancey, containing the results of his studies and his views on this interesting subject. His paper will form a valuable part of the elucidation of our early ecclesiastical history.

Among the donations, the librarian reported an important accession to the Society's collection of early New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania Laws, the gift of Miss Charlotte H. Mount and Miss Susan Mount, of this city, including among others the following volumes,

the historical value of which will at once be recognized: Laws of the Province of New York, 1691-1709, printed at New York, by William Bradford, 1710; Laws of the Province of New Jersey, 1703-1743, printed by William Bradford, Andrew Bradford, and Samuel Keimer, New York, Philadelphia, and Burlington; Charter of New York City, printed by Zenger, 1735; Laws and Ordinances of New York City, printed by William Bradford, 1731; Session Laws of the Province of New York, 1737-1746, printed by Zenger, Bradford, and Parker, New York, 1738-1746; A Collection of Charters and other Public Acts of the Province of Pennsylvania, printed by Franklin, at Philadelphia, 1740.

The next meeting of the Society will be held on the 5th of October.

NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The sixty-fourth annual meeting of this Society was held in the Society's building, at Concord, June 9, the President in the chair.

The reports of officers were presented, by which it appeared that the funds of the Society amount to \$8,739.24; and the volumes in the library number 10,385. Various gifts were received and acknowledged; among which were the correspondence of the late Dr. John Farmer, and a series of biographical sketches in manuscript, composed by the late Governor William Plumer.

A resolution of approval of the proposal of Mr. B. F. Stevens, of London, to copy for publication the manuscripts in the archives of Europe relating to

the American Revolution, and recommending that the same be undertaken by the Government of the United States, was adopted. The following list of officers were chosen for the coming year: President, Charles H. Bell; Vice-Presidents, J. E. Sargent and John M. Shirley; Recording Secretary, Amos Hadley; Corresponding Secretary, John J. Bell; Treasurer, William P. Fiske; Librarian, Samuel C. Eastman; Necrologist, Irvine A. Watson; Library Committee, Amos Hadley, Edward H. Spalding, J. E. Pecker; Standing Committee, Joseph B. Walker, Sylvester Dana, J. C. A. Hill.

The annual address was delivered by Hon. Amos Hadley, upon the subject of "New Hampshire in the historical Van and Brunt," and was a very able and scholarly production. It was voted to hold the annual field day of the Society at Charlestown "No. 4," at such time as the President should fix.

CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY—

The annual meeting of this Society was held in Hartford, May 24, and was largely attended. The report of the Secretary showed that there had been nine regular meetings during the year with an average attendance of ten members. Nine resident and two corresponding members have been elected, and there have been two deaths. The accessions have been ninety-seven bound volumes, twenty-eight manuscripts, and four hundred and twenty-six pamphlets. The use of the library has been double that of last year and the interest in the Society's meetings shows a marked increase. Officers were elected as follows:

President, Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull; Vice-presidents, the Hon. Henry Barnard, for Hartford County; Professor Franklin B. Dexter, of Yale College, for New Haven County; Judge J. C. Mather, of New London, for New London County; Colonel L. N. Middlebrook, of Bridgeport, for Fairfield County; the Hon. J. W. Stedman, for Windham County; the Hon. Robbins Battell, of Norfolk, for Litchfield County; Judge James Phelps, of Essex, for Middlesex County, and Judge Dwight Loomis, of Rockville, for Tolland County. Treasurer, J. F. Morris; Recording Secretary, Frank B. Gay; Corresponding Secretary, Chas. J. Hoadly; Committee on Membership, Charles J. Hoadly, Sherman W. Adams, F. F. Starr, Rowland Swift, J. F. Morris, Stephen Terry, J. H. Trumbull; Committee on Library, Charles J. Hoadly, J. H. Trumbull, Samuel Hart; Committee on Publications, the Rev. Dr. George, Leon Walker, the Hon. J. W. Stedman, Charles Hopkins Clark. Mr. F. B. Gay was re-elected Librarian. It was voted to have the next regular meeting on the first Tuesday of October.

THE LINNÆAN SOCIETY, SCIENTIFIC AND HISTORICAL—The Linnæan Society met in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, on Saturday afternoon, May 1st, at three o'clock, and in the absence of the President Professor J. S. Stahr occupied the chair.

The donations to the museum consisted of twenty-four specimens of minerals from Hancock County, Illinois, and from the Lake Superior region, donated by Miss A. C. Rathvon. Specimen of cryolite, from Greenland, donated by

C. A. Heinitch ; twenty-three specimens of minerals from Lancaster County, donated by Dr. S. S. Rathvon, also a specimen (31 x 46 inches) of vegetable cloth or felt used as a dress material by the natives of the South Pacific Islands ; specimen of the American porcupine, donated by Mr. F. E. Ball, and mounted at the expense of the Society, also specimen of the Virginia Rail, purchased by the Society ; six specimens of plants, one of them the very rare Ram's Head *Cypripedium*, donated by Mrs. S. P. Eby. Mrs. Zell exhibited specimens of old linen cloth, manufactured in Lancaster over a hundred years ago. Professor J. S. Stahr exhibited three specimens of Peach Bottom roofing slate, containing plant impressions. This is the first reported find of fossil plants in this State. The donations to the historical section consisted of thirty-three different newspapers, ranging in date from 1849 to 1871 ; complete file of the *Dollar Newspaper* for 1848, from Dr. S. S. Rathvon. To the library were added numerous pamphlets and current numbers of weekly, daily, and monthly publications, also a copy of the *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, and annual reports of the University of California and Buffalo Historical Society.

Dr. S. S. Rathvon read a paper on the donations to the museum. Professor J. S. Stahr read a paper on specimens of a double *Thaliotrum Anemenoides*, exhibited by him, and also on the plant impressions in the Peach Bottom roofing slate exhibited by him. D. H. Landis, of Millersville, was elected an associate member. W. J. Hoffman, M. D., of Washington, D. C., a corresponding member of the Linnæan, proposed as a

corresponding member of the same, Comm. Pietro Bernabo Silorata, President of the Royal Society of Learning, Rome, Italy, who was elected.

BERKSHIRE COUNTY HISTORICAL AND SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY—The ninth annual meeting of the Berkshire County Historical and Scientific Society was held at the Athenæum, Pittsfield, Massachusetts, May 6th. After listening to the annual report of the Secretary on the financial condition of the Society, the election of officers was held. Professor Perry, of Williams College, was unanimously chosen President, which position he has so ably filled for the last three years—who reviewed the work of the last nine years, expressing himself much encouraged in view of the ground covered, and the exceeding value of the papers read before the Society. An invitation was extended, and accepted from Levi Beebee, for the Society to hold its field meeting at his home on Mount Washington. The paper of the day was by Judge L. E. Munson, of New Haven, a native of Great Barrington, on "Montana as it was and is." He carried his listeners with him to the "land of mountains" with its immense area, its skies as blue as Italy, and its falls and cañons surpassing Switzerland in grandeur. As one of the commissioners to review the treaties with the Indian tribes in 1865, and also one of the three first territorial judges, he had ample opportunity of knowing Montana in its infancy, and his account of the vigilantes and the enforcement of home rule in those first trying days, when the Territory was in its swaddling bands, was graphic in the extreme.

BOOK NOTICES

THE GERMAN SOLDIER IN THE WARS OF THE UNITED STATES.

By J. G. ROSENGARTEN. 12mo, pp. 175.
Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co.

A new and original subject wins half the battle for a book, and the substance of this little volume certainly possesses both these qualifications. The facts are old, but the idea of collecting them is new, and appeals at once to the patriotism of our best naturalized Americans. The history of the book confirms this estimate of its intrinsic worth. Read in substance before the Pioneer Verein in Philadelphia, it speedily found its way into print first in the *United Service Magazine* of New York, next, translated into German, in the *Nebraska Tribune*, and next in a pamphlet by the present publishers. The edition was soon exhausted, and it is now issued in its present more complete form. It takes up the story of German-American soldiers from early colonial times, follows them through the old French War, through the Indian troubles, through the Revolution, not omitting the Hessian mercenaries on the British side, and brings them down through the second war with England, the Mexican war, and the Rebellion to the present times, concluding with a long list of officers, whose record covers all the campaigns in which the armies of the United States have been engaged. No other class of our adopted citizens can show such a record, and the Germans may well be proud of the record. More than this cannot here be said. The work of compilation seems to have been well and carefully done, and native Americans cannot do less than gratefully acknowledge the obligations under which they are placed by the brave race that has so freely shed its blood for its adopted country.

A CHRONICLE, together with a Little Romance regarding Rudolph and Jacob Näf, of Frankford, Pennsylvania, and their descendants, including an Account of the Neffs in Switzerland and America. By ELIZABETH CLIFFORD NEFF. 8vo, pp. 352. Cincinnati, Ohio, 1886: Robert Clarke and Company.

This genealogical work, which is handsomely printed on fine paper and well bound, embraces within its covers ninety-four tables of descent, uniting the family in this country with its ancestry in Switzerland. Its index contains some four hundred and fifty names, with fac-similes of old signatures, and coat of arms from Switzerland. The data seems to have been collected with great care, and verified as far as practicable; in many instances certified proofs of state-

ments appear in the book. The name is variously spelled—Näf, Neiff, Naef, Noef, and Noff—in the old records, which must have added greatly to the labor of tracing the descendants in the different generations. The book contains some anecdotes, and is very well arranged for reference. To all who are connected with the family it will be of the first interest, and every public library should secure a copy for its shelves.

THE COUNTRY BANKER. By GEORGE RAE. 12mo, pp. 350. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

The title of this suggestive book is misleading in that the volume itself does not turn out on examination to contain directions for book-keeping nor a manual intended to supplement a course of study in a commercial college. It is not designed for financiers alone, though there is many a banker who will find in its pages food for thought that perhaps would not occur to a merely technical mind. Mr. Brayton Ives, sometime president of the New York Stock Exchange, and withal a thoughtful, college-bred man, has contributed an introduction to the American edition that speaks highly for the soundness of its financial principles. Mr. Ives would no more stand sponsor for a third-rate book than he would indorse third-rate paper. A country bank in England is not unlike its sister institution in America, save that it has usually behind it a larger record of individual traditions. A well-managed bank is a certificate of respectability for the community where it is located. To stand well with the bank is the worthy ambition of every farmer, tradesman, and mechanic in the neighborhood, while the bank in turn must stand well with the community or its books will soon tell an unfavorable story. Mr. Rae has a fine literary style that in some mysterious way enables him to present in an acceptable manner a subject that in other hands might easily prove barren and uninteresting.

STUDIES IN GENERAL HISTORY. By MARY E. SHELDON. Student's Edition. 12mo, page 556. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co.

The aim of this book is to supplement the work of the teacher, through the application of the scientific method to instruction in history. The author assures us that it is not a history, but a collection of historical materials on subjects about which questions are constantly arising. These materials consist of maps, pictures, lists of important events, men, works, and deeds, tables of political organizations, and extracts

from original sources, including constitutions, creeds, laws, chronicles, and poems. They are accompanied by questions which are of the nature of problems, answers to which must be worked out by the pupil himself from the given data. The book thus serves as a little historical laboratory or museum, in which the student may learn how to interpret the facts of society, and by means of which original work may be done with original materials. One of the greatest charms of the book is the manner in which it teaches the pupil to think for himself. It is alive with facts, and almost any teacher can, with its use, develop in the young mind a good idea of human affairs. We have examined it with care and cordially recommend it for general use. Its tendency is to quicken the intellect and enrich the memory. It is practical in its character, dealing only with the great problems in human history, and ignoring the petty details that weaken the pages of ordinary text-books. It recognizes the importance of learning reasons as well as dry facts; it gives the scholar something to study as well as something to learn.

HAPHAZARD PERSONALITIES. Chiefly of Noted Americans. By CHARLES LANMAN. 16mo, pp. 387. New York: Chas. T. Dillingham. Boston: Lee and Shepard.

The popularity of personalities—not "personals," as persistently printed in some of our leading journals, has of late years received abundant recognition in the great dailies, nearly all of which devote a column or more in their Sunday editions to gossip concerning men of the times. These are too often made up by unknown hands in a style that suggests the journalistic habit of making a very slight substratum of fact go a long way toward producing a half column of fiction. Mr. Lanman has had abundant facilities for collecting *bona fide* materials for genuine work of this character. As a newspaper man, as an author, artist, and official in Washington, he has personally met many noted Americans, and his well known "Dictionary of Congress" has introduced him to the public as a collector of concise official data. The present volume makes, probably, but a slight inroad upon the abundant material at his disposal, but it contains a large amount of very pleasant anecdotal reminiscence. A few of the names that appear in its pages are Joseph Henry, Washington Irving, William C. Bryant, James Brooks, Winfield Scott, and George B. McClellan, with many others of equal eminence. From many of them there are letters, of others there are anecdotes, and of the work of others, whether artistic or literary, there are criticisms more or less extended. To those who have had personal associations with the subjects the pages will

prove full of interest, and to the general reader they will present in a familiar aspect many famous Americans not otherwise to be met under favorable auspices.

WHERE ARE WE, AND WHITHER TENDING? Three Lectures on the Reality and Worth of Human Progress. By the Rev. M. HARVEY. 16mo, pp. 134. Boston: Doyle & Whittier, 1886.

The historian of Newfoundland is known to the reading public by numerous contributions to the periodical literature of the day. If he were better known than he is it would be for the advantage of the public, for he commands a graphic and entertaining style, and withal has cultivated a new field. His appearance in print as a philosopher discussing the most profound questions of the day will be a surprise to most of those who know him merely as the historian of Newfoundland, the oldest of Britain's colonies. The three lectures contained in the volume are optimistic in tone, and treat of the reality and worth of human progress, in which the author has an all-pervading faith.

THE RAILWAYS AND THE REPUBLIC. By JAMES F. HUDSON. 8vo, pp. 489. New York, 1886. Harper & Brothers.

The reader will probably reach the third chapter of this book before becoming severely interested in, or fully understanding the drift and significance of, the author's statements. But with the "History of a Commercial Crime" he will become thoroughly awake; it will prove sufficiently absorbing to induce him to turn back and re-read the portions he has passed over lightly. Mr. Hudson's presentation of the extraordinary abuses in American railroad management is graphic and forcible; he vividly illustrates the evils of discrimination, as in the case of the Hepburn Committee testimony and in the history of the Standard Oil Company. The special privileges given to the latter is what he designates a "commercial crime." He does not show with corresponding clearness how these abuses have come to pass, nor does it appear from his arguments that he is altogether familiar with practical railroad business, or the natural laws which more or less control it. In the fourth chapter he treats of the legal aspects of affairs in connection with the railways; and continuing the same theme under the title of "Public Obligations and Corporate Practices" in the succeeding chapter, he elucidates the manner in which the railways have attempted to overthrow fundamental principles of the common law and have nullified even State constitutions. His chapter on the "Pooling Policy" is brilliantly

written; as also that on the the "Fictitious Element in Railway Policy." But we are compelled to dissent from many of his expressed views in Chapter IX. His remedies seem to us impracticable, and of a nature to destroy the whole railroad business of the country if seriously applied at this time. He says, truly, that "experience can alone reveal the extent of the benefits which new ideas or agencies bring to the world." Yet it should also be borne in mind that individuals have not developed the vast railway systems which have revolutionized the commercial and social character of the civilized world so much as these railway systems have developed individuals. The subject in all its bearings is one of the first moment, and Mr. Hudson has discussed it ably and fearlessly. His book is calculated to stimulate thought and study; and it is to be hoped that the correct principles of legislation affecting the railroads will eventually be applied.

EVOLUTION AND RELIGION. By HENRY WARD BEECHER. Part II. 8vo, pamphlet, pp. 440. New York: Fords, Howard & Hurlbert.

It is not altogether clear why this should be called Part II., considering that Part I. was distinctly a series of sermons on a given topic. The only intimate relation between the two is that the second is a miscellaneous selection of discourses bearing upon the same topic, emanating from the same brilliant intellect, and made up in similar shape, so that the two can be bound up together in one portly and beyond question valuable volume. Most of the sermons in Part II. were in point of fact delivered before the series of Part I. had a corporate existence. They are all, however, studies in Christian evolution and as such have an undeniable place in kindred literature. Mr. Beecher touches a subject only to illuminate it with a power that is born of inspiration. His perception of truth in its relation to science is keen, and his wonderful grasp of progress in the march of intellect was never more obvious than in the present relation. His critics may cry out as they always have against his want of symmetry and logic; but these are virtues which he does not claim, yet he is ever ready to do his part toward throwing new light upon old truths, and surely he has few equals in his method of presenting the broad relations of faith that have marked his whole career as a Christian minister.

YOUNG PEOPLE'S HISTORY OF ENGLAND. By GEORGE MAKEPEACE TOWLE. 12mo, pp. 388. Boston, 1886. Lee & Shepard.

It has been the purpose of the author of this

work to present the main facts in the history of England, from the Roman Conquest to the present time, in a concise form, and in a pleasing and instructive style. In this endeavor he has admirably succeeded, and without the sacrifice of historical accuracy in any particular has handled his varied subjects in so skillful a manner that the book has for the young mind the specific attractions of romance. It is such carefully written works as the one before us that cultivate the taste and create a love for history, doing away with the perilous and unnatural craving for exciting and fanciful stories with which the book market of this country is overladen. Healthful reading for our boys and girls is in every respect as important as healthful daily food for their bodies. Parents would do well to bear this in mind. The public should encourage authors who devote their energies to the production of historical books on important subjects suited to the capacity of the budding intellect; books that will leave impressions of past events in their true colors and direct the forming opinions of the earnest reader. Mr. Towle has heretofore done much good work, but nothing he has ever achieved will be found of more real value to the rising generation than this well arranged and charmingly presented story of the ancient, checkered, and modern life of our Mother England.

PERSIA, THE LAND OF THE IMAMS. A narrative of travel and residence, 1871-1885. By JAMES BASSETT. 12mo, pp. 342. New York, 1886: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Persia, as the land of perfumes from the rose gardens of Ispahan, as the land where all the gates open into earthly paradises, with a Peri sitting at each of them, has long been relegated among well-informed readers to the realm of poetic fancy. That there were once lovely rose gardens is perhaps true, but there never was a Persia made up of them altogether, and the Persia of Mr. Bassett's experience is a land with decidedly dark shadows and not too many high lights. The descendants of the Imams have a superb past to look back upon, if they know aught about it, but their every-day life, as it appears to the modern investigator, makes up what must seem to a cultivated Occidental a very barbarous sort of civilization. The pages of the book are full of information of a generally interesting kind. He does not deal to any wearisome extent with the political puzzles that mix up Russian and English interests with those of the Shah, but he tells in a very entertaining way about what he has learned concerning a remarkable people among whom he lived for eleven years. The different tribes, with their curious manners, customs, and traditions are de-

scribed, and truth to tell we wonder that he escaped with his life from some of them to tell his story. To the long list of books of travel and observation this makes a very acceptable addition.

HISTORY OF THE SCHOOL OF THE COLLEGIATE REFORMED DUTCH CHURCH IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK. From 1633 to 1883. Second Edition. Revised and enlarged, by authority of Consistory. 8vo, pp. 284. New York, 1883.

Although this volume bears date 1883, it has been issued since the beginning of the present year. The establishment of the school dates back two hundred and fifty years. The Dutch were distinguished for never omitting to provide for the education of their children, and thus we find them in the very beginning of their wild life in a savage country laying the foundation for permanent educational institutions. The first edition of this historical memoir was issued in 1853; with corrections and additions, the narrative is now brought to the close of the quarter-millennial period. It is particularly interesting to note how the school originated and progressed,—never seeking to become an academy or a college, nor degenerating into the empty shell of a school, having the name without the reality. The sphere of instruction was not large, but it was sufficient. It met the needs of the large class who must always be the bone and sinew of the commonwealth, the multitude who by manual toil earn their daily bread, and who especially need to be guided and restrained by moral forces." The present condition of the school is given and the course of study, with the names of all who have served as officers of the school since its inception. To this is added a catalogue of the scholars for the past ninety-four years, with the dates of their admission and withdrawal. Thus the possessor of the book will be able to cherish the names of many who have from time to time filled offices of honor and trust in the community. This book is illustrated with views of the little Dutch city in its extreme infancy, the old Stadt Huys or City Hall in Pearl Street, the Garden Street Dutch Church, and several interesting portraits. The proceedings and addresses of the celebration of the quarter-millennial of the institution on the evening of November 22, 1883, concludes the work, which is a valuable contribution to the history of the city.

THE YEAR-BOOK OF THE CITY OF CHARLESTON, South Carolina. 1885. Mayor Courtenay's Annual Review. 8vo,

pp. 392. *News and Courier* Book Presses, Charleston, S. C.

We invariably find something new and interesting in Mayor Courtenay's yearly report of the affairs of Charleston. The facts and statistics are skillfully grouped; thus the progress of the growing city may be traced with ease. In 1884 one-third or more of the contents of the Year-Book were included in an appendix of varied and special historical value. The new issue for 1885 is no less informing on historic themes. One hundred and thirty-five pages are devoted to similar sketches, embracing an Account of the "Stamp Act Excitement of 1765, in Charleston"; "A Historic Sketch of the Huguenot Church, founded in Charleston in 1681"; "Sandford's Voyage to the Province of Carolina in 1666," and the "Port Royal Discovery"; "An Account of the Administration of Justice in South Carolina from the settlement of the Province to the year 1860; with a list of the Chancellors and Judges during that period"; "Men of the Revolution, the German Fusiliers," etc.; "Charleston and its Defences in the Late War"; and the "Confederate Home and School for the Families and Children of Soldiers founded in Charleston in 1867." The volume closes with graphic descriptions of "The August Cyclone, 1885," and the "Tornado of 1761." One of the interesting features of the current volume is a group of portraits of the Firemasters and Officers of the Fire Department of Charleston in 1841. Other illustrations and some instructive maps add greatly to the interest and value of the work. The preservation of such important historic material in accessible form reflects great credit upon the authorities of Charleston; and Mayor Courtenay in particular is to be congratulated on the excellence of each successive issue of the Charleston Year-Book.

REMINISCENCES OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN, by distinguished men of his time. Collected and edited by ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE. 8vo, pp. 656. New York, 1886. North American Publishing Company.

The personal traits and private utterances of Abraham Lincoln will never cease to be of interest to the American people. This volume is therefore acceptable in the superlative degree. It embraces a series of thirty-three sketches, each written from a different stand-point, by as many of Mr. Lincoln's contemporaries and intimate associates, all of whom are or have been prominent in the public affairs of the country. These reminiscences are of such a character as to elicit universal and absorbing attention. The first, occupying less than four pages, is from General Grant's pen, contributed by Colonel Fred Grant. The second, of forty pages, is by

the Hon. Elihu B. Washburne, and touches more or less upon the whole career of the distinguished subject. Hon. George W. Julian, ex-Governor R. E. Fenton, and ex-Secretary Usher follow each with an able chapter. The latter writes: "A short time before the capitulation of General Lee, General Grant had told Mr. Lincoln that the war must necessarily soon come to an end, and wanted to know of him whether he should try to capture Jeff Davis, or let him escape from the country if he would. Mr. Lincoln said: 'About that, I told him the story of an Irishman who had taken the pledge of Father Mathew. He became terribly thirsty, and applied to a bartender for a lemonade, and while it was being prepared he whispered to him, and couldn't ye put a little brandy in it all unbeknown to meself? I told Grant if he could let Jeff Davis escape all unbeknown to himself, to let him go. I didn't want him.'" Ex-Secretary Boutwell's contribution is followed by that of Benjamin F. Butler, who gives a little inside history in regard to the nomination for Vice-President in 1864, which for obvious reasons escaped the news-writers of that day. Fred Douglass describes the incidents of his attendance at the reception of President Lincoln on the evening of his inauguration. Benjamin Perley Poore gives us among other valuable items of information a glimpse of the manner in which Mr. Lincoln received the newspaper correspondents; and how he copied his own long letters to his generals, not wishing any one else to see them. Rev. Henry Ward Beecher tells the reader of his visit to Mr. Lincoln in 1864. He says: "We were in the receiving-room. His hair was 'every way for Sunday.' It looked as though it was an abandoned stubble-field. He had on slippers, and his vest was what was called 'going free.' He looked wearied, and when he sat down in a chair, looked as though every limb wanted to drop off his body." Cassius M. Clay relates many striking incidents, and Robert G. Ingersoll closes a short sketch with these words: "Lincoln was the grandest figure of the fiercest civil war. He is the gentlest memory of our world." No article in the whole series, however, will be read with more genuine interest than that of Mr. Charles A. Dana, editor of the *New York Sun*. He writes: "The last time I saw Mr. Lincoln to speak with him was in the afternoon of the day of his murder. I had received a report from the Provost Marshal of Portland, Maine, saying that Jacob Thompson was to be in that town that night for the purpose of taking the steamer for Liverpool; and what orders had the Department to give? I carried the telegram to Mr. Stanton. He said promptly, 'Arrest him; but as I was leaving his room, he called me back, adding, 'You had better take it over to the President.'

It was now between four and five o'clock in the afternoon, and business at the White House was completed for the day. I found Mr. Lincoln with his coat off in a closet attached to his office washing his hands. 'Halloo, Dana,' said he, as I opened the door. 'What is it now?' 'Well, sir,' I said, 'here is the Provost Marshal of Portland, who reports that Jacob Thompson is to be in that town to-night, and inquires what orders we have to give.' 'What does Stanton say?' he asked. 'Arrest him,' I replied. 'Well,' he continued, drawing his words. 'I rather guess not. When you have an elephant on hand, and he wants to run away, better let him run.'"

Among the writers of other chapters are General Fry, Chauncey M. Depew, Don Piatt, ex-Secretary Hugh McCulloch, David R. Locke (Petroleum V. Nasby), and Walt Whitman. One feature of this work deserving special notice is a collection of short biographical sketches of its contributors, published in the form of an appendix, accompanied by their portraits engraved from approved photographs. The introduction to the volume by the editor, Mr. Rice, embraces some sixty-five pages, to which is added a fac-simile copy of the original draft of the letter of the Secretary of State to the Minister of the United States at the Court of St. James, in May, 1861, in relation to the Proclamation of the Queen.

THE OLDEN TIME SERIES. Numbers Two and Three. THE DAYS OF THE SPINNING-WHEEL IN NEW ENGLAND; and NEW ENGLAND SUNDAY. Edited by HENRY M. BROOKS. 16mo, pp. 98 and 65. Boston, 1886: Ticknor & Co.

These charming little hand-books are filled with historic material culled from the old newspapers of Boston and Salem, some of it extremely amusing as well as quaintly instructive. Our exalted notions of the virtues of Boston are toned down slightly by reading an occasional advertisement for runaway slaves, a forcible reminder that Boston was a slave-holding city in the early days of the republic. In Salem, we discover "table tipplings" and "mysterious rappings" as long ago as 1789, more than half a century before Rochester became famous in that weird direction. And when we come to read about the New England Sunday, we learn from the newspaper clippings that President Washington was stopped by a "tythingman" in Connecticut in 1789 for the "crime" of riding on Sunday; and it was not until he had explained very minutely that he was on his way to attend divine service that he was allowed to proceed.



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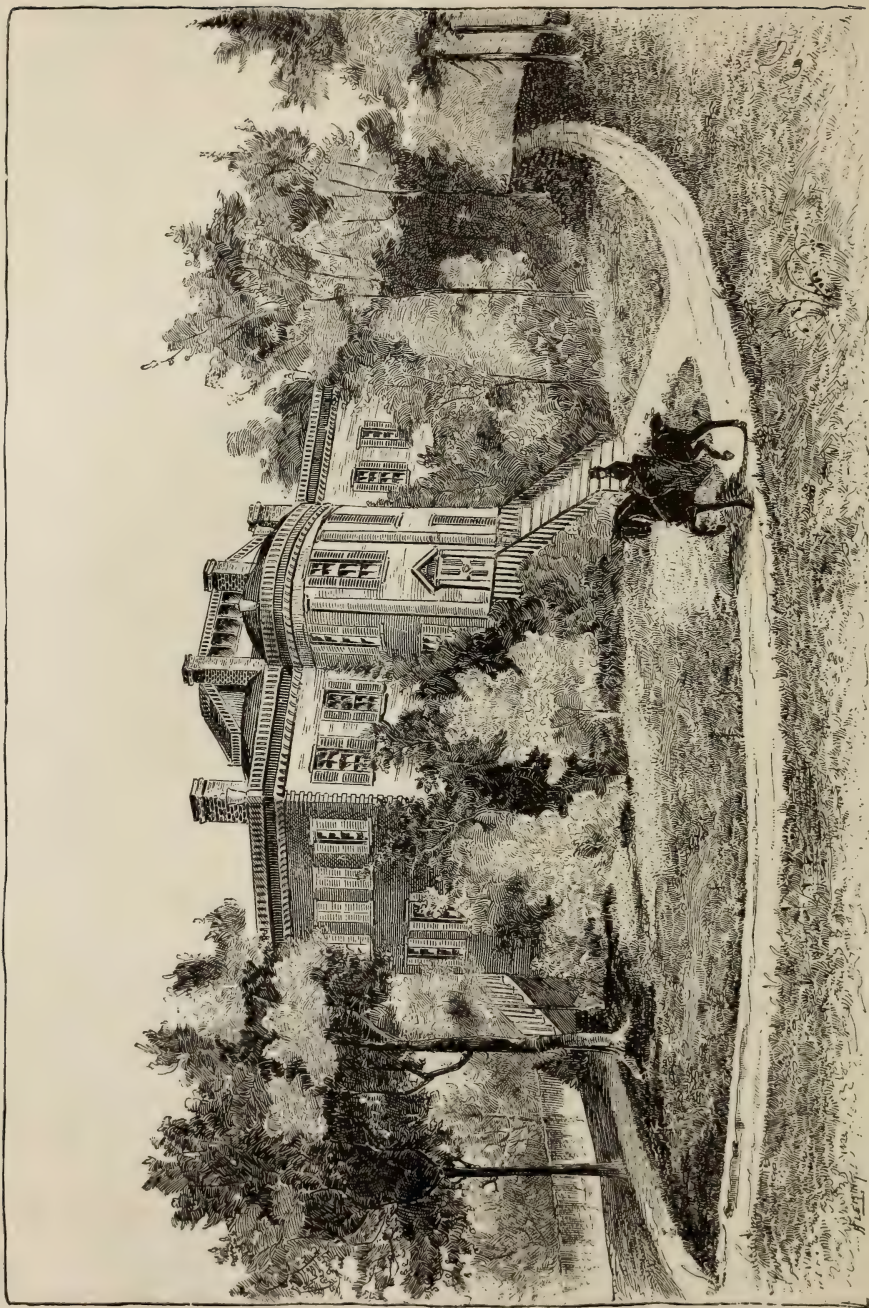
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MONTPELIER

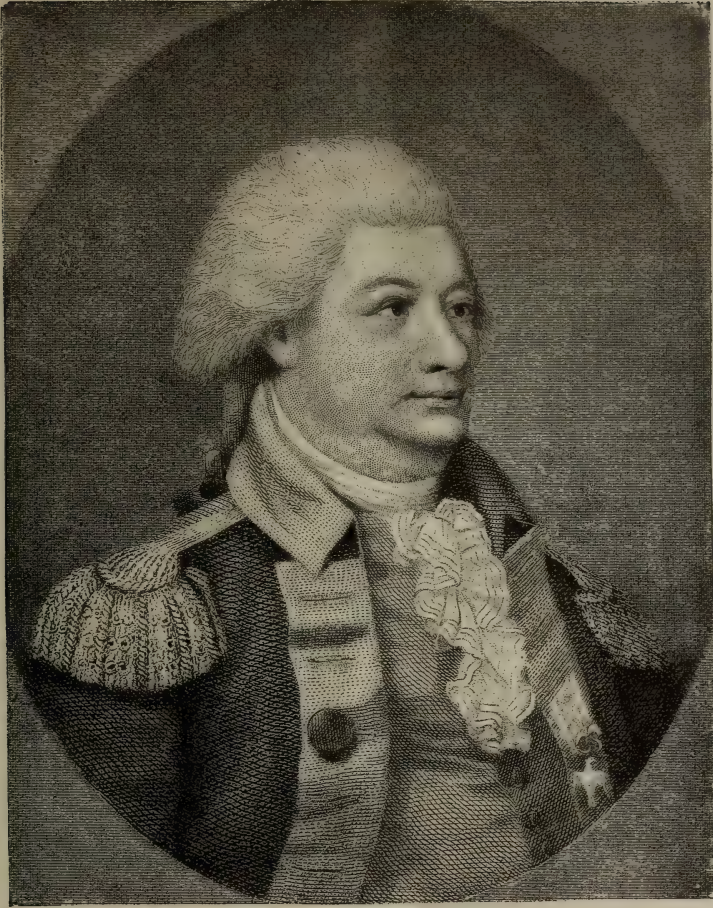
HOME OF MAJOR-GENERAL HENRY KNOX

IN 1795 Major-General Henry Knox resigned his position in the cabinet of the President, and retired to private life in the State of Maine, taking up his abode on the beautiful estate his wife inherited from her grandfather, General Waldo—the only member of that family who espoused the patriot cause. This vast estate, together with the subsequent purchases of General Knox, embraced a tract of land some thirty miles square, lying between the Kennebec and Penobscot Rivers, now mainly covered by Knox and Waldo Counties. Knox soon had the property under good control, tenanted by a loving and enthusiastic people. He chose Thomaston for the homestead town; and in an exceptionally fine location, on high ground, he built his villa. A grand valley panorama view opened to the southward, through which a river coursed its zigzag way and terminated, with its mouth full of islands, in a silvery streak of ocean ten miles distant. The house was very large and of French architecture, with numerous balconies, broad verandas, corridors and alcoves in profusion—and it cost some \$50,000. All its interior decorations were of French design, and at that period excelled those of any other mansion in the commonwealth. Mrs. Knox gave it the name of “Montpelier,” in compliment to a family of the French nobility at whose villa, “Montpelier,” she and General Knox had once been delightfully entertained.

Two roomy wings, including several out-buildings, extended back from the Knox mansion; the servants' quarters, kitchen, laundry, etc., comprising one wing, and the stables and farm buildings the other. Terraced lawns, walks, summer-houses, orchards, and forest openings surrounded the premises to the water's edge, and helped to form a most pleasing picture. Knox was in the prime of life, only forty-five, when he improved and first occupied this lovely historic domain. His wife, familiarly known in New England as “Lady Knox,” was of majestic figure and remarkable beauty, brilliant, talented, and well-informed, and had been for many years a favorite in society, without whom many, beside herself, believed nothing in the social line could be properly achieved. Her presence lent tone and dig-



MONTPELIER. HOME OF MAJOR-GENERAL HENRY KNOX, THOMASTON, MAINE.
From an original sketch by Mrs. C. A. Weston.
[Never before published.]



Knox

nity to every assemblage, and her vivacity was contagious. She had also been one of the heroines of the Revolution, and nearly as well known in camp as her husband. But her subsequent life in the country has not been as familiar to the world. Soon after she arrived with her family and retinue of servants at her new home "Montpelier," the towns-people were feasted at the mansion, after which the Tarrentines, their Indian neighbors, partook of their magnificent hospitality, prolonging their stay many days; but here Mrs. Knox's intercourse with her neighbors ended.

In many respects General and Mrs. Knox were well suited to each other, and lived in harmony. Yet some of their habits, traits, likes and dislikes were in direct opposition; though on points of this nature neither undertook dictatorship. There is but one known instance of the general's attempting conjugal discipline. He had invited a Puritan divine to dinner; and when the two gentlemen entered the dining-room, they found Lady Knox, who was not of a particularly religious turn of mind, seated at the table. Approaching her chair, her liege lord said: "Rise, my dear, the parson will ask a blessing." Lady Knox took no notice of the request, and the general repeated it, adding a flavoring of emphasis. Still she sat in unmoved stateliness. Then, raising his tone to something of a military command, he again repeated the request. But she remained complacently deaf, and the parson was obliged to pronounce his blessing while she occupied her seat. The meal then proceeded without further interruption, and no allusion was subsequently made to her lack of homage. Yet, with all his respect for religion and his interest in church-going, General Knox is said to have occasionally indulged in profanity. Authentic tradition tells us it was not of an offensive nature, but used only in cases of meditated provocation, where blasphemy seemed to him dignity. For instance, a backwoodsman disputed him about the number of logs furnished him at one time. Knox had ample proof of his own accuracy in the matter, yet the forester rather than acknowledge his error offered to take his oath upon the correctness of his own figures. Knox coolly replied, "Well, if you are willing to risk your immortal soul for four-and-sixpence, in the name of God do it."

The general was over-charitable, and blended geniality so thoroughly with charity that he almost placed himself on a level with the common folk. Mrs. Knox rarely tendered charity; and when she did, it was with such a cold hand and stony face that the recipient would starve in preference to accepting from her again. Knox loved to see every one prosperous and happy, and aided the country people in their enterprises, however unprofitable these seemed; at one time erecting a marble-mill over a stream of water too small to saw even one block of marble. Mrs. Knox, luckily perhaps for the family purse, was apparently ignorant of the existence of her common neighbors, even when she needed their services. On one occasion, when her carriage broke down, she remained standing unprotected in the muddy street rather than accept the hospitality proffered by them. This haughtiness, however, was accepted by the poorer classes as her unquestioned right; and, being aware of her aristocratic descent, they would have paid her less homage had she shown them more consideration. The awe in which they held her received its death-blow one day, however, when

during her husband's absence she had the graves of the frontier defenders—whose humble memorial stones in close proximity to her drawing-room windows had often given her uncomfortable suggestions of death—opened, and their remains placed in a more appropriate resting-place. The general had cherished a peculiar sentiment toward these sacred tombs, and tore his hair in deep mortification when he learned of this action on the part of his wife.

Still, the better part of the life of Mrs. Knox has not been portrayed in



OVAL ENTRANCE HALL OF THE KNOX MANSION, AT THOMASTON.

From an original sketch by Mrs. C. A. Weston.

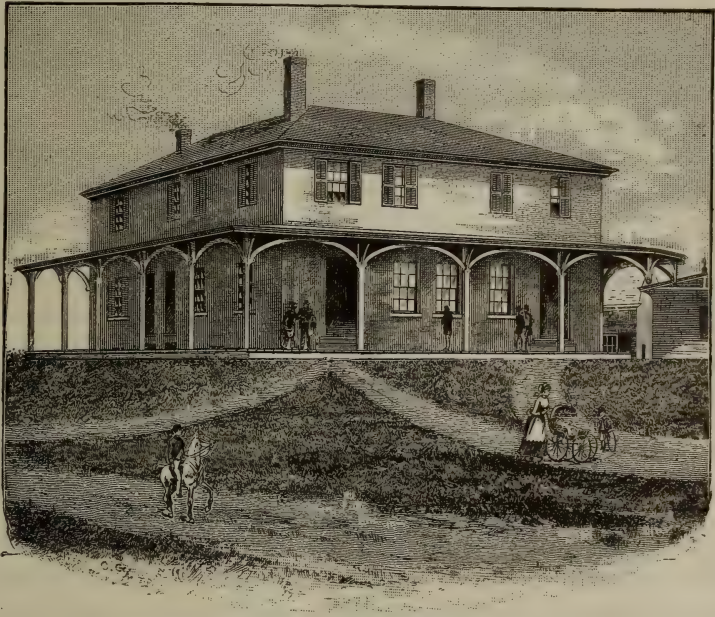
the incidents mentioned. There was a mean between the two extremes of her position as leading society lady at the National Capital and as lady of rank among humble neighbors, in which she appeared in her truest light. This was in extending the hospitalities of "Montpelier." No one was better qualified than she to entertain guests of distinction both from our own and from foreign countries. Invitations were freely distributed during the summer months, and on the approach of winter the family migrated to Boston, where Mrs. Knox held unquestioned sway in gay society. Whist was one of her favorite pastimes, and she risked large sums of money in

the game, much to the distress of more staid matrons who dreaded the influence of that vivacious lady. Her journeyings to and from Boston were often made by land in her carriage, though the poorly-kept inns and miserable roads prompted her oftentimes to make the trip by water on board a coasting vessel. On occasions of this nature she would remain shut up in her carriage or her cabin the entire distance, holding no intercourse with any one save her family and servants, while Knox and the children enjoyed a freer life in the society of the captain and other passengers.

The reminiscences of these two personages must have been of the most interesting character. When the storm of revolution was brewing in our national sky Knox was but twenty-four years of age—a clever and dashing book-seller in Boston, his native city. His establishment was a favorite resort of cultivated persons, and his correspondence abroad was large and influential. He bent all this influence toward effecting an amicable understanding between the contending parties, and was so hopeful of success that he took no part in the “Tea Party,” or other impulsive acts of resistance which engaged the patriot leaders at that time. His conduct was recognized abroad as neutrality; and consignments of tea were privately made to him soon afterward, which, with a great deal of unpleasantness and inconvenience, he eventually managed to return. He then laid aside the mask of argument and fearlessly adopted defensive measures.

Cupid and Mars simultaneously took him in rule at this time. His stately figure and handsome face had, when leading a military parade, attracted the attention of Miss Lucy Flucker, daughter of Hon. Thomas Flucker, secretary of the province under Governor Gage. The spirit of romance was as keen in the eighteenth as in the nineteenth century, and this young lady lost no time in ascertaining Knox’s place of business. She entered one day under pretense of purchasing books, and the old, old, old story, never threadbare from repetition, was thus begun. The attachment was bitterly opposed by both families; political sentiment by the Knox relatives, and a similar objection, backed by a strong argument of wealth and aristocracy by the Fluckers, being the points of controversy. But the strong will of the young lady, seconded perhaps by an untamed love of adventure, acknowledged no opposition. She was married to Knox in June, 1774, and the patriot cause found no braver advocate than “Lady Knox,” as she was even then styled. She concealed, with able craft, her husband’s sword under her mantle, and they left Boston on foot in disguise. Knox was presently active in defending Concord; but his military prominence began at Bunker Hill, where, though but a private, his skill in planning

movements and constructing fortifications attracted the admiration of Washington, who soon afterward raised him to the chief command of the artillery, a post he held to the close of the war. He was henceforward Washington's confidential friend and adviser, sharing the gloom and depression of that great heart, and suggesting many able schemes of the war. How few, comparatively, are aware of the fact that it was a stroke of Knox's bravery that caused the British to withdraw from Boston. He realized that the feeble land force of patriots could have but trifling effect on the British shipping that rode comfortably in the bay, and with a picked company of brave men he dared the perils of the trackless northern forests in mid-winter, ravaged the forts on Canada's frontier, and returned, dragging on sleds the plunder, which Washington directly utilized, erecting for the purpose a grand pedestal on Dorchester Height. The captured artillery comprised eight brass mortars, six iron mortars, two howitzers, thirteen brass cannon, twenty-six iron cannon, twenty-three hundred-weight of lead, and one barrel of flint—a mine of wealth to our infant army. Little wonder after this marvelous act that writers give him credit for having manufactured his artillery. It was on this trip that he spent a night with André, and so strong an attachment sprung up between the two soldiers that it caused Knox a deep sense of anguish to pass sentence for André's execution a few years afterward.



FORMERLY THE SERVANTS' HOUSE OF THE KNOX VILLA.
Now the Railway Station. From a photograph.

The hasty retreat that followed the battle of Long Island came near being one of dire disaster to both our young artillerist and our young artillery, yet by dint of celerity and consummate skill they escaped the British dragoons, and as a consequence Knox was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general. A similar exhibition of military daring at Trenton—the only engagement in which Knox was wounded—and a few days later at Monmouth, the most severely contested battle of the war, won his promotion to the major-generalship, a rank second only to that of Washington. It is said that amid the din and roar of that battle his voice could be distinctly heard by his men, as he stood in their midst, a marvelous example of coolness that could not fail to inspire any faltering heart with courage. Yet his grandest military success was to come. At Yorktown the artillery, that never during the war had wavered, poured so steady and well-directed a volley as to occasion the highest commendation of all, even



MONOGRAM ON THE KNOX SILVER-
WARE.

the enemy, who rarely extended compliments of this nature. Washington, in acknowledgment, selected Knox to receive Cornwallis' sword at the surrender; but a moment's reflection caused him to suggest that public appreciation was due Lincoln for his bravery at the South, and Knox generously resigned the honor in favor of the latter.

The surrender of New York was also made to Knox, and following close in the tracks of this honor was the most painful duty he was ever required to perform—that of disbanding the army at West Point. Every officer and private had been to him a friend through eight gloomy years, and he must separate them and send them unpaid to their homes of poverty; for the pittance allowed them by Congress had not then been obtained. He bent all his powers of argument as earnestly to infuse into them a feeling of patient forbearance as he formerly had to inspire them with energy and fearlessness in battle. Never was a sympathetic heart more sorely tried, and never was a severe and serious duty more marvelously well performed.

The formation of the "Society of the Cincinnati" next occupied his mind, and to him is the credit mainly due that the brotherly love of these heroes was thus perpetuated.

Lady Knox seemed alone in her sentiments regarding the close of the war. She had followed her husband from place to place and from battle to battle, seeming to enjoy the excitement and deprivations of camp life, and actually felt annoyed when peace was declared, and they were obliged to break camp and make ready for private life. Her subsequent career,

however, was not destined to be one of light import or devoid of distinction. Knox was very soon appointed Secretary of War, in 1785, holding the office nine years, and Mrs. Knox was ere long almost indispensable to Mrs. Washington in doing the social honors that naturally devolve upon the leading lady of a nation.

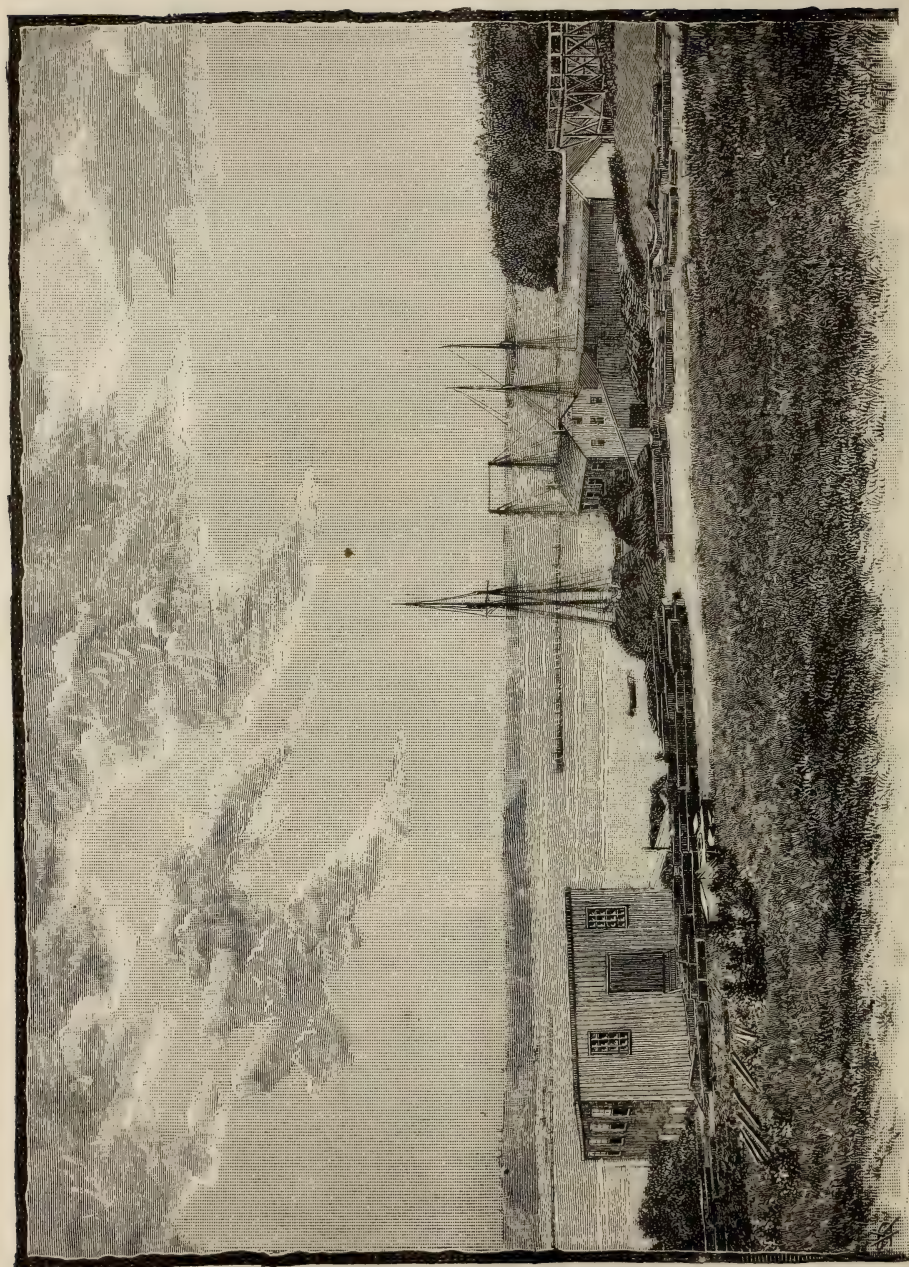
Knox was as unsuccessful at financiering as he was ingenuous at laying plans, and he was painfully conscious of his inability to overcome the misfortune. At one time, while he was in political office, he introduced a bill before the Legislature, and requested another party to offer the resolution for the required appropriation, saying, "People already say I would bankrupt the nation." This weakness was more disastrous in private than in public affairs. His financial decline began with his Thomaston life. His business enterprises were both numerous and extensive, and his overtures to settlers too liberally extended to insure careful industry in return. He even bought parcels of his own land from the squatters in order to send them away in peace. He published advertisements extolling the country and offering favorable terms to new-comers; established stores of all kinds, markets, brick-yards, lime-kilns, etc., and built wharfs and ships, besides paying no little attention to the clearing of the forests and tilling of the soil. He filled a seat in the council board of the State, and was at one time talked of for governor. Cattle and game raising also interested him, but in all these schemes he reckoned without his host.

Soon a volley of unpaid bills of merchandise, labor, etc., growing out of his enormous business attempts and expensive mode of entertaining, was hurled at him, and piece by piece of his estate was transferred, greatly under value, to meet these demands. One after another of his well-planned but half-completed undertakings were passed over to creditors, and he found his fortunes on a steady decline. Nevertheless, the handsome and generous style of living was maintained until his death, in 1806, from inflammation caused by swallowing a chicken-bone. His funeral was conducted under military regulations and was imposing in the extreme for so quiet a town. His remains were placed in a family tomb which Lady Knox had constructed on the spot from which, a few years previous, she had had the graves of the early settlers removed. A grey marble shaft, bearing the simple inscription and the couplet,

" 'Tis Fate's decree ; farewell, thy just renown,
The Hero's honor and the good man's crown,"

was erected over the tomb.

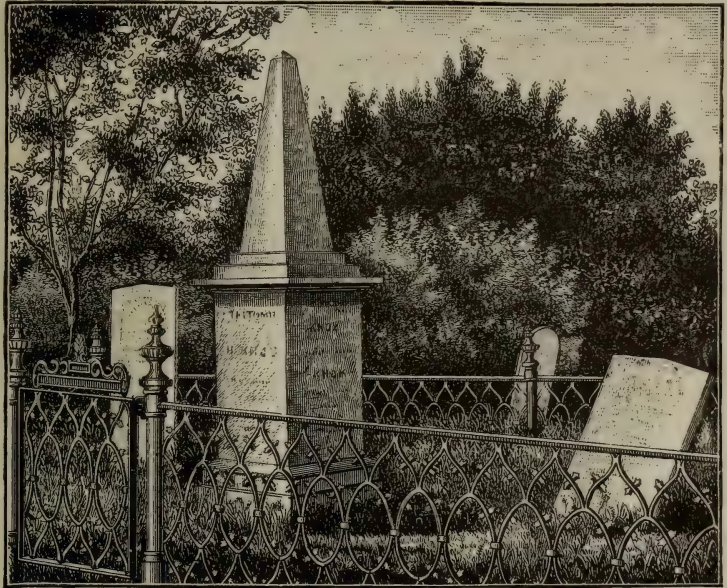
General Henry Jackson, a warm friend of Knox, visited here soon after the burial, and sat by the tomb of his former comrade until far into



PRESENT RIVER FRONT OF MONTPELIER. THE KNOX VILLA. [*From a Photograph.*]

the evening, when a country neighbor, passing, mistook him for the ghost of Knox and directly knelt, terrified, into prayer. The mistake was explained, but Jackson found it impossible to recover the thread of his meditation.

After the death of her husband, Lady Knox seemed to lose favor and influence in the estimation of many whose interest had really been in behalf of her noble-hearted husband rather than of herself. She terminated her annual visits to Boston, and remained quietly at home, striving to keep up former appearances with her extremely reduced income. One by one the out-buildings were sold and removed, building sites and town streets were laid out from the immediate grounds, private drives were constructed into public thoroughfares, and inroads were made upon every foot of the property save the mansion itself, one small stable, and the servants' house—the two latter yet in ex-



PRESENT BURIAL-PLACE OF THE KNOX FAMILY.

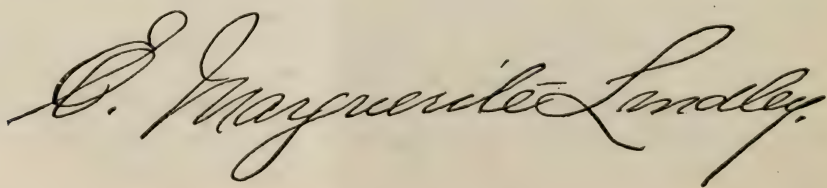
[From a Photograph.]

istence on the premises. In July, 1824, she died after a short but acute illness. Her two surviving daughters remained in possession of the mansion, striving with utmost economy to keep it in at nearly its former order as decay and poverty would allow. In 1854 the last of the children died and the spacious residence was left worse than a tomb. The will provided no fund for the management of the estate, but an annuity was allowed the executor by the other heirs, with the expectation that he would keep the house with what remained in it; yet, before the towns-people were fully aware of the movement, an auction sale was announced, and the richly carved furnishings, books, etc., sold to the clamorous public.

A little later a lot was purchased in an undesirable corner of the town cemetery, whither the precious remains were transferred from the family tomb: General and Mrs. Knox, with their children who died young, being placed in one and the same grave, and the others in separate graves. The gray marble shaft that formerly guarded the entrance to the tomb stands at the head of the large grave, and plain slabs at the others. The lot is inclosed with an iron fence, now tumble-down and neglected. The towns-people rightly considered this a disgrace to them as well as to the Knox descendants, and wrote to the executor of the will for permission to remove the bodies to a prominent place in the park and place a suitable monument over them. The reply, although a refusal, shows that his action in regard to the burial had been a hasty one. He mentions the repugnance he feels at another removal of the honored remains, and his veneration for the monument Mrs. Knox had selected to mark her husband's last resting-place; and also speaks, in warm appreciation, of the interest and kindness of the Thomaston people in wishing "to perpetuate the memory of a man who gave all the energies of his early life to the great cause of establishing for us this model Republic, and his latter days to the interests of the town which he selected before all others as his home."

The old Knox mansion remained a striking land-mark until about the year 1868. The construction of the Knox and Lincoln Railroad necessitated its removal, as the line of the road was laid diagonally across its site; the servants' house has been utilized as the railroad station, and the solitary stable has been converted into a grave-stone manufactory. The grounds are but a mere waste save the river border, which is occupied by a cluster of petty manufactories.

The prompt, active part taken by Knox in the Revolution, his valuable services for the nation after the close of the war, and his useful life as a citizen when his public career ended, will ever be gratefully remembered by all New England people. The visitor to Thomaston will find streets and public institutions bearing his name, and will observe how the enthusiasm and reverence of a grateful people bursts forth into well-merited praise. Our recruits for the late war marched under a banner bearing the words, "From the Home of Knox."

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "C. Margarette Lundy". The signature is written in dark ink on a light-colored background.

THE NORTH-WEST TERRITORY.

ITS ORDINANCE AND ITS SETTLEMENT

On the 7th of April, 1888, a century will be completed since the first colony was planted on the first territory belonging to the United States. The causes which led to the establishment of that colony, the territory on which it was planted, and the ordinance of the Continental Congress for the government of the territory, form the subject of this paper.

The ordinance of 1787 is regarded as one of the wisest and most remarkable of the enactments of the Continental Congress. The territory for the government of which it was enacted was a conspicuous feature in our early history, regarded with great interest by European as well as American States. The settlement of that territory, made in 1788, was remarkable in many respects, and especially noteworthy for its intimate connection with the ordinance of 1787, and the preparation which had been made for it through a series of years.

The establishment, in a great territory inhabited only by savage tribes, of a colony carrying with it the institutions of civilized and Christian society was in itself an important event. But this was not a fortuitous migration, but the carrying out of a long-contemplated plan. For years events had been shaping themselves with reference to this settlement. No single decade in the history of the United States is so full of important events as that of which the present is the centennial—the decade from 1780 to 1790. And nearly all those events were directly connected with the North-west territory and its settlement. Besides the questions of the war, the providing of ways and means for carrying on the struggle for independence, the attention of our public men was largely occupied with the territory west of the Alleghenies, and especially that north-west of the river Ohio. As the probabilities of a successful termination of the war with England became stronger, the agitation of the question of title to this region became more earnest. Four States laid claim to it, in whole or in part, while others insisted that it belonged to the nation itself. Maryland, especially, was strenuous in her opposition to these State claims, and because of them she had declined to ratify the Articles of Confederation. Congress could not well decide between the claimants,

but urged them all to make cessions to the United States. Early in September, 1780, on a report of a committee to whom had been referred the instructions of Maryland to her delegates, the remonstrance of Virginia and the action of New York, pressed the importance of a surrender of these claims, which were endangering the stability of the general Confederacy. This was followed, on the 10th of October, by the important resolution: "That the unappropriated lands that may be ceded or relinquished to the United States by any particular State shall be disposed of for the common benefit of the United States, and be settled and formed into distinct republican States, which shall become members of the federal union."

New York was the first State to cede her claim. Though not based, like those of Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Virginia, upon a colonial grant or charter, her claim seems to have been regarded by the Committee of Congress, to whom the various claims had been referred for examination, as not inferior, at least, to either of the others. The cession of New York was not only the first, it was also made without any reservation. And on the same day that the delegates of New York executed their deed of cession, those of Maryland signed the Articles of Confederation, thus completing the Federal Union. Knowing how inefficient these articles proved as a constitution of government, we do not now attach to them any high value, but we must not forget that they constituted the symbol of union; and thus their ratification by Maryland as the thirteenth State was a most important act, and brought a great feeling of relief to the country.

Maryland seemed to assume that the example of New York would be followed by the other States having claims, in which she was not disappointed, though there was some delay, and all the cessions were not, like hers, without reservation. Had they insisted on their claims, the union, such as it was, must have been broken to pieces. The question at issue concerned the ownership of the North-west Territory. We are greatly indebted to Maryland for the firmness with which she maintained her position that the territory won by the blood and treasure of the common country was by right the property of the United States as a whole; and we are also indebted to those States which, having, as they believed, rightful claims, were willing to relinquish them for the common good.

But there was a further question of ownership of the same region. The war was not yet over. The battle of Yorktown had not been fought. And even when England became satisfied that she must let her colonies go, there still remained the question of boundary. Next to her unwilling-

ness to acknowledge our independence was her unwillingness to yield any territory north-west of the Ohio. Congress wanted the forty-fifth parallel of latitude as the dividing line; England insisted on the Ohio River. France had aided us in our struggle for independence, but in the matter of boundary she was on the side of England. So, too, was Spain; and, as treaties were to be made between England and these two powers, as well as between her and the United States, all involving questions of territory, the matter was not a little complicated. To add to the difficulty, Congress had instructed the American commissioners to consult the French Court as to the provisions of the treaty between Great Britain and the United States. Mr. Jay, becoming convinced that the French minister was not acting in good faith, addressed himself directly to the English commissioner, and thus a provisional treaty was agreed on without the knowledge of France. The American commissioners felt themselves justified, in the peculiar circumstances of the case, in departing from their instructions, though they have been severely criticised for it by some of their own countrymen, and it has often been asserted that their suspicions of the French minister were without foundation. Recently documents have been brought to light which go far to justify them in what they did.

In the midst of the negotiations a change of administration took place in consequence of the death of the Marquis of Rochester. The new prime minister, Lord Shelburne, though he had been opposed to the passage of the Stamp Act, was strongly averse to the acknowledgment of the independence of the United States. So strong was his opposition that he declared in Parliament after he became prime minister that, in his opinion, "whenever Parliament should acknowledge the independence of America, the sun of England's glory was set forever." With the British prime minister holding such views, and with France and Spain unwilling that the United States should hold any territory north of the Ohio, it is remarkable that our commissioners succeeded in making the St. Lawrence and the lakes the dividing line instead of the Ohio River.

The provisional treaty between the United States and Great Britain was signed November 30, 1782, but was not to take effect till peace should be concluded between France and Great Britain. This was done a little later, the provisional treaty between these two powers being signed January 20, 1783; as also on the same day one between Spain and Great Britain. On the 3d of September following definitive treaties were concluded between Great Britain and the other three powers.

After it was settled by the three provisional treaties that England, France, and Spain would relinquish to the United States all claim to the

territory lying between the Ohio, the Mississippi, and the great lakes, a most important movement was made to plant there a colony. The Continental Congress as early as 1776 had appropriated lands as bounties for officers and soldiers who should serve during the war. Before the army had been disbanded and while yet in camp at Newburgh, two hundred and eighty-eight officers signed a petition to Congress asking that the bounty lands to which they were entitled might be located between the river Ohio and Lake Erie. They speak of this tract as "of sufficient extent, the land of such quality and situation as may induce Congress to assign and mark it out as a tract or territory to form a distinct government, in time to be admitted one of the Confederate States of America." General Rufus Putnam placed this petition, with a long and able letter, in the hands of General Washington to be laid before Congress. This petition, with the letter of General Putnam, as also the letter of General Washington to the President of Congress, will be referred to again. Though the commander-in-chief strongly urged the granting of this petition, Congress declined doing it; partly, perhaps, because the conditional cession by Virginia of her claim to the territory had not been accepted. Looking back after the lapse of a hundred years, we see that the delay of a few years in the planting of that colony was wisely ordered by Him who shapes the course of human events.

On the 1st of March, 1784, the delegates in Congress from Virginia, in pursuance of an act of the Legislature of that State, passed October 20, 1783, executed a deed of cession of the right of that commonwealth to the territory north west of the river Ohio. This cession made two reservations—one reserving for "the Virginia troops upon continental establishment" the land between the Scioto and Little Miami rivers, and the other granting 150,000 acres for George Rogers Clarke and his officers and men. The two States with the largest claims to the Western territory—New York and Virginia—having now made cessions satisfactory to Congress, a committee was appointed to report a plan for the government of that territory. This committee, consisting of Messrs. Jefferson, Chase, and Howell, reported a plan, which after recommitment and subsequent amendments, was passed on the 23d of April. As reported by the committee, the resolution contained this paragraph: "That after the year 1800 of the Christian era there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the said States, otherwise than in punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been convicted to have been personally guilty." This clause was stricken out before the passage of the resolution.

This resolution of 1784 is often confounded with the ordinance of 1787, and Mr. Jefferson is spoken of as the author of that ordinance. But two weeks after the passage of the resolution of 1784 he was elected minister plenipotentiary for negotiating treaties with foreign powers and immediately went abroad. His return to this country did not take place till late in November, 1789.

The plan for a temporary government of the Western territory, adopted in 1784, never went into effect, though it remained on the statute-book till repealed by the ordinance of 1787. But in 1785 Congress passed an ordinance affecting that territory which went immediately into operation, and which, in all its most important features, is still in force—the “ordinance for ascertaining the Mode of disposing of Lands in the Western Territory,” passed on the 20th of May. It provided for a rectangular system of surveys, dividing the public domain into ranges, townships, and sections, the boundaries being all in the direction of the cardinal points of the compass, so that a locality is designated by its distance east or west from a given meridian, and north or south of a given parallel, as a ship’s place at sea by its longitude and latitude. The starting-point was at the place of intersection of the west line of Pennsylvania with the north bank of the Ohio River. From this point a line drawn west forty-two miles was to form the base for the first seven ranges, from which at the six-mile points lines were to be run south to the Ohio River. This great system of surveys thus inaugurated has been applied to all the public domain, and through its simplicity and exactness of description has proved of incalculable value to all who have become owners of the soil.

In this year, 1785, Massachusetts made a cession of the territory claimed by her. Her delegates in Congress executed the deed April 19, conveying all her right and title to the territory within the limits of her charter lying west of the west line of New York; that is, west of a meridian drawn “through the westerly bent or inclination of Lake Ontario.”

Connecticut, in September, 1786, followed the example of the other States that had made cessions; though in the matter of reservation she followed in the steps of Virginia and not in those of New York and Massachusetts. She reserved a belt on the south shore of Lake Erie, one hundred and twenty miles long by an average of fifty miles wide, and called in early times New Connecticut, and still known as the Western Reserve. The reservations of both Virginia and Connecticut thus came from what is now the State of Ohio. Unfortunately, the system of surveys established by the ordinance of 1785 could not be applied to these reservations, which were laid off by the States claiming them. On the Reserve the townships

are five miles square instead of six, and in the Virginia military district ranges, townships, and sections are all unknown, the boundary lines running in all directions and the tracts being of all conceivable forms of irregularity.

Earlier in the year 1786, an event occurred whose bearing on the Western Territory was direct and most potent—the formation of the “Ohio Company of Associates.” The petition of a large number of officers of the army in 1783 that they might locate their bounty lands between Lake Erie and the Ohio had been unsuccessful. But the officer who was foremost in that effort had not relinquished the idea of a colony in that western region. The land ordinance of 1785 provided for one surveyor from each State to be elected by Congress on the nomination of the delegates from the State. Rufus Putnam was elected surveyor from Massachusetts, but being unable to go, he requested that General Benjamin Tupper might be appointed temporarily in his place. This was done, and Mr. Tupper went out in the summer of that year, but on account of the Indians nothing could be done. The following winter these two officers, after careful conference, called a meeting of revolutionary officers, with reference to the formation of a company to make a settlement on the Ohio. The meeting was held in Boston, March 1, 1786, delegates being present from eight counties of Massachusetts. General Putnam was the president of the meeting and the chairman of the committee to prepare the articles of association. Thus was formed the Ohio Company. The first directors were General Rufus Putnam, General Samuel H. Parsons, and Rev. Manasseh Cutler. Subsequently, General James M. Varnum, a member of the Continental Congress, was added to the number.

The plan was to purchase of Congress a large tract of land on which they might found a colony as a nucleus of a new State. The broad views which pervaded the petition of the officers of the army in 1783, and which appeared in Putnam's letter to Washington, animated the men who formed this company in 1786. In one sense it was a private enterprise, as each shareholder paid for his share from his private funds; but it was also in a measure a public enterprise, representing, on the one hand, the veterans of the army, whose private fortunes had been wasted by the long war for independence, and, on the other, the statesmen and patriots of the country, who were anxious to see a new empire founded in the western region, which, after the long struggle with individual States at home and Great Britain abroad, was now in the peaceable possession of the United States.

As the purchase by these Ohio Associates is inseparably connected with the great ordinance of 1787, it is necessary to refer again to the plan

for a temporary government of the western country, adopted in 1784, and what preceded and followed it. That action of 1784, though the first taken formally by Congress, was not the first consideration given to the subject. As has been seen, the question of ownership was early agitated. The Articles of Confederation were agreed to in Congress, in November, 1777, but before that time efforts were made to include in the powers of Congress that of ascertaining and fixing the western boundary of such States as claim to the Mississippi or South Sea, and of laying out the land beyond the boundary into separate and independent States. Maryland took the lead in such efforts, and sometimes her vote was the only one in favor of the proposed measure. But the idea of a public domain was getting hold of the minds of the statesmen of that period. The representation by New Jersey, in June, 1778, that "the boundaries and limits of each State ought to be fully and finally fixed and made known," indicated the objection there entertained.

The action of October 10, 1780, as already stated, declared explicitly that any lands ceded to the United States should be disposed of for the common benefit, and be settled and formed into distinct republican States, which should become members of the Federal Union, and have the same rights as the other States; that each should contain not less than one hundred nor more than one hundred and fifty square miles. Virginia incorporated in her act of cession this congressional action of October 10, giving the dimensions of the proposed States.

One of the clearest statements of the relation of the United States to new territory is contained in the preamble to a resolution introduced on the 13th of September, 1783, by a delegate from Maryland: "Whereas the United States have succeeded to the Sovereignty over the Western Territory, and are thereby vested as one undivided and independent nation with all and every power and right exercised by the King of Great Britain over the said territory, or the lands lying and situated without the boundaries of the several States, etc., therefore Resolved."

The subject of the new territory was much in men's thoughts, and various efforts were made in Congress to alter some of the provisions of the plan for a temporary government passed April 23, 1784. That plan allowed slavery till 1800, but prohibited it after that time. Mr. King, of Massachusetts, moved and Mr. Grayson, of Virginia, seconded to refer the question of immediate prohibition, and the motion to refer was carried. On motion of Mr. Grayson, seconded by Mr. King, it was resolved, "That the navigable waters leading into the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence, and the carrying places between the same be declared to be common

highways, and be forever free, as well to the inhabitants of the territory as to the citizens of the United States, and those of any other States that may be admitted into the Confederation, without any tax, impost, or duty therefor."

Efforts were made to repeal that part of the plan which provided limits for the new States by lines of latitude and longitude, and to induce Virginia to modify her act of cession which required the new States to contain not less than one hundred nor more than one hundred and fifty square miles. Mr. Grayson proposed to divide the whole into five States, with boundaries which are almost exactly identical with those of the present five States. It was decided, however, to provide for a division into a number not less than three nor more than five.

The committee on the territory, which had been appointed early in 1786, had undergone some changes in its members, but at the close of that Congress, November 3, it consisted of Messrs. Johnson, Pinckney, Smith, Dane, and Henry. The new Congress, which should have been organized Monday, November 6, had no quorum till February 2, 1787, when General Arthur St. Clair, of Pennsylvania, was elected president. On the 9th of May, according to the journal, "Congress proceeded to the second reading of the ordinance for the government of the Western territory," and after some amendments had been made it was "Ordered that it be transcribed and that Thursday next be assigned for the third reading." That Thursday was the next day, the 10th of May. The third reading did not take place. Mr. Bancroft, after stating that the ordinance was ordered on the 9th of May, to be transcribed and made the order of the next day, says, "of a sudden the further progress of the ordinance was arrested." What arrested it? It was an application from that Company of Associates which had been formed in Massachusetts, in the spring of 1786, to purchase a tract of land in the Ohio Valley. That company had perfected its organization and had been obtaining subscribers, and now they sent one of their directors to New York to make the purchase from Congress. This agent was General Samuel H. Parsons, of Connecticut, an officer of the Revolution. It happened that on the very day when the ordinance for the government of the Western Territory was ordered to its third reading for the morrow, General Parsons appeared with his application. It was this which "arrested the further progress of the ordinance."

In the language of Mr. Bancroft: "It interested every one. For vague hopes of colonization here stood a hardy band of pioneers, ready to lead the way to the rapid absorption of the domestic debt of the United States; selected from the choicest regiments of the army; capable of self-defence;

the protectors of all who should follow them ; men skilled in the labors of the field and artisans ; enterprising and laborious ; trained in the severe morality and strict orthodoxy of the New England villages of that day. All was changed. There was the same difference as between sending out recruiting officers and giving marching orders to a regular corps present with music and arms and banners. On the instant, the memorial was referred to a committee, consisting of Edward Carrington, Rufus King, Nathan Dane, Madison, and Egbert Benson—a great committee ; its older members of Congress having worthy associates in Carrington and Benson, of whom nothing was spoken, but in praise of their faultless integrity and rightness of intention.”

The third reading of the proposed ordinance did not take place on the 10th of May, as had been ordered, nor on the 11th. Indeed, it was never read the third time. After the 11th there was no quorum till the 4th of July. This may have been owing to the fact that some of the members of Congress were members also of the Constitutional Convention, which convened at Philadelphia in May. On the 5th of July, there was again no quorum in Congress, and that evening, Rev. Manasseh Cutler, a director of the Ohio Company, came to New York to follow up the memorial which had been presented in May by General Parsons, and which arrested the progress of the proposed ordinance. Two or three days after Mr. Cutler’s arrival, a new committee on an ordinance for the government of the Western Territory was appointed. It consisted of Edward Carrington, R. H. Lee, Mr. Dane, Mr. Kean, and Mr. Smith. Mr. Dane and Mr. Smith were on the former committee, but the other three, two from Virginia and one from South Carolina, were new men ; and Mr. Carrington, a new member, was the chairman. Mr. Carrington, it will be remembered, was the chairman of the committee appointed on the 9th of May, to whom was referred the memorial of the Ohio Company. This new committee two days after their appointment reported a new ordinance, which was read the first time on that day—the 11th—read the second time on the 12th, and on the 13th was read the third time, and passed.

Mr. Bancroft, in his *History of the Constitution*, devotes a chapter to this ordinance of 1787, and the purchase by the Ohio Company of a large tract of land in the valley of the Ohio. The chapter opens thus : “ Before the federal convention had referred its resolutions to a committee of detail, an interlude in Congress was shaping the character and destiny of the United States of America. Sublime and humane and eventful in the history of mankind as was the result, it will not take many words to tell how it was brought about. For a time wisdom and peace and justice

dwelt among men, and the great ordinance, which could alone give continuance to the Union, came in serenity and stillness. Every man that had a share in it seemed to be led by an invisible hand to do just what was wanted of him; all that was wrongfully undertaken fell to the ground to wither by the wayside; whatever was needed for the happy completion of the mighty work arrived opportunely, and just at the right moment moved into its place." Many eulogiums on the ordinance of 1787 have been pronounced by Webster, and others standing in the front rank of statesmen, but nothing concerning it has ever been penned finer, stronger, truer, than these eloquent words of our great historian.

How it came to pass that an ordinance to which such strong language can be truthfully applied should have been drawn up and passed within four days from the appointment of the committee, and with entire unanimity by the States present, has ever been a cause of surprise. Remember that the enactment of the great ordinance making the Ohio River a barrier to slavery was the work of the South. Of the eight States there present, five were Southern, three Northern. Three years before, a proposition to allow slavery in the territory till the year 1800, with a prohibition after that time, was stricken out from the plan as reported; now an absolute and immediate prohibition receives the vote of every State present, Southern as well as Northern; and of the individual members, every one said "Ay" except Abraham Yates, of New York.

And yet the case is not incomprehensible. A director and agent of a company made up of officers and soldiers presents himself before Congress, wishing to purchase land in the West on which they could found a colony. Accustomed to good government at home, they must know what would be their government beyond the Ohio. Give them a good ordinance under which to live, and they were ready to go. Nothing could be more natural—nothing more reasonable; and no man in the United States could present the case in terms more clear or more forcible than this Massachusetts clergyman. Manasseh Cutler was a remarkable man, with extraordinary powers of persuasion and great knowledge of men. It was doubtless at his suggestion that Mr. Grayson, his personal friend, the temporary chairman of Congress, appointed on the Ordinance Committee three new men, all from the South. They were wise men, and they saw the wisdom of Mr. Cutler's representations. They gathered up all that was valuable in the previous action of Congress on the Western territory, and they added such new matter as Mr. Cutler showed them would be conducive to the best interests of all who should make the West their home, and be acceptable to those who proposed to lead the way.

Certain it is that the planting of the colony and the passage of the ordinance could not have been separated. They must stand or fall together. Had no memorial come to Congress from the Ohio Company, the ordinance which was read the second time on the 9th of May would doubtless have been passed in the crude state in which it then was, and the great ordinance of July 13 would not have seen the light. The establishment of the colony at the mouth of the Muskingum in April, 1788, was thus intimately connected with the best work of the Continental Congress. From the year of the declaration of independence the Western territory, its government, its settlement, had been prominently before the public. From 1776 to 1788 preparations had been making, plans maturing, to found a new empire beyond the Ohio. The landing of Rufus Putnam and his associates at Marietta on the 7th of April, 1788, was the outward and visible completion of what had hitherto existed in men's thoughts. The new territory, the title to which the United States had struggled for, both with the great States of her own Confederacy and with powerful nations abroad, was now taken possession of in her name by the choicest of her own citizens, the bravest of her own army. Men who had helped England to wrest that very country from France in the French and Indian war, and who had afterward, with the aid of France, reconquered it from England, now go to make it their home; ready, if the necessity should come, as come it did, to take up arms once more to defend it, and with it the border States themselves, from the Indians, who had been our foes in both the previous wars.

This settlement was made by the same officers who had petitioned Congress when in camp at Newburgh in 1783. A committee of Congress in 1792, to whom had been referred a memorial of the Ohio Company, thus connects the two movements: "The Ohio Company of Associates had its foundation in an application to the United States, in Congress assembled, by the officers of the late army." And the report of the committee embodies the petition, the letter of General Putnam to General Washington accompanying the petition, the letter of General Washington to the President of Congress, and the contract of the Ohio Company with Congress, dated October 27, 1787. The petitioners in 1783 ask that the lands voted to them may be located between Lake Erie and the Ohio, where they hope to "form a distinct government." They pray also "that provision may be made for a further grant of lands to such of the army as may wish to become adventurers in the new government, in such quantities and on such conditions of settlement and purchase for public securities as Congress shall judge most for the interest of the intended government, and rendering it of lasting consequence to the American *empire*."

General Putnam, in his letter to Washington, outlines a plan for "making such arrangements of garrisons in the western quarter as shall give efficient protection to the settlers and encourage emigration to the new government." The letter concludes thus: "The probability is that the country between Lake Erie and the Ohio will be filled with inhabitants, and the faithful subjects of these United States so established on the waters of the Ohio and the lakes as to banish forever the idea of our Western territory falling under the dominion of any European power; the frontiers of the old States will be effectually secured from savage alarms, and the new will have little to fear from their insults."

Very similar in tenor is the language of Washington in his letter to the President of Congress: "It appears to me that this is the tract which, from its local position and peculiar advantages, ought to be first settled in preference to any other whatever; and I am perfectly convinced that it cannot be so advantageously settled by any other class of men as by the disbanded officers and soldiers of the army. . . . This plan of colonization would connect our governments with the frontiers, extend our settlements progressively, and plant a brave, a hardy and respectable race of people as our advanced post, who would be always ready and willing (in case of hostility) to combat the savages and check their incursions."

What is here said of the projected colony of 1783 was equally true of the actual colony of 1788. Both originated with the officers of the Revolutionary army, and had the same general objects of founding new States and extending the American empire. Of the colony of 1788 Washington, writing in June of that year, says: "No colony in America was ever settled under such favorable auspices as that which has just commenced at the Muskingum. Information, property, strength, will be its characteristics. I know many of the settlers personally, and there never were men better calculated to promote the welfare of such a community." A few months before he had written to Lafayette: "A spirit of emigration to the Western country is very predominant. Congress has sold in the year past a pretty large quantity of lands on the Ohio for public securities, and thereby diminished the public debt considerably. Many of your military acquaintances, such as Generals Parsons, Varnum, Putnam, Colonels Tupper, Sproat, and Sherman, with many more, propose settling there. From such beginnings much may be expected."

The colony was referred to in the correspondence of many public men of that time. Frequent mention of it was made in the letters to the Minister of Foreign Affairs in France. It was regarded as an event of national interest.

The ordinance and the colony were the work of the Continental Congress and the veterans of the army. To them is due the great Northwest as it is to-day, with its millions of inhabitants, its wealth, its civilization. When the ordinance of 1787 was passed there was no American citizen resident there. Those who crossed the Ohio in 1788 entered a new region. The first State formed from new territory was Ohio. Vermont, Kentucky, Tennessee, had all been parts of the old thirteen States. Their populations were numbered by thousands before the ordinance was passed. But the settlement on the north bank of the Ohio was the taking possession by the government of an uninhabited region—a region on which public interest had centered from the beginning of the revolutionary struggle, and which had been wrested from England only by the highest valor in the field and the most persistent firmness in the Cabinet. The very application to Congress by the proposed settlers was an epoch. So great was the faith reposed in them, and of so great public importance was the planting of a suitable colony deemed to be, that Congress at once responded to their wishes, both as to the purchase and to the government of the territory. The United States, in Congress assembled, sent them forth to their new home with a national blessing. Congress took their own president and made him the governor, and appointed as judges two generals of the Revolution; and this before a single emigrant had started on his journey. No other territory of the United States has been settled under such auspices; no other colony has excited so general an interest.*

It was this proposed purchase and settlement that developed in our public men higher and truer views of national government. When Mr. Carroll, of Maryland, and Mr. Read, of South Carolina, endeavored years before to incorporate into the plan of government of the Western Territory, the declaration that it should be governed by magistrates appointed by Congress, that body was not ready for it. But the ordinance of 1787 shows no such timidity. The governor, the secretary, the judges were all to be appointed by Congress. The direct authority of the United States over the territory pervades the whole ordinance.

The Congressional Act of May 20, 1785, for the disposal of the public

* Among the many eminent men who were members of the Ohio Company were Governors James Bowdoin, Caleb Strong, and Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, the latter also Vice-President of the United States; Governor William Greene, of Rhode Island; Governor Jonathan Trumbull, of Connecticut; Samuel Dexter, United States Senator from Massachusetts and Secretary of the Treasury; Uriah Tracy, United States Senator from Connecticut; Ebenezer Hazzard, Postmaster-General under the Continental Congress; Brockholst Livingston, Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court; Alexander Hamilton, the first Secretary of the Treasury; Henry Knox, the first Secretary of War; President Joseph Willard, of Harvard College.

lands, admirable as it is in most of its features, shows the same hesitancy as to the power of the United States. The lands are to be surveyed by surveyors chosen one for every State; the delegation of the State nominating and Congress electing by ballot. And when seven ranges had been surveyed, the lands were to be divided among the States by lot according to their several quotas, and the sales were to be made by the loan commissioners of the respective States, and these State Commissioners were to sign the deeds. But when the Ohio Company came with an offer to purchase they asked for a million and a half of acres in a body, to be conveyed to them by the United States. The land ordinance of 1785, directing sales to be made through the loan commissioners of the States was still in force, but Congress set it aside when they directed the Board of Treasury to "take order" in accordance with the proposition of the Ohio Company. And that contract for the sale—the first ever made by our government—the parchment original of which finds fitting place in the library of the College at Marietta, bears the signature of no loan commissioner of a State, but the names of Samuel Osgood and Arthur Lee, of the Board of Treasury of the United States.

At the annual meeting of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, on the 19th of February last, a memorial was addressed to the General Assembly of Ohio, asking that action be taken with reference to a suitable commemoration at Marietta, on the 7th of April, 1888, of the settlement of the North-west Territory, April 7, 1788. The General Assembly, by a unanimous vote in each House, asked their Senators and Representatives to endeavor to secure Congressional action for the erection of a suitable monumental structure commemorative of the ordinance and settlement.

The American Historical Association, at its recent annual meeting in the city of Washington, during the last week in April, adopted the following expressions of cordial interest in the movement: Recognizing the fact that the acquisition of the Territory north-west of the Ohio was of the greatest consequence to the growth and development of the United States, and being informed of a purpose to celebrate at Marietta, in 1888, the centennial of the first settlement in that territory, perceive that purpose to be a proper recognition of the beginning of what has become one of the most important divisions of the American Union.

This sketch of the North-west Territory, its ordinance of 1787, and its settlement of 1788, has furnished reasons, it is hoped, why the centennial of that settlement should be regarded as of more than local importance. Years ago it was said of the ordinance by Mr. Chase, the statesman and

jurist, "Never, probably, in the history of the world, did a measure of legislation so accurately fulfill, and yet so mightily exceed, the anticipations of the legislators." If the purchase, the ordinance, and the settlement were largely instrumental in "shaping the character and destiny of the United States," the coming centennial is worthy of a national commemoration. We have seen how profound was the interest with which Washington and the patriots of his time regarded this settlement of the territory, and how great were the expectations which they entertained of it; the five great States of which that settlement was the germ and the beginning show whether those expectations have been fulfilled.

Israel Ward Andrews.

MARIETTA COLLEGE, OHIO

CONVENTION OF NEW YORK, 1788

In the Convention of New York, after the preliminaries of order were settled, debate was opened by Livingston the Chancellor. He directed attention to the fact, that throughout the United States one language was spoken, one religion professed, and one political principle recognized—that all power is derived from the people. “It must be of little moment to the people how much of that power they vest in a State government, and how much in the councils of the Union.” “Our situation admits of a Union and our distresses point out its necessity. Our existence as a State depends on a strong and efficient federal government. The State has great natural advantages from its valuable and abundant staples, the situation of its principal sea-port, from the command of the commerce of New Jersey by the river discharging in its bay, from the facility of intercourse with the Eastern States by the Sound, from the Hudson bearing on its bosom the wealth of the remote parts of the State. A lasting peace affords a prospect of its commanding the treasures of the West by the improvement of its internal navigation. The domestic debt of the Union is light; the back lands will pay the foreign debt, if a government vigorous enough to avail of that resource is adopted. For that government, imports, at no distant day, will be sufficient, and taxation will only be needed for internal government. But the State has disadvantages, in the detached situation of its ports, particularly Staten Island and Long Island, in the vicinity of States, which, in case of disunion, would be independent, and might be hostile. To the north-east, Vermont, a State with a brave and hardy people whom we have not the spirit to subdue nor the magnanimity to yield to, will avail of the weakness of New York. On the north-west there are the British posts and hostile savages. In case of domestic war, the Hudson, intersecting the State, weakens it by the difficulty of bringing one part to support the other. Consequently, our wealth and our weakness equally require the support of a Federal Union. A union can only be found in the existing Confederation, or in that under consideration; and as a union can only be founded upon the consent of the States, it should be sought, when that consent may be expected. The powers of Confederation were very similar to those in the proposed Constitution. Why had they not been efficient? Why was Vermont an independent State? Why have new States been rent from those in the West, in defiance of our plighted faith? Why are

the British posts within the limits of the States? Because the Confederation is defective in principle and impeachable in execution, operating on States in their political capacity, not upon individuals. The powers intended to be vested in the Federal head have been impossible of execution, on the principle of a league of States totally separate and independent, therefore the form of government must be changed." Lansing said: "We ought to be extremely cautious how we establish a government which may give distinct interests to the rulers and the ruled. The objections urged against the Confederation are, that it affords no defense against foreign attack, and no security for domestic tranquillity. Both might be compassed if Congress could be vested with power to raise men and money, its legislation to act on individuals, after requisitions had been made and not complied with. This proposed Constitution I suppose to be a new experiment in politics. A government so organized and possessing such powers will unavoidably terminate in depriving us of civil liberty. Conquest can do no more; that, in the present state of civilization, subjects us to be ruled by persons in whose appointment we have no agency. I am content to risk a possible even a probable evil to avoid a certain one. I contemplate the idea of disunion with pain, but if it should ensue, what is to be apprehended? We are connected both by interest and affection with the Eastern States, we harbor no animosities against each other, we have no interfering territorial claims. Our manners are nearly similar, they are daily assimilating, and mutual advantages will probably prompt to mutual concessions and enable us to form a union with them. I have declared that a consolidated government, even partaking in a great degree of republican principles, which had in its object the control of the inhabitants of the extensive territory of the United States, could not preserve the essential rights and liberties of the people. Reflection has given that belief greater force, and as the representative of others, my duty is to offer amendments to this Constitution. Any amendment which will have a tendency to lessen the danger of the invasion of civil liberty by the general government will meet my approbation, while none which in the remotest degree originate in local views will receive my concurrence." The Chancellor rejoined, that if a federal requisition upon a State was disregarded, subsequent federal action upon individuals must be a source of eternal disorder, for then there would be a body of federal officials acting in a State in direct opposition to the declared sense of its legislature.

Melancthon Smith was "willing to sacrifice anything for a union except the liberties of his country. That was the point to be debated. As for alarm from the inimical disposition of the Eastern States, he did not believe

in the existence of such feelings. It could not be supposed that those States would war on us for exercising the rights of free men, deliberating and judging for ourselves on a subject the most interesting that ever came before any assembly. If war with our neighbors was to be the result of not acceding, debate was useless. We had better receive their dictates, if we were unable to resist them. The defects of the old Confederation needed as little proof as the necessity of a union, but the question is not whether the old plan was bad, but whether the new one is good. To the clause before the committee his objections were threefold. To the apportionment, the principle of representation is that a free agent ought to be concerned in governing himself. Slaves have no will of their own, therefore the rule of apportionment was founded on an unjust principle, but if the result of accommodation, it must be admitted, utterly repugnant as it was. To the absence of a prohibition against a reduction of the number of the House—the first Congress would have the power to reduce the number, a power inconsistent with every principle of a free government. If the only security is the integrity of those trusted with power, it is idle to contend about constitutions. To the inadequacy of representation, twenty thousand should be entitled to a representative.”

Hamilton rose. “The radical defect of the Confederation is that the laws of the Union apply only to the States in their corporate capacity. They cannot be made effective but by an army. Can any reasonable man be well disposed toward a government which makes war and carnage the only means of supporting itself, a government that can only exist by the sword? What is the cure for this great evil? To enable the national laws to act upon individuals in the same manner as those of the State do. Why not, then, give that capacity to the Confederation? Because, though such a system may be safely intrusted with certain powers, to give it unlimited power over taxation and the national forces would be to establish a despotism; for, the definition of a despotism is, all power concentrated in a single body. He then proceeded to disclose the reasonings and conclusions of the Federal Convention; to demonstrate that the project submitted was the outcome of a series of bargains; and to assert that if a convention of a similar character met again, met twenty times, or twenty thousand times, it must have the same difficulties to encounter, and the same clashing interests to reconcile. He also examined the equity of that bargain which apportioned representation. “Much has been said as to the impropriety of representing men who have no wills of their own. Whether this be reasoning or declamation, I will not presume to say. It is the unfortunate situation of the Southern States, to have a great part of their popu-

lation, as well as property, in blacks. The regulation complained of was one result of the spirit of accommodation which governed the Convention, and without this indulgence no union could have been formed. But, considering the peculiar advantages we derive from them, it is entirely just that they should be gratified. The Southern States have certain staples, tobacco, rice, indigo, which must be capital objects in treaties of commerce with foreign nations, and the advantages which they necessarily procure will be felt throughout all the States. But the justice of this plan will appear in another view. The best writers on government have held that representation should be compounded of persons and property. This rule has been adopted, as far as it could be, in the Constitution of New York. It will, however, be by no means admitted that the slaves are altogether property. They are men, though degraded to the condition of slavery. They are persons, known to the municipal laws of the States they inhabit, as well as to the laws of nature. But representation and taxation ought to go together, and one uniform rule to apply to both. Would it be just to compute the slaves in the assessment of taxes, and discard them from the estimate in the apportionment of representation? Another circumstance ought to be considered. The rule is a general rule, and applies to all the States. You have a great number of people in your State who are not represented at all and have no voice in your government. These will be included in the enumeration; not three-fifths, but the whole. This proves that the advantages of the plan are not confined to the Southern States, but extend to other parts of the union." As to the future number of representatives, he "admitted that there were no direct words of prohibition against a reduction, but the true and genuine construction of the clause does not give Congress power to reduce representation below the number as it stood." Upon the proper number to send a representative, he argued, "that the proper number was a matter of opinion, between what all regarded as too small and what all considered too great. The diversity in the State legislatures proved it; but while one proportion might be more or less wise, no proportion, upon the basis assumed, could be unjust. More of an argument which surveyed the subject from every side need not be cited, except so much as replied to an objection of Melancthon Smith, who had contended for the smaller number, because the larger would throw the office into the hands of the rich, and exclude the middling class, always the superior in virtue and patriotism. The people have it in their power to elect the most meritorious men. While property continues to be pretty equally divided, and a considerable share of information pervades the community, the tendency of the people's suffrages will be to

elevate merit, even from obscurity. As riches increase and accumulate in a few hands, as luxury prevails in society, virtue will, in a greater degree, be considered only a graceful appendage of wealth, and the tendency of things will be to depart from the republican standard. This is the real disposition of human nature; it is what neither the honorable member nor I can correct; it is a common misfortune, that awaits our State Constitution as well as all others. But experience does not justify the supposition that there is more virtue in one class of men than in another. Look through the rich and the poor of a community, the learned and the unlearned. Where does virtue predominate? The difference, indeed, consists not in the quantity, but in the kind of vices which are incident to various classes. Here the advantage of character belongs to the wealthy; their vices are probably more favorable to the prosperity of the State than those of the indigent, and partake less of moral depravity." To a suggestion that the failure of the Confederation was largely due to the efforts of powerful and designing men, aiming at revolution and instigating disaffection, he answered: "The insinuation is false, the thing is impossible. I will venture to assert, that no combination of designing men under heaven will be capable of making a government unpopular which in its principle is a wise and good one and vigorous in its operations."

At least one speech, and a very important one, of Hamilton's is not reported. Its purport can be guessed only from the answer of Smith. "The last speaker has assured the committee that the States would be checks upon the general government, and had pledged himself to point out and demonstrate the operation of those checks." For himself, he could not see the possibility of checking a government of independent powers, which extended to all objects and measures without limitation. His own aim was to provide such checks as would not leave the exercise of government to the operation of causes which in their nature are variable and uncertain.

Mr. G. Livingston moved an amendment to the Senate clause that no person shall be a senator for more than six years in any twelve years, and that the legislatures of the States may recall either or both, and elect others in their stead. Lansing supported it. "We are told that in one house, individuals, the people of the State, are represented, in the other its sovereignty. Should not the principal have the right to recall his agent? If the agent seeks his personal interest in disregard of that of the States, is the latter to be powerless for six years?" Smith suggested the additional possibility of corruption, both in the official and the people. He must have been asked, although the question does not appear, how corruption

was practicable, and whence the fund for corruption. "More than one of the gentlemen have ridiculed my apprehensions of corruption. How, they say, are the people to be corrupted? By their own money. In many countries people pay their money to corrupt themselves, why should it not happen in this? I presume there is not a government in the world in which there is a greater scope for influence and corruption through the disposal of offices." Hamilton spoke twice against this amendment. "The zeal for liberty became predominant and excessive in us, as was natural, when the usurpation of Great Britain had to be met. That object is certainly very valuable, but there is another equally important a principle of strength and stability in the organization of the government and vigor in its operations; a purpose not to be accomplished but by the establishment of a select body founded particularly on this principle. It must be small, hold its authority during a considerable period, and have such an independence in the exercise of its powers as will divest it as much as possible of local prejudices. It should be so formed as to be the center of political knowledge, to pursue always a steady line of conduct, and to reduce every irregular propensity to system. Without this establishment, we may make experiments without end, but shall never have an efficient government. It is an unquestionable truth, that the body of the people in every country sincerely desires its prosperity, but it is equally unquestionable that they do not possess the discernment and stability necessary for systematic government. To deny that they are frequently led into the grossest errors by misinformation and passion would be a flattery their own good sense must despise. That branch of administration which involves our political relations with foreign States, a community will ever be incompetent to. These truths are not often held up in public assemblies, but they cannot be unknown to any who hear me. Consider the purposes for which the Senate was instituted, and the nature of the business to be transacted. They, together with the President, are to manage all our concerns with foreign nations, and understand all their interests, and political systems. This knowledge is not soon acquired; but a small part is gained in the closet." The conclusion he deduced was, that the amendment assimilated the Senate to the House, and just in proportion as the resemblance was closer, the mischief was greater. Up to this stage of the debate, the advocates of ratification had represented the Constitution as a system of checks and balances by which power and liberty were reconciled, checks and balances in the machinery of government, a check and balance between the Union and each of its constituent factors. Assertion of the latter was as constant as of the former. "The balance between the

National and the State governments ought to be dwelt on with peculiar attention. It forms a double security for the people. If one encroaches on their rights, they will find a powerful protector in the other. Indeed, they will both be prevented from overpassing their constitutional limits by a certain rivalry which will ever subsist between them. The State governments possess inherent advantages, which will ever give them an influence and ascendancy over the national government, and will forever preclude the possibility of federal encroachments." The ground upon which Hamilton predicted these assertions was: "There are certain social principles in human nature, from which we may draw the most solid conclusion with respect to the conduct of individuals and communities. We love our families more than our neighbors; we love our neighbors more than our countrymen in general. The human affections, like the solar heat, lose their intensity as they depart from the centre, and become languid in proportion to the expansion of the circle in which they act. On these principles the attachment of the individual will be first and forever secured by the State governments, and they will be a mutual protection and support." The answers of Smith and Lansing were: "How, upon your theory, can a State government oppose the federal government, except by inciting its citizens to hostility? what remedy against misgovernment do you propose but rebellion? If the governments are rivals, must not one finally conquer and destroy the other? They ought not to be and need not be rivals, there should not be opposition, there should be harmony between them. The means are in our hands, the task is easy. What would be the functions of a government in an independent state are in a union, divided between an organization created by a constitution and an organization originally existing. The line between the powers of each ought to be so strongly marked and so obvious that misconception will be impossible to a sane mind. How otherwise can right and wrong exist? Such a line is possible or impossible: if impossible, constitutional government is impossible, and the pretense of it hypocrisy; if possible, why not draw the line, or if you think it drawn, point it out?" The experience of daily life seems in some measure to support that view. A multitude of men can pass through a narrow street with ease and comfort if the ascending and descending stream of travel observes the law of the road. The subsequent speeches of Hamilton show the influence of this reasoning upon his mind. "In debates of this kind, it is extremely easy, on either side, to say a great number of plausible things. It is to be acknowledged that there is even a certain degree of truth in the reasonings on both sides. In this situation, it is the province of judgment and good sense to determine their force

and application, and how far the arguments on one side are balanced by those on the other. The ingenious dress in which both may appear renders it a difficult task to make this decision, and the mind is frequently unable to come to a safe and solid conclusion. There are two objects in forming systems of government: safety for the people, and energy in the administration. When these objects are united, the certain tendency of the system will be the public welfare. If the latter object be neglected, the people's security will be as certainly sacrificed as by disregarding the former. Good constitutions are formed upon a comparison of the liberty of the individual with the strength of the government. If the tone of either be too high, the other will be weakened too much. It is the happiest mode of conciliating these objects to institute one branch endowed with sensibility, and another with knowledge and firmness. Through the opposition and mutual control of these bodies the government will reach in its operations the perfect balance between liberty and power." The validity of this argument rests upon the assumption that the two bodies represent distinct and hostile interests, and that each would be restrained from excess by the fear of a civil war, in which each could, with equal justice, claim to be defending the right. The subsequent admission, that they were agencies of the same principal, justified Smith and Lansing in denying any novelty to the proposition. Not based upon fact, it has been disproved by experience. President, Senate, House, and Judiciary may, as they have represented the same men, been swayed by the same motives, and sought the same objects. Truth at most could say: there is some check in the equality of the States, there may be another, the mutation of opinion. The necessities of advocacy at last forced Hamilton into asserting that a senator was an agent for the Union, not simply the agent of a State, and into claiming that "the senate should be formed, so as in some measure to check the State governments." He replied to a remark of Smith, "that the interest of each State was the interest of every State, and must be so in a well-regulated government. It has been remarked that there is an inconsistency in our admitting that the equal vote in the Senate was given to secure the rights of the States, and at the same time holding that their interests should be sacrificed to those of the Union. The committee can certainly perceive the difference between the rights of a State and its interests. The rights of a State are defined by the Constitution and cannot be invaded without a violation of it; but the interests of a State have no connection with the Constitution and may in a thousand instances be constitutionally sacrificed." At this period Chancellor Livingston informed the committee, "that the ninth State had ratified the

Constitution, and that the Confederation was consequently dissolved. The question now before the committee was one of policy and expediency. He presumed the Convention would consider the situation of their country. Some might contemplate disunion without pain, and flatter themselves that some of the Southern States would form a league with us. He could not look without horror at the dangers to which any such confederacy would expose the State of New York. It might be political cowardice, but he had felt since yesterday an alteration of circumstances which had made a most solemn impression on his mind." Smith said that the change of circumstances had not altered his feelings, or his wishes on the subject, he had long been convinced that nine States would receive the Constitution.

Lansing said: "I do not agree that our particular circumstances are in fact altered since yesterday. That the ninth State has ratified the Constitution is an event which ought not to influence our deliberations. I presume that I shall not be charged with rashness if I continue to insist that it is still our duty to maintain our rights. Our dissent cannot prevent the operation of the government; since nine States have acceded to it, let them make the experiment. It has been said that some might contemplate disunion without terror. I have heard no sentiment from any gentleman that can warrant such an insinuation. We ought not, however, to suffer our fears to force us to adopt a system which is dangerous to liberty." Upon the several clauses of the Constitution as they were read amendments were offered and debates ensued. If not carrying conviction, they disclosed exactly how far men were apart, and who, on one or both sides, were anxious to find some basis of agreement. The opposite positions upon the scope of federal power can be summed up on one side in the words of Hamilton, "When you have divided and nicely balanced the departments of government, when you have strongly connected the virtue of your rulers with their interest—when you have rendered your system as perfect as human forms can be, you must have confidence, you must give power;" and, on the other side, in the words of Treadwell: "We are told that if government is properly organized, and the powers suitably distributed among the several members, it is unnecessary to provide any other security against the abuse of power; that power thus distributed needs not restriction. Is this a Whig principle? does not every constitution on the Continent contradict this position? Whatever be the design of the preachers, the tendency of their doctrines is clear; to corrupt our political faith, to take us off our guard, to lull to sleep that jealousy which, we are told by all writers, and is proved by all experience, to be essentially necessary for the preservation of freedom. In this Constitution we have departed

widely from the principles and political faith of '76, when the spirit of liberty ran high and danger put a curb on ambition. Here we have no security for the rights of individuals, for the existence of our State governments, no Bill of Rights, no proper restriction of power. Our lives, our property, our consciences, are left wholly at the mercy of the legislature; the powers of the judiciary may be extended to any degree short of Almighty. A union with our sister States I as ardently desire as any man, and that upon the most generous principles. The design of a union is safety. In one sense this may bring us to a state of safety; for it may reduce us to such a condition that we may be sure nothing worse can happen, and consequently have nothing to fear. This is a dreadful kind of safety, but it is the only kind of safety I can see in this union." Amendments and debates thereon (not recorded) occupied yet more than a fortnight; then Lansing moved a conditional ratification, with a Bill of Rights prefixed and amendments subjoined. The motion was carried. The vote is not given, but it was undoubtedly thirty to twenty-seven. Four days after, Mr. Jones moved that the words "in full confidence" be substituted in the form of ratification for the words "on condition." That motion was carried by thirty-one to twenty-nine. M. Smith, G. Livingston, and Williams had passed over to their former adversaries. How they were won is not told, but may be easily guessed. The circular-letter from the Convention to the governors of the several States in the Union discloses the compromise, which in their view justified the transfer of votes. A few sentences will exhibit it.

"Several articles in the Constitution appear so exceptionable to a majority of us, that nothing but the fullest confidence of obtaining a revision of them by a general convention, and an invincible reluctance to separate from our sister States, could have prevailed upon a sufficient number to ratify it, without stipulating for previous amendments. We *all* unite in the opinion that such a revision will be necessary to recommend it to the approbation and support of a numerous body of our constituents." The final vote was thirty to twenty-seven. Most of the counties were unanimously for or against ratification. The trading classes, and the seawayed counties, were unanimous in their desire for the adoption of the Constitution; the agricultural class, and the interior counties, were the opponents. Before the final vote was taken, Lansing made a last effort to compel amendments. He moved a resolution that the State of New York reserve the right to withdraw from the Union after a certain number of years, unless the amendments proposed should previously be submitted to a general convention. That motion was negatived. The vote upon it is not in the printed report. The sense of the Convention on the subject

of the long list of proposed amendments is expressed in one paragraph of the circular-letter: "Our amendments will manifest that none of them originated in local views; they are such as, if acceded to, must equally affect every State in the Union. Our attachment to our sister States, and the confidence we repose in them, cannot be more forcibly demonstrated than by acceding to a government, which many of us think very imperfect, and devolving the power of determining whether that government shall be rendered perpetual in its present form, or altered agreeably to our wishes, and a minority of the States with whom we unite." The debates in the Convention of New York are like a Homeric battle. Hamilton against a host. His mind, "like an ample shield, took all their darts, with verge enough for more." The display of intellectual power is the more remarkable from his total lack of faith in the plan. Of all men who have ever lived in the United States, his was the most complete mind. He seemed to absorb information. Upon any subject he could leap fully armed into the saddle, ready to meet all comers. If right, he was irresistible; if wrong, master of sophistry, he was almost irrefutable. His ideal of government was based upon human nature, as exhibited for thousands of years, not upon the then characteristics of American nature. He believed that the existing passion for liberty must be evanescent, and that his countrymen would soon become as other men—more eager to rule, than jealous of rule. Instead of a Federal Union, he wished a legislative Union, with exceptions of power, and a senate embodying the good features of the Senate of Rome; both it and the President to be elevated above party, by a tenure beyond party. He purposed that the democratic element should be fully represented in the House. His political career in the new Union was shaped by a belief often expressed—that the Federal would be invaded by the State power. His theory of construction was inspired by a conviction that the federal principle must rest on force or on interest; not on good faith. No man, even believing that theory fatal, ever distrusted his motives or doubted of his patriotism. To those, Burr, his sole rival in New York, did full justice, although a mutual personal enmity of long date was conjoined with political divergence.

A. W. Blason

CEDAR MOUNTAIN *

II.

On the 4th of August the order was given to McClellan from Washington to withdraw his army from Harrison's Landing and transport it by water to Aquia Creek, thence to support a direct movement on Richmond.† Nearly at the same time the advance of General Lee's army pushed northward, drove in General Bayard's pickets, and crossed the Rapidan at several points west of the Orange and Alexandria Railroad. On the 6th of August—a broiling hot day—General Banks' Corps passed Woodville, going southward, and for many hours the turnpike was crowded with its artillery, wagons, and dust-covered columns of infantry. On the 7th General Pope arrived at Sigel's head-quarters and made a hasty review of the troops, while, as it happened, they were maneuvering in the fields near the turnpike. Pope rode on toward Culpeper Court House, where he arrived the next morning. After quitting Sigel, he sent back the following dispatch, dated August 8: "Hold your whole command in readiness to move forward at a moment's warning. The enemy is advancing."

Before receiving this Sigel had been apprised of the enemy's designs by Cluseret, who, the day before (7th), had reported from Criglersville that early on the 8th Stonewall Jackson, with 25,000 men, would march toward Culpeper, intending to sweep around by way of Woodville and Sperryville. Later in the day (8th) Sigel received from Cluseret the following, addressed by Colonel Ruggles, Pope's chief of staff, to General Buford, and by him transmitted to Cluseret: "The enemy are advancing against Bayard in force, in from [front?] of this place." In forwarding this to Sigel Cluseret indorsed these comments in French: "This dispatch seems to me to define the situation, and to be in conformity with what I sent yesterday. The enemy will try to pass between Culpeper and Madison. I shall act according to what he will do, because thus far I have no decisive information."

Now at this time Buford's cavalry brigade was at Madison Court House, and Bayard's at or near Rapidan Station. Jackson was advancing against Bayard, and Sigel's position was such as to afford him an excellent

* Copyright by Alfred E. Lee.

† The withdrawal did not begin until some days afterward, and McClellan's rear guard did not get away from Harrison's Bar until August 16.

opportunity, as he thought, to strike the enemy in flank. For this purpose he might march from Woodville to James City, and being there joined by Buford and Cluseret, he could fall upon Jackson in the neighborhood of Calvin's Tavern. Or, at James City, he could change direction toward Culpeper, should that seem to be most expedient. Now, as Pope, in directing Sigel to be ready to march, had said nothing as to the line of march, Sigel deemed it his duty to inquire what route he should take, and thereby direct Pope's mind to the propriety of the flank movement and attack just described. At all events, the uncertainty which existed, as Pope himself states, as to whether the enemy was aiming toward Madison or Culpeper, made the inquiry a perfectly proper one. General Pope represents that this inquiry of Sigel's about the road caused such delay in the movement of the First Corps as to render that corps unavailable in the battle of the 9th.* General Pope is in error. Sigel's inquiry caused no delay whatever in the movement of his corps, nor was there any delay in the movement of that corps for which General Sigel was responsible. Sigel's dispatch inquiring what road he should take was dated, Pope says, at 6.50 P.M., August 8. After it was written and sent Sigel received from Pope the following, dated Culpeper, August 8, hour not given: "The enemy has attacked our left, and is advancing on this place. Major-General Pope directs, in consequence thereof, that you move your command at once to this point. You will move on the road from Sperryville to Culpeper, and must encamp to-night at the point where that road crosses the Hazel River. You will continue the march to-morrow morning, so as to arrive here at as early an hour as possible, *unless otherwise ordered*."† This dispatch was received by Sigel between seven and eight o'clock the evening of the 8th. It was obeyed instantly. As soon as it came it was communicated to the commanders of divisions, and a few minutes later the different columns were filing out of their camps into the turnpike. Milroy's Brigade led. It broke up its camps shortly after sundown, was on the road at dark, and marched all night. About an hour before midnight the column reached Hazel River, and there, in accordance with Pope's

* General Pope's fault-finding with Sigel, here referred to, is contained in his general report, written at the close of the campaign, and is quite at variance with a previous report written by him on the 13th of August, in which he says, referring to the Cedar Mountain battle: "I desire publicly to express my appreciation of the prompt and skillful manner in which Generals McDowell and Sigel brought forward their respective commands and established them on the field, and of their cheerful and hearty co-operation with me from beginning to end."

† In a later dispatch to Sigel, Pope directs: "Move your command *to-night* to Hazel River and march to this point early to-morrow morning." This was received by Sigel on the march, and shows that an earlier movement than during the night of the 8th was not expected.

instructions, Schenck and Schurz encamped. Milroy, with his usual impatience, desired to push on at once to Culpeper, and was allowed to do so. This continuance of the night march by Milroy was permitted all the more readily on account of the excessive heat, which, in day-time, marked 100 degrees in the shade. Even at night the atmosphere was disagreeably sultry.

Sigel was directed to proceed from Hazel River to Culpeper on the morning of the 9th "unless otherwise ordered." He was otherwise ordered. Intending to make an early start, he was ready to move at five o'clock, when he received from Pope the following, dated "Culpeper Court House, August 9": "You will please halt your command at Hazel Run. Let the men get something to eat, and lie down and rest. If it is necessary for you to come forward to-day, word will be sent to you in time. If you are on this side of Hazel River, you will please halt your command at the first convenient place. The major-general commanding desires you to advise him when you arrive at Hazel River."

Detained by this, Sigel waited until nine o'clock, or later, when he received an order to bring his corps forward at once to Culpeper. This order was immediately put into execution. The heat of the sun was again excessive, and the troops moved amidst stifling clouds of dust. A train of eleven hundred wagons followed the column. In the Valley campaign our wagon equipment had been insufficient, but now it was redundant. The First Corps had to carry four wheels for every twelve men. Having put his divisions in motion at Hazel River, Sigel rode forward and at about eleven o'clock A.M. personally reported to Pope at his head-quarters at Culpeper. He found the general-commanding sitting in a rocking-chair, smoking a cigar, and apparently in good humor. Sigel gave a full account of his movements, and Pope seemed to be entirely satisfied. Nothing was said about delay, and no complaint or reproach was uttered.

Milroy, as we have seen, marched all night. He arrived at Culpeper just at sunrise, and led his troops, weary and covered with dust, into a wood east of the town, *where they remained all day*. Before leaving Sperryville, Sigel called up Von Steinwehr's division from Luray, and directed Cluseret to move eastward from Criglersville. During the morning of the 9th these orders were in course of execution. Banks' Corps was at Culpeper, except Crawford's Brigade, which had arrived there some days before, and had been thrown forward (on the 8th) to support Buford's cavalry. Ricketts' Division of McDowell's Corps had come up from Waterloo Bridge on the 7th, and had gone forward to hold an important road-crossing three miles south of the town. King's Division of the same

corps had been summoned from Falmouth, and was marching toward Culpeper via Stevensburg.

Such, in brief, was the situation of our army early on the 9th. The demonstrations against our cavalry pickets the day before had been such as to make it very uncertain whether the enemy meant to move toward Madison Court House or Culpeper. While in doubt on this subject, Pope had resolved to keep himself on the interior line, and concentrate his forces toward Culpeper. He was thus enabled to hold his communications with Fredericksburg and the lower fords of the Rappahannock, as he had been instructed to do. While our troops were thus concentrating the enemy was hastening to take advantage of their scattered condition. Ewell's Division of Stonewall Jackson's Corps, holding the advance of Lee's army, had crossed the Rapidan at Barnett's Ford on the 8th, and that division, strongly re-inforced, was now, on the morning of the 9th, driving Buford's cavalry steadily back upon its infantry reserve. That reserve, under General Crawford, had chosen its position at a point near where the Culpeper road crosses Cedar Run, just north of Cedar Mountain. This historic eminence, locally known, from the name of its proprietor, as Slaughter Mountain, stands alone, like a wayward straggler from the Blue Ridge range, and resembles, both in its form and its isolation, the "Lost Mountain" in Georgia. As a *point d'appui* it was of great importance both to the enemy and to ourselves, and Jackson lost no time in securing possession of it. As early as 10 A.M. his advance, under Ewell, made its appearance before Crawford's line, and opened fire from its batteries posted around the base and side of the mountain. Spurred by the sound of the firing, Jackson's old division, under General Charles S. Winder, was hurrying up from Robertson River to the support of Ewell. A. P. Hill's Division of six heavy brigades followed Winder's. The junction of these divisions with Ewell's gave Jackson an available force on the field of little less than 25,000 men.

At 9.45 A.M. General Banks, at Culpeper, was directed to advance the remainder of his corps to the front. The instructions given him verbally by Colonel Lewis H. Marshall, of Pope's staff, and reduced to writing by Colonel Pelouze, Banks' adjutant-general, were as follows: "General Banks will move to the front immediately, assume command of all the forces in the front, deploy his skirmishers if the enemy approaches, and attack him immediately as soon as he approaches, and be re-inforced from here."

Writing afterward (in 1864) from memory, Colonel Marshall gives the following as the phraseology of the order as he delivered it: "The

general-commanding directs that you move to the front and take up a strong position near the position held by General Crawford's Brigade; that you will not attack the enemy unless it becomes evident that the enemy will attack you; then, in order to hold the advantage of being the attacking party, you will attack with your skirmishers thrown well to the front."

It seems unaccountable that there should have been any ambiguity or misunderstanding of orders in such an emergency. The obviously proper thing to do was to hold the enemy in check until the arrival of Sigel, Ricketts, and King. Interpreting Pope's orders by the plain exigencies of the case, it can scarcely be doubted that this is what he meant, for it was not to be expected that Banks, with less than 8,000 men, should assail Jackson, in a position of his own choosing, with 25,000. But the time was not opportune for verbal or inexplicit orders, and the observation is forced upon us that upon this occasion, as upon several others during this campaign, General Pope seems to have committed or allowed too much to his staff officers. Possibly if he had rode out and personally inspected the situation at the front, instead of giving orders from Culpeper, the results might have been different.*

Banks' command moved promptly and rapidly. It consisted of two divisions of two brigades each. The First Division was led by Brigadier-General Alpheus S. Williams, afterward so well known to the soldiers of the Twentieth Corps in the army of General Sherman. One of the two brigades of this division was that of General S. W. Crawford, already at the front; the other was that of General George H. Gordon. The Second Division was commanded by Brigadier-General C. C. Augur, and comprised the brigades of Generals Henry Prince, George S. Greene, and John W. Geary. The march lasted until noon, and so great was the heat that men fell down exhausted, and even dead, in the road. On reaching the field, the arriving column, by direction of Pope's Chief-of-Staff, crossed Cedar Run, and went into position on the high ground beyond that stream. North of the road Crawford's Brigade, with the cavalry on its flank, held the right, and south of the road Geary's, Prince's, and Greene's brigades, in the order

* In his testimony before the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War, in December, 1884, General Banks said: "I sent to General Pope every hour, from one or two o'clock, information of what was transpiring. I did not say the enemy was in force, because I did not know it; and I was a little desperate because we supposed that General Pope thought we did not want to fight. General Roberts, when he indicated the position, said to me in a tone which it was hardly proper for one officer to use to another, 'There must be no backing out this day.' He said this to me from six to twelve times. I made no reply to him at all, but I felt it keenly, because I knew that my command did not want to back out; we had backed out enough. He repeated this declaration a great many times, 'There must be no backing out this day.'"

named, extended Crawford's line to the left. To the rear of Crawford, in strong position behind the Run, Gordon's Brigade was stationed in reserve. Between our lines and the enemy lay a wide, open space, consisting of wheat, corn, and pasture fields, beyond which were dense woods in which Jackson's infantry was adroitly concealed.

These dispositions were completed by three o'clock P.M. While they were in progress Ewell, gallantly but unavailingly resisted by Bayard's cavalry, pushed steadily forward through the woods on our left until his two right brigades—Hays' and Trimble's—gained a commanding position high on the northern slope of Cedar Mountain. From this lofty ground some of Ewell's batteries, quickly brought into position, delivered a plunging fire, seriously annoying to that part of our line within range. Holding Ewell's left, Early drove back our cavalry until he was confronted by the infantry and artillery of Augur's Division. Directly Winder's Division came up on the left of Ewell's, with Taliaferro's Brigade south of the road, joining Early, Campbell's Brigade north of the road, confronting Crawford, and Ronald's (the old "Stonewall") Brigade in reserve. General Winder, while making these dispositions and placing his batteries, was killed by a shell, and his command devolved upon General W. B. Taliaferro.

Jackson was now waiting for A. P. Hill, whose division, as fast as it arrived, was placed to the rear and in support of Taliaferro and Ewell. As soon as all his forces were well in hand, Jackson proposed to attack. He had no expectation of being attacked himself. Banks entertained other ideas, and at four o'clock advanced his whole line, except Gordon's Brigade, some hundreds of yards. The artillery firing, which had been going on since morning, now became violent, and our batteries gave as good as they received. The friction of the skirmish-lines grew more vigorous, our regiments pressed up firmly and steadily to their new positions, and thus another hour passed.

At half-past five o'clock, while Jackson was preparing but not yet ready to spring, Banks gave the signal to attack. With a rush Crawford's Brigade crossed a wheat-field, and fell with all its force on Campbell's left. At the same time Geary and Prince swept forward through some corn-fields, and struck heavily at Campbell's right and the brigades of Early and Taliaferro. Crawford's assault was delivered with splendid momentum and carried all before it. Campbell's Brigade was crushed and swept from the field, and its commander killed. Crawford's men then rushed upon Taliaferro's flank and broke that also. The Confederates, according to their own account, "fought like lions," but in vain. Assailed in front by Geary,

and on the flank by Crawford, Taliaferro's Brigade met the fate of Campbell's, and Early's situation became critical. Ronald's Brigade was too far back to render prompt assistance, and some of Early's left regiments were carried away by Taliaferro's flight. The battle had reached its crisis, and now was the time to have precipitated Gordon's Brigade and Milroy's upon the enemy. Had these brigades, or Ricketts' Division, or both, been brought into the fight at this moment, the tide of success would have continued in our favor, a decisive victory would have been won, and the whole course of events in Virginia would have been changed. But Gordon yet remained back of Cedar Run, Ricketts was still at his cross-road station, and Milroy was at Culpeper Court House.

Thomas' Brigade, of Hill's Division, came up on the right of Early, who held stubbornly to his position. Ronald's Brigade broke through the woods, and struck Crawford's men just when most fagged and disorganized by their success. Supported by Thomas, Ewell threw his whole force upon Augur's Division, which had no reserves. To crown all, three of Hill's brigades rushed upon our right flank, with Jackson himself at their head.* Our soldiers fought stubbornly, but the odds were greatly against them. They were driven back with heavy loss. Generals Geary and Augur were wounded, and General Prince and four hundred of his men were captured.

One of Crawford's finest regiments—the Tenth Maine—had not joined in the assault, and was now ordered by General Banks to throw itself upon the triumphant enemy. Gallantly advancing through the bloody wheat-field, this regiment soon found itself alone confronting the woods filled with Confederates. Isolated and unsupported it fought nobly until its steady lines melted away. In a few minutes it lost one hundred and seventy-three officers and men killed and wounded. Gordon's Brigade was next summoned to the front. It should have remained where it was, and there served as a nucleus for rallying our broken regiments. But Banks peremptorily ordered it forward, and forward it went. Before it, and sweeping around its flanks, was the greater part of Hill's strong division, flushed with victory. Gordon's attack was gallant, but unavailing, and his repulse bloody. The lives sacrificed by pushing him forward at the time it was done were wasted. Gordon brought three or four hun-

* The presence of Jackson, leading them in person, seemed to produce an indescribable influence on the troops, and as he rode to and fro, amid the smoke, encouraging the men, they greeted him with resounding cheers. This was one of the few occasions when he is reported to have been mastered by excitement. He had forgotten, apparently, that he commanded the whole field, and imagined himself a simple colonel leading his regiment. Everywhere, in the thickest of the fire, his form was seen and his voice heard, and his exertions to rally the men were crowned with success.—*Cooke's Life of Jackson*.

dred of his men out of the fight; Crawford rode out of it alone. What was left of our forces engaged withdrew behind Cedar Run, and the battle ended. It was by this time dark. The enemy warily followed up his advantage, shelling the woods as he advanced, and thus keeping up the cannonade until midnight. Meanwhile Ricketts' Division came up about dusk, and relieved a portion of Banks' thinned and exhausted regiments.

All day long Milroy's men had been lying in the woods near Culpeper, listening to the savage uproar of the artillery as it rolled louder and louder across the hills. At four o'clock P.M. Schenck's and Schurz's divisions arrived from Hazel River, and at five o'clock Sigel was ordered to move his whole command to the front. Milroy marched at once, accompanied by Sigel, and Schenck and Schurz followed after allowing their men to take a brief rest and draw rations. Our head of column soon began to encounter the rearward-drifting debris of the battle. Long trains of ambulances filled with wounded were passed, and wild stories were told by "demoralized" stragglers of the day's adventures and calamities. "Our regiment was all cut to pieces," said several; "our brigade was all cut to pieces." Everything was cut to pieces. "This is all that is left of my company," said a commissioned officer as he passed me, accompanied by two or three men. "General Banks is wounded—perhaps killed," said another. "Fifty thousand Johnnies down there!" And so on for quantity. As Milroy's brigade neared the scene of action, the rearward tide increased and the excitement grew more intense. The cannonading was still furious, and the ignited shells, streaming and exploding against the midnight sky, presented a spectacle of savage grandeur. Riding at the head of Milroy's column, Sigel went forward, accompanied by his escort, to reconnoiter the ground just as Pegram's Battery, posted by Jackson, opened fire upon a mass of Banks' stragglers and vehicles blocked in the road. A delirious panic ensued. The teamsters and stragglers broke in all directions, wagons were overturned, and two of Banks' batteries, under Captain Reynolds, withdrew down the road toward Milroy. Sigel directed Captain Ulric Dahlgren, of his staff, to assist in posting these batteries, and at the same time Milroy deployed his brigade to the front. As the panic-stricken fugitives dashed against Milroy's lines, and were forbidden to go further, the shouting and swearing were prodigious. At the same time Reynolds' guns, having quickly gotten into position, were making effective response to Pegram's when General Pope arrived and directed Sigel to cease firing, because, as Pope said, our shots were falling among Banks' men yet in the woods in front.

Sigel made unavailing remonstrance, and ordered the batteries to cease firing, but cautioned Milroy to be upon his guard. Directly after this the enemy's cavalry dashed out of the woods, and came near capturing Pope, Sigel, and their attendants, but the reception given by Milroy's men to the Confederate troopers caused them to go back as speedily as they came.

Sigel's Corps, as fast as it arrived upon the field, advanced cautiously, and relieved the remainder of Banks' troops at the front. By three o'clock in the morning the entire corps was in position, ready to renew the battle at day-break. Meanwhile the artillery firing entirely ceased; all the din of conflict was hushed, and the wild cry of the whippoorwill was almost the only sound that broke the silence of the night.

At sunrise some of the enemy's horsemen strayed into our lines, but, on discovering their mistake, turned and fled precipitately, followed by Milroy, who fired after them some ineffective pistol-shots and emphatic exclamations. Milroy then advanced his lines, and developed the fact that during the night Jackson had withdrawn to his original position on Cedar Mountain. Some skirmishing ensued, and Sigel was disposed to attack in force, but Pope preferred to wait.

On the 11th a truce was arranged for the purpose of burying the dead and caring for the wounded who were lying exposed to the broiling sun upon the disputed ground. While engaged in this work, fatigue parties of both armies scoured the field, and frequently engaged in friendly conversations with each other. Where the severest fighting had occurred some horrible scenes were witnessed. Scores of human bodies were seen lying in different positions—some sitting and others on their knees—all enormously bloated, and black as pitch from the effects of the sun. The wounded left upon the field had suffered terribly from the effects of heat and thirst. Some of them had grown black from the heat, and yet lived! One poor fellow, whose leg was shattered by a shell, said he had not tasted a drop of water for forty-eight hours, yet during all that time, while suffering from the fever of his wound, he had been lying exposed to the fierce midsummer sun! Before the truce expired, King's Division arrived from Falmouth, and Jackson became apprehensive of being fallen upon by superior numbers, and losing his connections with Lee. He therefore decamped during the night of the 11th, and withdrew beyond Robertson River.

Abner S. Lu

NEGRO SLAVES DURING THE CIVIL WAR

THEIR RELATIONS TO THE CONFEDERATE GOVERNMENT

The function of the Southern slaves in facilitating the operations of the Confederacy during the civil war was potent. Although an element of weakness when contrasted with what might reasonably have been expected from, and accomplished by, an equal number of intelligent whites, the negro population, nevertheless, fulfilled an important office in the governmental economy and, by the performance of valuable agricultural, mechanical, and quasi-military labors, contributed essentially to the general support, aided in the public defense, and liberated, for active service in the field, almost all the arms-bearing Caucasian inhabitants of the Confederate States. In the absence of their masters they were, at home, the hewers of wood, the drawers of water, the tillers of the soil, and the guardians of person and property. Nor, as we shall see, were their employments wholly confined to agricultural and servile operations. "Much of our success," writes ex-President Davis,* "was due to the much abused institution of African servitude, for it enabled the white men to go into the army and leave the cultivation of their fields and the care of their flocks, as well as of their wives and children, to those who, in the language of the Constitution, 'were held to service or labor.'"

Southern slaves cannot be too highly commended for their fidelity, quiet behavior, and patient labor during this eventful period. In localities not overrun or occupied by Federal forces they remained loyal to their owners. Few, indeed, were the instances of insubordination, and the history of the times furnishes no authentic examples of violence or insurrection. While the strong men were in the tented field, far removed from unprotected wives and children, their slaves remained quietly at home, tilling the soil, ministering to the wants of the household, and performing all servile obligations with the same cheerfulness and alacrity as when surrounded by the usual controlling agencies. In the devotion of his servants did the absent master confide. In his expectations of their fidelity he was not disappointed. Domestic operations were conducted with accustomed regularity: security of person and property was not invaded; and the usual tokens of respect and obedience were exhibited.

* *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, vol. I., p. 303.

Referring to the status of the freedmen during the period of reconstruction, a distinguished governor* of one of the leading Southern States, in transmitting a message to its General Assembly, gave this emphatic testimony: "I here declare that in my judgment their fidelity in the past and their decorum under the distressing influences of the present are without a parallel in history, and establish for them a claim upon our favoring patronage. God, in his abounding mercy and in the plenitude of his might, so dispose our fortunes and theirs that each class shall be to the other a blessing and not a curse."

Because agricultural operations were, in great measure, committed to, and performed by the slave population, was the Confederacy able to utilize so thoroughly the white military strength of the States which composed it. Nothing attests more surely the attachment then entertained by the servant for his master and family; nothing proclaims more emphatically the existing contentment with his station; nothing certifies more truly the pleasant relationship established between the races, than the domestic peace which reigned within the Confederate States at that epoch of uncertainty and apprehension. The record is unique; and yet, to one accustomed from earliest childhood to understand and appreciate the influences of that relationship as developed and confirmed for generations, the result appears but a logical sequence of mutual dependence, trust, and attachment.

The services of Southern slaves were not, however, limited to the performance of domestic duties and the cultivation of the soil. Many of them accompanied their owners to the front, shared with them the privations of camp life, endured the fatigues of the march, were exposed to the dangers of battle, served as cooks and hostlers, drove wagons, ministered to the sick and wounded in hospitals, and, in fine, discharged almost all duties other than those incident to bearing arms. Desertion to the enemy under such circumstances was unknown. It was only when portions of the Confederate territory had passed into the possession of the United States troops, and depôts had been formed within the limits of the Confederacy, that a disposition was manifested on the part of the slaves—now no longer under the control of their owners—to seek service and coalesce with the invader.

Another important station filled by the Southern slave during the war was that of a laborer engaged upon the construction of river, harbor, and city defenses, and in the erection of government buildings and of military works at strategic points. The service rendered in this behalf was great and of prime importance. During the early portion of the war it was, at

* Hon. C. J. Jenkins, of Georgia.

various points, freely contributed by the masters of plantations. As the struggle progressed it was made available under regulations prescribed, and for compensation provided, under the auspices of the Confederate government. In the absence of suitable records, it is impossible to specify the amount of labor thus rendered by the Southern slaves, but it is not an exaggeration to affirm that the forts, fixed batteries, permanent fortifications, and government works erected upon Confederate territory during the period covered by the war were, in the main, constructed through the intervention of negroes held in servitude.

At first, the expediency, if not the necessity, of drilling and arming able-bodied slaves and constituting them a component part of the Confederate armies was discussed by only a few and with bated breath. The suggestion did not commend itself to general favor. To the thoughtful mind such a step involved not only the practical emancipation of that portion of the enslaved race which might be mustered into service, but also the gradual manumission of the rest. To the timid and the mercenary, apprehension of the maiming and loss of valuable property and the interruption of agricultural pursuits long established were so grievous that the subject could not be contemplated with any degree of tolerance. To the average soldier, the admission of the negro to the privilege of bearing arms, even in defense of the Confederacy, was very distasteful. It savored of social and military equality, and he revolted at the idea. Disguise it as we may, if not previously threatened, the institution of slavery was violently assailed so soon as battle was joined between the sections. In the light of past agitation and party resolve, it required no prophetic vision to discern the fact, and that very early in the contest, that the success of Confederate arms was essential to the perpetuation of African servitude in this country. This the Southern people believed and recognized. Hence any measure, coming either from within or from without, which jeopardized the integrity of that institution was reprobated. As the war progressed and the Confederacy was gradually deprived of its domain,—as its armies were depleted by disease, wounds, and death, and the most comprehensive levies proved insufficient to repair these losses,—as supplies of all sorts grew scarcer, and hope of relief from abroad was shrouded in continued disappointment, men came to agitate more earnestly the imperative need of recruiting the Confederate armies from the able-bodied negro slaves of the country, and not a few began openly to avow their belief that the achievement of national independence even with the loss, either immediate or gradual, of the institution of slavery, would be preferable to subjugation at the hands of the North. In all this

matter of the employment of negro slaves in the military service of the nation, the Confederate Congress moved tardily, as a reference to its legislation on that subject will show.

By an act approved the 13th of October, 1862, the Congress of the Confederate States of America provided for the return to their owners of all slaves captured from the enemy, and authorized their employment, under suitable guard, in the construction of public works while they remained in depôt awaiting identification and reclamation by their masters.

In the act of the 26th of March, 1863, regulating impressments, provision was made for the impressment, by the Confederate government, of slaves to labor on fortifications and public works. No impressment, however, was to be resorted to where slaves could be hired or procured with the consent of their owners. Section tenth of that act declared that "previous to the first of December next no slave laboring on a farm or plantation exclusively devoted to the production of grain and provisions should be taken for public use without the consent of the owner, except in cases of urgent necessity."

The act, approved the 17th of February, 1864, empowered the Secretary of War to employ upon fortifications, on government works, in the production and preparation of war material, and in military hospitals, as many male negro slaves, not exceeding twenty thousand, as in his judgment the wants of the service might require; to furnish them, while so engaged, with proper rations and clothing, and to pay their owners such wages as might "be agreed upon for their use and service." In the event or the loss of any slaves, thus employed, "by the act of the enemy, or by escape to the enemy, or by death inflicted by the enemy, or by disease contracted while in any service required of them," their owners were declared "entitled to receive the full value of such slaves, to be ascertained by agreement or by appraisement." If unable to procure, by contract with their masters, as many male slaves as the necessities of the case demanded, the Secretary of War was authorized to resort to impressment to compel the requisite service. If the owner had but one male slave "between the ages of eighteen and fifty," such slave could not be impressed. It was further enacted that "not more than one of every five male slaves between the ages of eighteen and forty-five should be taken from any owner." This act also rendered all male free negroes between the ages of eighteen and forty-five liable to the performance of military service of the character above indicated. While thus engaged they were to receive rations and clothing, and compensation at the rate of eleven dollars a month.

In the opinion of Mr. Davis * this act produced less results than had been anticipated. It, however, brought forward more prominently the question of the employment of negro slaves as soldiers in the army. Public sentiment was divided. The file of the army and the citizens of the Confederacy were generally opposed to their enlistment.

In his message of November 7, 1864, President Davis, in commenting upon the act of the 17th of February, in urging upon Congress the consideration of the propriety of a radical modification of the theory of the law, and in discussing the expediency of elevating the Southern slaves to the status of soldiers in the armies of the Confederacy and promising to them emancipation as a reward for faithful military service, among other things said: "The policy of engaging to liberate the negro on his discharge after service faithfully rendered, seems to me preferable to that of granting immediate manumission, or that of retaining him in servitude. If this policy should commend itself to the judgment of Congress, it is suggested, that in addition to the duties hereinbefore performed by the slave, he might be advantageously employed as a pioneer and engineer laborer, and, in that event, that the number should be augmented to forty thousand. Beyond this limit and these employments it does not seem to me desirable, under existing circumstances, to go. . . .

"The subject is to be viewed by us, therefore, solely in the light of policy and our social economy. When so regarded, I must dissent from those who advise a general levy and arming of the slaves for the duty of soldiers. Until our white population shall prove insufficient for the armies we require and can afford to keep in the field, to employ as a soldier the negro, who has merely been trained to labor, and, as a laborer, the white man accustomed from his youth to the use of arms, would scarcely be deemed wise or advantageous by any: and this is the question now before us. But should the alternative ever be presented of subjugation, or of the employment of the slave as a soldier, there seems no reason to doubt what should then be our decision."

Mr. Davis admits that subsequent events advanced his views from a prospective to a present need for the enrollment of negroes to take their places in the ranks of the armies of the Confederacy. He believed, under proper conditions, that Southern negro slaves might be relied on in battle. When brought before a committee, General Robert E. Lee advocated the measure. Congress still debated and hesitated. Finally, a bill authorizing the President to ask for and accept from their owners such a number of able-bodied negro men as he might deem expedient, passed the House,

**Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government, vol. 1., p. 515.*

but was lost in the Senate by one vote. After special instructions from the General Assembly of their State, the senators from Virginia, who had strongly opposed the act, withdrew their opposition, and the bill passed. It contained an amendment, however, prohibiting the calling out of more than twenty-five per cent. of the male slaves between the ages of eighteen and forty-five. This enactment had been so long delayed that there remained no time for testing the efficacy of its provisions. The Confederacy was on the verge of its fall, and no opportunity was afforded for enlisting, training, and placing in the field the able-bodied negro slaves of the South. What effect this measure, if authorized at an earlier date, would have exerted upon the army, upon the people, and upon the fortunes of the Confederacy, can only be conjectured. What influence this practical manumission of the enslaved race would have produced upon the European mind, and what substantial sympathy might have been evoked in behalf of the Confederate government, will never be known. Certain it is that if there was any virtue in the suggestion, if any good could reasonably have been anticipated, the Confederate Congress was too tardy in authorizing the experiment. When its sanction was accorded, affairs were already *in extremis*. We cannot resist the impression that even if the experiment had been fairly tried there would have ensued no material prolongation of the struggle. It was at best a desperate expedient. Even in the teeth of Spartan heroism, and endurance the most remarkable, victories are generally won by those possessing heavier battalions, weightier munitions, and superior resources. Modern wars among civilized people savor less of chance than those waged in former times, and are largely decided by surpassing equipment and the preponderance of force. The odds were all against the Confederacy, and the wonder is that the new-born nation withstood so long and so bravely the tremendous assaults launched against it.

If our information be correct, General Robert E. Lee, while regarding the enlistment of negro slaves as an experiment, favored the suggestion as born of an emergency most pressing, and advised that every precaution should be observed which might tend to render the service agreeable both to the master and the servant. Compulsory measures he deprecated, and counseled that, as far as it was practicable, owners and slaves should be induced to act voluntarily. If coercion should be resorted to at the outset, he was inclined to the opinion that the owners would, in many cases, express dissatisfaction, and refrain from offering their best slaves. The influence which they would be capable of exerting upon their negroes, if misdirected, would seriously interfere with the success of the experiment,

causing such slaves as might be mustered into the service to approach their military duties with apprehension and reluctance, creating on their part a disposition to desert upon an emergency, and engendering in the minds of such as remained at home, liable to future draft, a readiness to abscond upon the first intimation of the approach of the recruiting officer.

As the Federals had appropriated the name of "Colored Troops," it was thought that "African Troops" or the "African Army" might be employed as a suitable designation for such negro forces as should be introduced into the Southern service. The whole affair proceeded no further than devising plans for the utilization of this abnormal element, and, so far as we are informed, colored soldiers with arms in their hands were never borne upon the rolls of the Confederate armies.

When the army of Tennessee, then under the leadership of General Joseph E. Johnston, was concentrated in and around Dalton, Georgia, at the instance of Major-General P. R. Cleburne,—the Stonewall Jackson of the West, as brave and capable an officer as ever followed the Red Cross to the field, and who, subsequently, at the battle of Franklin, sealed with his life-blood his devotion to the Confederate cause,—on the 2d of January, 1864, occurred a memorable convention of officers. They assembled to discuss the propriety and consider the necessity of memorializing the Confederate Congress and the Confederate authorities on the subject of enlisting, drilling, and introducing able-bodied negro slaves as soldiers into the Confederate army. In the advocacy of such a measure General Cleburne had been very earnest and persistent. A carefully prepared address reviewing the situation of the country, pointing out the causes of the existing depression, analyzing the sources of supply upon which the Confederacy might reasonably rely, and conjecturing the effect which would be produced both upon the Federal government and foreign powers by the practical manumission of Southern slaves and the introduction of able-bodied males from among them into the Confederate armies, was then delivered by him and submitted for serious comment and discussion. It embodied the sentiments of such of the officers of the army of Tennessee as favored the scheme and regarded its prompt and general inauguration as the only probable means of retrieving the waning fortunes and strengthening the military power of the Confederacy. Upon the conclusion of this address an animated discussion ensued. While some expressed sympathy with the plan suggested, and admitted the potency of the arguments offered in its support, General Cleburne's propositions did not command the approval of a majority of the officers present. In the face of this dominant opinion he apparently did not deem it worth the while to pursue the matter any

further. His disappointment was manifest. He had hoped, by concert of action on the part of the officers of the army of the West, to exert a powerful influence in shaping the public thought on this momentous question, and to assist in persuading the Confederate Congress to favor the arming and mobilization of the able-bodied Southern slaves.

Whether fortunately or unfortunately for the future of the Southern States, neither the soldiers in the field nor the citizens at home, as a general rule, favored the project; and when the Confederate Congress, moved by the exigency, enacted a law providing for the employment of negro slaves in the military service of the Confederacy, matters were so evidently *in extremis*, and the fall of the Confederate government was so close at hand, that no opportunity was afforded for testing an experiment which, to say the least, savored of desperation and betokened the early abolition of slavery.

In the light of subsequent events, the tenacity with which the Southern owner endeavored to shield his slave from danger, and the aversion he exhibited to exposing him to the perils of camp, march, and battle, may appear surprising. But an explanation will be found in the fact that he realized in the enlistment of the negro as a soldier an extinction of slavery within the limits of the Confederacy. That institution had been so long and so thoroughly interwoven with the domestic economy, the comfort, and the traditions of Southern society, that the common thought revolted at any suggestion which contemplated its eradication either proximate or remote. The masses were not prepared for such a sacrifice.

Charles C. Jones, Jr.

AUGUSTA, GEORGIA, June 27, 1886.

AT THE "DEATH ANGLE"

MAY 12, 1864

The movement across the Rapidan had been successfully accomplished; the Army of the Potomac, 120,000 strong, with its immense trains of artillery and supplies, had advanced in the face of an active and ably-commanded foe, and had reached the southerly side of the river without a mishap or delay. In their front was the dreaded Wilderness, and, while entangled in its forest roads, Lee had forced terrible battle upon them, and two days of bitter strife seemed to have made no impression upon his stronghold. But Grant, with that grim determination and push so lamentably lacking in previous commanders, proposed to flank what he was unable to break through, and the astonished Federal Army was ordered *forward* instead of backward.

All night long the forest arches resounded with the clatter of cavalry and the tramp of infantry, the heavy rumble of artillery trains and the rattling of baggage wagons, as the weary columns pressed on toward Richmond. But the indomitable Lee, divining the purpose of the movement, kept equal pace upon the shorter line, and at Spottsylvania, on chosen ground, threw his cavalry in front of the Federal advance and once more hurled down the gauntlet. The topography of the country, surrounding this second battle-ground of the campaign, differed from that of the Wilderness in that it was more open and undulating; the forests, although dense, were broken here and there by open fields, giving better opportunities for attack or defense and allowing the use of artillery, but, still, it was a position extremely difficult for combined operations. The Confederate lines were upon high ground in somewhat the shape of the letter V, and were protected, in front, by heavy slashings and formidable abatis, and in the rear a strong second line of intrenchments gave added protection and support.

Behind these formidable defenses was the undaunted Army of Northern Virginia, less than half the Federal numbers, but exceedingly tough-grained and filled with all the *esprit de corps* which ever inspired that remarkable body of troops. Grant could easily have flanked this position, rendering it untenable and forcing Lee from his vantage-ground, but, unwilling to believe that the inferior force in his front could withstand the

onslaught of his powerful battalions, he undertook to annihilate Lee by breaking his center.

From May 8th to the 11th the fighting was more or less continuous and spirited as the Federals endeavored to find the vulnerable point of the Confederate position, the charge of May 10th, commanded by Colonel Upton, being the most brilliant operation, although productive of no real benefit. On the afternoon of May 11th, General Hancock was ordered to prepare the Second Corps for an assault upon the apex of the angle, finally considered to be the key to the position, and in the storm and intense darkness of the night he withdrew his command, without the knowledge of the enemy, from the right to the center and formed for the attack. The assailing column was Barlow's Division, with the First and Fourth Brigades in the front line and the Second and Third Brigades in the second, the other divisions under Birney, Mott, and Gibbon supporting to right and left. Early on the morning of the 12th, under cover of a dense fog, they started up the slope with silent, rapid tread; they surprised and captured the Confederate pickets, and, with cheers, broke into double-quick. The frowning works were instantly lined with startled infantry, but nothing could stop the impetus of the charge, and the Second Corps rushed through and over the abatis to the top of the parapets; the places of the fallen were filled at once, and the excited lines surged over the works carrying all before them. Four thousand men, thirty stands of colors, and over twenty pieces of artillery were captured and sent to the rear, and onward swept the mass, with yells and shouts of victory, toward Spottsylvania Court-House.

Now was the golden opportunity, Lee's center was broken, the famous "last ditch" was close at hand, but, as in so many other critical moments, supports which could have followed, in plenty, failed to receive the orders to advance, and the Second Corps, with its lines confused and demoralized by the wild excitement of the charge, was left alone to bear the brunt of Lee's blows. The Confederates were in their path, massed on the second line, and deadly musketry and raking artillery fire checked all further advance. The victorious, but disorganized Federal lines, were driven steadily back, till, at last, they formed outside the works so gloriously won in the early dawn. The veteran brigades of Ewell's Corps were hurriedly thrown forward to retake the "salient" and western line of the angle, and Longstreet and Hill poured in all the men they could spare. The fiery Mahone pushed his famous troops into the breach, followed by the fighting divisions of Gordon and Wilcox. All that a commander could do Lee tried to do to retrieve the disaster of the morning. Warren

and Burnside were powerless to draw his attention from the captured angle. It was a Gettysburg reversed, and Lee from his concentrated position easily brushed aside every attempt of Grant's lines to relieve the pressure upon the Second Corps. On the Federal side divisions and brigades of the Sixth Corps were moved in to reinforce, and began attack close up to the angle. Batteries were posted which kept up incessant fire upon the advancing foe; other batteries were run up close to the works and poured in an enfilading fire of grape and canister, but suffered terribly in men and horses. All day long and far into the night the deadly struggle continued around the spot to be forever known in history as the "death angle."

Lee must hold back the Federal columns from his center or be annihilated, and he spurred his brave but exhausted army up to the work. In five successive charges did he endeavor to push back the gallant veterans from their hold on the angle, but they maintained their position in spite of all he could do.

Piled-up logs alone separated the combatants and these were being rapidly splintered into chips by the concentration of the furious storm of shot and shell, bullet and canister. Men fought almost hand to hand, firing, and stabbing with the bayonet, in each other's faces; once the Confederate flag floated out with the wind until it could be grasped by a Federal soldier; the color-bearer rose to his feet clinging to the staff and the Federal arose clinging to the flag; with disengaged hands they sought each other's life; both sides ceased firing to watch the conflict till finally the flag was torn from its staff and the victor, with shattered arm, was hailed with cheers. For twenty hours death held high carnival about this bloody spot. The ground was literally covered with the slain, on both sides of the works; the incessant fire tore and mangled them. The Confederate trenches were slippery with blood, and the bodies piled up several deep in them had to be removed more than once to allow the living space to work. The charges and countercharges, the cheers and yells, the roar of artillery and the never-ending rattle of musketry with Heaven's deep-voiced thunders rolling above the pouring rain, made a scene around this historic angle which has perhaps never been witnessed in warfare.

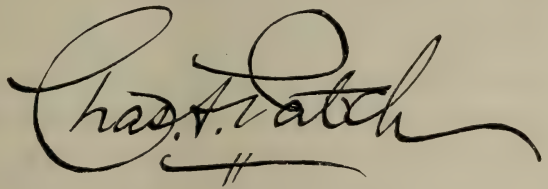
From dawn till dusk and from dusk till midnight the terrible tempest of shot and shell shrieked through the forests and plowed up the fields, but both sides held on to their positions with a courage nothing could subdue.

Behind these works stood the celebrated oak upon whose trunk the Confederate colors were lashed, causing it to become the center of such a

furious rain of lead, that, although twenty-two inches in diameter, it was literally cut in twain, and falling injured many of the foe. This event stands unparalleled in the annals of war and will ever bear unquestioned witness to the hurricane of missiles that swept this fatal spot.

Near this angle also stood the abandoned gun which the Confederates determined should not be carried away; scarring its sides, gnawing away its spokes, shattering its hubs, the merciless bullets kept guard around it. No venturesome dash from either side could move it from its position. All other attempts proving futile a battery was, at last, posted covering the piece and a rapid cannonade opened upon the enemy's riflemen. After a certain number of shots the firing was suddenly stopped and a team of horses quickly run out, attached to the piece, and it was brought in triumph to the Union lines before the enemy, seeking shelter behind the works, could recover from their astonishment.

Such was the terrific struggle around this famous angle. No such slaughter occurred in the entire war in so limited an arena; over eight thousand men yielding up life or limb on one side or the other of its parapets. In the darkness of midnight Lee withdrew to his second and still stronger line in the rear, and the "death-angle" with its bloody mementoes was left in Union hands. So closed the real struggle of Spottsylvania. It had been but two weeks since the Army of the Potomac broke camp by the banks of the Rapidan, but a loss of 35,000 men had shown the impossibility of forcing Lee from his positions by direct advance, and on May 19th the head of the column was again ordered to the left.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Chas. F. Litch". The signature is written in dark ink and features a large, looping initial "C" and a long, sweeping underline that extends to the right.

A CANADIAN VIEW OF ANNEXATION

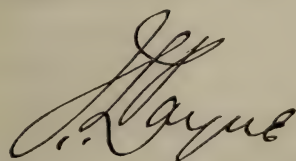
Prompted by a knowledge of our kinship, and sustained by the evidences of intimate commercial relationship, is the desire for the union of Canada and the United States; but I am wholly deceived if the general growth of national confidence and ambition in Canada is not firmly antagonistic to a change in that direction. Bitter political struggles we have, and in the controversies of opposing parties statements are made which are misunderstood to imply a lack of confidence in the present and future of our country. It is true, too, that the administration of governmental affairs over a country so vast in extent has imposed on our people no inconsiderable burden. The development of our resources, and the construction of needed public works, has entailed an outlay of money which five millions of people cannot feel rests lightly upon them; but it is wrong to draw the conclusions which Dr. Prosper Bender, of Boston, Massachusetts, has so forcibly set forth in his contributions to the *Magazine of American History*. The weight of debt and taxation is borne cheerfully, and on a fair comparison it is found to be lighter than any country similarly situated, and certainly no heavier than that of the United States. Less than six dollars per head of the population is not excessive taxation. Going deeper, however, than this, the forces which make up a vigorous civilization are felt to be strong, and with all the privileges which the American system of government presents, we feel that there is here an absence of that license in certain directions which it tolerates. I need not particularize. Surpassing these reasons, however, is the array of evidences of our material progress, so forcible and unmistakable, as to prevent even the suspicion that disintegration may begin. To present the more important of these in brief form will suffice. A railway running from ocean to ocean has been built within the past five years, and on both sides of that great band of iron are to be found the evidences of business activity and progress. Within seven years, \$350,000,000 have been placed in fixed capital, and for the five years ending with 1885 an annual average sum of \$10,585,196 has been invested under the provision of the Joint Stock Companies Act, in addition to the millions of which no accurate record is available. No other years before them stand out so prominently for commercial enterprise. The people have prospered. While industrial investments have multiplied, the lesson taught by the record of the savings banks is, that the working classes are rapidly rising in the scale of comfort and means. At the time of Confederation (1867), the deposits in savings banks of all kinds in Canada aggre-

gated but \$4,687,166; while at the close of last year they had reached \$57,678,258. In the decennial period ending with 1881, the census returns show that the amount of capital invested in manufactories increased from \$77,694,020 to \$165,302,623, and the number of employees from 187,942 to 254,935. We have \$600,000,000 of paid-up capital in railways, and there are 10,300 miles of road in operation. This represents vast increases since Confederation. Our foreign trade, which stood at \$131,027,532 in 1868, has averaged \$212,300,315 for the past five years, and there is no reasonable cause for thinking the maximum has been reached. There are, rather, inspiring indications that the favorable attention of capitalists is being turned to Canada, as a field for investments. We have, for instance, our phosphate mines near this city, opened and worked by Americans, and in other avenues of trade the stimulation of foreign capital is distinctly felt. Then, too, the fact that the desirable free lands of the United States have been taken up, and immigration thither is declining, gives strong hopes for our excellent North-west and British Columbia as the basin into which must flow great currents of moving population. We see, also, that at the rate their forests are disappearing, the people of the United States, before a generation has passed, must become our customers for inestimable quantities of timber.

I need not go further. Enough must have been said to show the ground upon which our people, among whom an increasing Canadian spirit is found, base their opposition to any movement looking toward annexation. Added to this is the knowledge of rapidly accumulating social comforts. Although it seems but yesterday that our fathers hewed their homes out of the primeval forest, there are already felt the influences of associations which attract and endear us to the land which we call our country and the spot we call our home. One other influence must be acknowledged. In the burning of that old spirit found in Byron's lines:

"Freedom's battle once begun
Descends from bleeding sire to son."

The memory of ancestral wrongs inspires a potent opposition on the part of many thousands to any other than a commercial alliance with our admirable and excellent neighbors to the southward.



LOUIS XVI. AND MARIE ANTOINETTE

No history of America during the revolutionary and formative period of our Republic is complete without a clear analysis of the singular influence exerted over passing events by the king and queen of France, in gorgeous halls across the water. We are much more frequently reminded of the fact that the American struggle for independence helped to sow the whirlwind of discontent in France which swept away the king and queen, and even the throne itself, than that our own success in the war of the Revolution was made possible by the act of that same unhappy sovereign who paid the penalty for his good intentions with his life.

In the beginning of the summer of 1774, the same day that the Boston Port Bill went into effect suspending indefinitely the cheerful industry of that prosperous New England capital, Louis XVI., not quite twenty years old, and the still more youthful Marie Antoinette found themselves at the head of the French nation. They had already been married four years, and it is not to be supposed that either of the young wedded pair had given any too much time to the acquisition of wisdom. Reared in one of the most corrupt of courts, Louis XVI., strange as it may seem, had grown up temperate, honest, and moral: and never was queen more captivating than Marie Antoinette at eighteen. To the golden hair and the dazzling fairness of complexion of a northern beauty she united the grace and animation of the south; her eyes were a bright, penetrating blue, her face oval, her forehead high and clear, and the pride and sweetness of her smile illumined every feature, while the elegance and stateliness of her manners added immensely to her charms. The new king was not handsome. His face in profile, was on the contrary, extremely commonplace, a receding forehead, aquiline nose, and double chin, giving an expressionless effect. He blinked with his eyes and was painfully near-sighted. His figure was short and stout—inclined to corpulency—he waddled in his walk, was awkward in style, untidy in dress save on state occasions, and was perpetually napping in his chair or carriage. One of his notable habits was to allow no interruption to his meals, and he partook of them after the manner of a starving man. Even on that terrible morning at Versailles, at the very instant when the mob was breaking down the doors of the royal palace, the king of France calmly ate his breakfast, fearing it might be

*marie antoinette*

inconvenient to do so at a later hour. He was not, however, without many excellencies of heart and character. The legacy handed down to him through a succession of kings for eight hundred years was unfitness to govern a people who held virtue in no respect—who could only be ruled with an iron hand. He did not rival his royal ancestors in will-power, warlike achievements, or wickedness; but he had the glory of being surpassed by few if any of them in virtue. He was a king who would have been adored in peaceful times. He was generous, humane, and religious, though timid and irresolute. With his reign was ushered in the new right to criticise sovereigns. An intellectual revolution was the precursor of the

political revolution. The writers of the day were merciless in their attacks, and conversation ran in the same groove. The finances of France had been left in a desperate condition by Louis XV., and the disjointed state of public affairs, in every aspect, was the common talk of all. It wanted but a spark to ignite the flame. Louis XVI. was but little more than a boy, inexperienced, and uninstructed in affairs of state. He tried to ease the burdens that were weighing heavily upon the people, whom he really loved; and for a time he was greatly beloved in return. Various reforms were projected, and the most offensive feudal services and imposts abolished in spite of the opposition of the courtiers, the nobility, and higher order of the clergy. The king set the example of economy by reducing his individual household expenses. But his ministers were failures; and his political instincts were dull. He could not discern whither he was drifting. Many an older and wiser man has been afflicted with similar blindness. The court appeared to be the real government of France; the king was harassed by the bitter contentions of political factions, and grew prematurely old. In the meantime and while the state was tottering on the verge of bankruptcy, Louis XVI. gave his cordial support to the American war, which added 1,500,000,000 livres to the irreparable deficit in the disordered finances of the nation. This was the pivot on which the fortunes of the king turned—the fiery spark that, smoldering for a time, exploded the volcano. A few months later hostilities were declared between France and Great Britain. For the worse than empty treasury of France the king saw, or thought he saw, two remedies—restriction of expenses, which the queen and the court opposed, and taxing the privileged class, which the Parliament opposed; he hoped to find a third expedient by appealing to the people, and unwittingly added fuel to the kindling fire.

Had Louis XVI. lived either before or after the French Revolution, he would have been appreciated. He liked books and solid books; he was a great student of geography, and his cabinet was hung with maps and charts of the whole world; he had a passion for mechanical works, and for whatever concerned commerce or the sea. He was industrious, quick of comprehension, and had a fine memory. His reading was well selected, and on historical matters he had written some before he ascended the throne, and was familiar with chronological details. He took great interest in the mechanical part of printing, and when twelve years old printed himself thirty-five copies of *maximes morales et politiques tirées de Télémaque*, which he had collected from Fénélon's romance: and he made also a translation of some portions of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall* which was published under the name of *Le Clerc de Sept Chênes*. He excelled

in clock-work and lock-making, and kept all the time-pieces of Versailles in order; he also had a room fitted up with the apparatus needed, where he would file, turn, drill, forge, hammer, and polish iron under the instruction of a blacksmith named Gammin. "The king used to hide from the queen and the court to forge and file with me," said this man in his later years. Furthermore, Louis XVI. had an overmastering desire that the world should be made better for his having lived in it. He wished to become the patron of learning, and his delight was in deeds of charity and benevolence. In some letters recently found in the collection of Mr. Henry T. Drowne, of New York city, we have a glimpse of the estimation in which he was held in this country through his good-natured tenderness for American institutions. These letters were addressed to the Honorable H. St. John, French consul for the States of New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut, and were written in 1783, by Solomon Drowne, M.D., of Providence, Rhode Island, who was a Fellow and Secretary of the Rhode Island college, now Brown University: the following extracts speak for themselves: "I have read, with much satisfaction, several French medical and chirurgical productions; and from the perusal of such a work as the *Journal de Medicine*, etc., promise myself not only amusement, but much improvement. This is another instance of the philanthropy and generosity of the truly clement and illustrious *Louis XVI.* who, not content with healing the political wounds of America, is now liberally diffusing wine and oil, for the relief of personal distresses, and rescuing from the bed of languishing disease thousands who are ready to perish. He, by doing thus, at the same time promotes the healing art; and a more philosophic practice of medicine certainly confers greater obligations on mankind than he who by all the horrors of War adds some few wretched provinces to his domain. It is owing to the depravity of human nature that the splendour and loud acclaim attendant on these *supposed* heroic feats do not, in a much higher degree, await those more Godlike deeds?" The second letter evidently refers to a favor requested in behalf of Rhode Island college: "Convinced that, next to the political happiness of this country, the best interests of American literature are nearest your heart; and that you are not only the patron, but establisher of our fame in science & philosophy, we promise ourselves the favour of your influence to have laid before his most *Christian Majesty* the inclosed Address, the contents of which you will learn from the open Copy. That we may not appear without reason for our present attempt, we have to mention, it is in consequence of undoubted information that the illustrious *Louis XVI.*, agreeably to his wonted munificence, has proffered impor-

tant literary favours to Yale College in ye State of Connecticut, which the Corporation of that Institution thought proper to decline."

The tastes and employments of Marie Antionette were quite the opposite of those of her royal husband, but he was never unkind to her in consequence. If weak in dealing with his ministers through the kindness of his nature, his deference to the queen was for the better reason that he was devotedly fond of her. He remarked to her one day, "You love flowers. I will present to you a whole bouquet. I give you little Trianon." She was delighted, and henceforward for several years this little place was her Arcadia. She had her Swiss cottage and model farm, and when the spirit moved her would dress herself like a farmer's wife, and with her maids of honor milk the cows and cook the meals. The king found little pleasure in such whimsical sports, and yet would occasionally join in them. Marie Antionette planned a quaint masquerade at her farm on one occasion, in which she assigned the post of miller to the king, and was joyfully surprised when she found him grinding grain, clad in white garments, a white cap towering above his smiling, meal-powdered face, and pausing every now and then to play the blacksmith by fitting little screws and springs into the great clumsy mill-wheel.

But presently the anti-Austrian party began to accuse the queen of frivolity, then of extravagance. Her declaration that she had no court at Trianon, was only there as a private person and a land-owner; that the king had given her that bit of ground that she might have a little realm of her own, was ignored; her charming entertainments were called "orgies," and her gayety misconstrued; she was criticised for walking abroad without hoops, and for going to the opera ball while the king went to bed; she was spoken of in the same breath as a lover of finery and a strong-minded political counselor of the king; in short, her sun of happiness had scarcely arisen when it disappeared under a black cloud. And, after all, the chief offense of poor Marie Antoinette was that of being an Austrian.

The remarkable change that came over the social life of France during the reign of Louis XVI. was due in a great measure to the democratic notions of the queen herself, who disliked etiquette, and helped to render familiarity fashionable. Her manners were inartificial, and few approached her for whom she had not a kind, or at least a courteous word. She abhorred flattery, and was generous to a fault. She founded a hospital for the aged and poor, and a lying-in asylum; and she built cottages for the accommodation of the humble. The decencies of life were much more strictly observed than in the preceding reign, and a better class of literature, however critical, took its rise. Even the costume was improved.

From the very first Marie Antoinette was interested in the cause of America; and without in any sense comprehending its possible issues, she ultimately made it the fashion in the brilliant French Court. When Dr. Franklin appeared in Paris, he found that his scientific reputation had preceded him, and that he was regarded as a person of importance. But from the hour he was ushered into the presence of the queen, in 1778, and invited to stand by her side that she might converse with him as opportunity offered, he was a star of the first magnitude in the French mind. Marie Antoinette was then twenty-two, the same age as the bride of President Cleveland; Dr. Franklin was seventy-two, portly, and benign. Nothing could have been more becoming than the plain black velvet suit he wore, with snowy ruffles at wrist and bosom, white silk stockings and silver buckles. The absence, however, of wig and sword, the absolute court requisites, inspired the queen (whose soul was so pestered with forms in those very years) with keenest admiration. She liked the effrontery with which she imagined he must have passed the chamberlain of the court, and her attentions to him were all the more gracious and flattering for that reason. The Court following her lead was captivated with the grand magician who had separated the suffering colonies from Great Britain. Franklin was everywhere the observed of all observers; his portraits went into every house; there were Franklin snuff-boxes, Franklin chairs, Franklin stoves, Franklin dishes, Franklin ornaments, and Franklin furniture of every kind.

As the years rolled on Marie Antionette grew prematurely sedate, haughty, and resolute; and when all France seemed on a swift canter to destruction, she was quick to perceive what the king lost by his mistaken humanity. But in the midst of her severest trials she was unselfish, magnanimous, and heroic. She tried to inspire the king with her own energetic will, and when she failed was never heard to utter one word of reproach. Upon her all the anger, the exasperation, the rage of the French people concentrated. Of all the acts of the French Revolution—an event unparalleled in the history of nations—none cast on it so much dishonor as the execution of Marie Antionette. From the moment of the king's death she was nothing, and her immolation was unjustifiable, brutal beyond expression. The motive was neither principle nor love of liberty that actuated her persecutors, and their victim was a powerless and defenseless woman.

Martha J Lamb

MINOR TOPICS

THE AGES OF MILITARY COMMANDERS

BY JAMES G. BLAINE

The officers who led the Union Army throughout all the stages of the civil conflict were in the main young men. This feature has been a distinguishing mark in nearly all the wars in which the American people have taken part, and, with a few notable exceptions, has been the rule in the leading military struggles of the world. Alexander the Great died in his thirty-second year. Cæsar entered upon the Conquest of Gaul at forty. Frederick the Great was the leading commander of Europe at thirty-three. Napoleon and Wellington, born the same year, fought their last battle at forty-six years of age. On the exceptional side Marlborough's greatest victories were won when he was nearly sixty (though he had been brilliantly distinguished at twenty-two), and in our own day the most skillful campaign in Europe was under the direction of Von Moltke when he was in the seventieth year of his age.

Washington took command of the Continental Army at forty-three. Lafayette was a major-general at twenty. Nathaniel Greene was a general officer in the military establishment of the Revolution at thirty-three, and entered upon his memorable campaign in the South at thirty-eight. Winfield Scott was but twenty-eight when he commanded at Chippewa and Lundy's Lane. Macomb was thirty-two when he gained the famous victory over Sir George Prevost at Plattsburg. Jackson was forty-seven when he won the decisive battle over Pakenham at New Orleans. On the other hand, Taylor was sixty-three when he conquered at Buena Vista, and Scott was sixty-one when he made his celebrated march from Vera Cruz to the capital. Scott enjoys the rare distinction of having held high and successful command in two wars, which were a full generation of men apart. In 1847, he commanded in Mexico the sons of those officers who aided in his brilliantly successful campaign against the British on the borders of Canada in 1814.

At the opening of the Civil War, General Scott again assumed command, but his seventy-five years pressed heavily upon him, and he soon gave way to younger men who came rapidly forward with patriotic ardor and worthy ambition. Nearly all the graduates of the United States Military Academy who achieved distinction were in what might be termed their middle youth, a few were in their twenties, none were old. General Grant won his campaign of the Tennessee, and fought the battles of Henry, Donaldson, and Shiloh, when he was thirty-eight years of age. Sherman entered upon his onerous work in the South-west when he was forty-one, and accomplished the march to the sea when he was forty-four.

Thomas began his splendid career in Kentucky when he was forty-three, and fought the critical and victorious battle of Nashville when he was forty-six. Sheridan was but thirty-three when he confirmed a reputation, already enviable, by his great campaign of 1864 in the Shenandoah Valley ; Meade won the decisive battle of Gettysburg when he was forty-seven. McClellan was but thirty-five when he succeeded General Scott in command of the army. McDowell was forty-five when he fought the first battle of magnitude in the war. Buell was forty-two when he joined his forces with Grant's army on the second day's fight at Shiloh. Pope was scarcely over forty when he attained the highest credit for his success in the South-west. Hancock was forty-one when he approved himself one of the most brilliant commanders in the army by his superb bearing on the field of Spottsylvania. Hooker was forty-six when he assumed command of the army of the Potomac. General Schofield was thirty-four when he commanded with signal ability and success in the battle of Franklin. John Reynolds was forty-three when he fell at the head of his corps in the first day's fight at Gettysburg. Rosecrans was forty-two when he gained the important victory at Stone River. Burnside was thirty-seven when he made the admirable record of his North Carolina campaign. Howard was thirty-two when he was assigned to the command of a corps, and only a year older when he succeeded McPherson in the command of the Army of the Tennessee. McPherson was thirty-five when he gave up his heroic life on the bloody field before Atlanta. Slocum was an able corps commander at thirty-two. William F. Smith was thirty-eight when he handled his division with consummate skill at White Oak Swamp. Joseph J. Reynolds was a major-general before he was forty. Hazen was thirty-four when he led in the important capture of Fort McAllister. McKenzie, Custer, Kilpatrick, and Ames, had each won his star before he had passed his twenty-sixth year. The only West Point man who became conspicuous in the command of troops after he was fifty years of age was David Hunter.

General Logan, to whom is conceded by common consent the leading reputation among volunteer officers, and who rose to the command of an army, went to the field at thirty-five. General Butler was forty-two when he was placed at the head of the army of the Gulf, and began his striking career in Louisiana. General Banks was forty-four when with the rank of major-general he took command of the Department of Maryland. Garfield was a major-general at thirty-one, with brilliant promise as a soldier, when he left the field to enter Congress. Frank Blair at forty-one was a successful commander of a division in the arduous campaign which ended with the fall of Vicksburg. Jacob D. Cox had achieved his reputation in the field at thirty-four. Sickles was forty-one, when, desperately wounded, he was borne from the head of his corps at Gettysburg. Cadwallader Washburn, in his forty-third year, was in command of an important district in the South-west. Rawlins was high in General Grant's confidence and favor at thirty, when he filled the important post of chief of staff. James B. Stedman was forty-

four when he received Mr. Lincoln's special encomium for bravery. Franz Sigel was in command of a corps before he was thirty-five. Crawford was thirty-three when his division did its noble work at Gettysburg. Chamberlain was thirty-four when he associated his name indelibly with the defense of Little Round Top. Corse was but twenty-nine when he held the pass at Altoona. Hawley did splendid service in the field at thirty-five, and rose rapidly to the rank of brigadier-general. Gresham had made his brave record at thirty-two, and bears wounds to attest his service. The McCooks were all young, all gallant, all successful. John Beatty was a brigadier-general at thirty-two. Robert Potter commanded a corps before he was thirty-seven. The only general of volunteers beyond fifty years of age who acquired special distinction was James S. Wadsworth, who in his fifty-seventh year fell in one of the most sanguinary battles of the war.—*Twenty Years of Congress*, vol. ii.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S STORY-TELLING

BY GEORGE W. JULIAN

During the month of January, 1863, I called with the Indiana delegation to see the President respecting the appointment of Judge Otto, of Indiana, as Assistant Secretary of the Interior. He was soon after appointed, but Mr. Lincoln then only responded to our application by treating us to four anecdotes. Senator Lane told me that when he heard a story that pleased him he took a memorandum of it and filed it away among his papers. He entered into the enjoyment of his stories with all his heart, and completely lived over again the delight he had experienced in telling them on previous occasions. When he told a particularly good story, and the time came to laugh, he would sometimes throw his left foot across his right knee, and clenching his foot with both hands and bending forward, his whole frame seemed to be convulsed with the effort to give expression to his sensations. His laugh was like that of the hero of *Sartor Resartus*, "a laugh of the whole man, from head to heel." I believe his anecdotes were his great solace and safeguard in seasons of severe mental depression. I remember that when I called on him on the 2d of July, 1862, at the time our forces were engaged in a terrific conflict with the enemy near Richmond, and everybody was anxious as to the result, he seemed quite as placid as usual, and at once yielded to his ruling passion for story-telling. If I had not known his peculiarities I should have pronounced him incapable of any deep earnestness of feeling; but his manner was so kindly, and so free from the ordinary crookedness of the politician and the vanity and self-importance of official position, that nothing but good-will was inspired by his presence.—*Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln*. Edited by Allen Thorndike Rice.

AN ANECDOTE OF ANSON BURLINGAME

Translated from a French newspaper, by Levi Bishop

When the late Mr. Anson Burlingame was at Paris with the celebrated Chinese embassy, having become quite fatigued with public ceremony, he concluded one day to take a little private recreation in the country. With this view he went down to the sea-shore near Dieppe, where an intimate acquaintance of his by the name of Gudin, a celebrated painter, had a cottage residence. The next thing, as a matter of course, in such a locality, was to go out a-fishing, in which amusement the painter and the great ambassador were almost miraculously successful, taking, in a short time, a large quantity of various kinds of most excellent fish. The question then arose to determine what they should do with the fish. To eat or preserve them they could not, and they did not wish to throw them away; and the happy and humorous idea occurred to them—an idea which could have found a place only in great minds—to take the fish to Paris, and, as a capital piece of pleasantry, to sell them in the public market.

They accordingly purchased several baskets, which they filled, obtained transportation for them to the nearest railroad depôt, loaded them on a car, and started for Paris on a freight train, about as well pleased as a couple of jolly fishermen would be, in going up to the great metropolis with a quantity of fresh fish from the coast of Normandy. They arrived at Paris about four o'clock in the morning, when the break of day began first to illumine the heights of Mont Martel and the lofty towers of Notre Dame. This was an admirable time to be the first on the market, in order to get the first sales of fish; and determined still to carry out their adventure, they hired a horse and cart, loaded on their fish, and started for the grand Halle, near the Place Saint Gustache, being the principal fish market of Paris. In their walk through the streets, beside their cart of fish, many were the hearty laughs they had, and which were had at their expense, in view of their ridiculous exhibition; and they could not resist the temptation of indulging in all sorts of speculations, like the maid and the milk-pail, of Esop, as to the amount they should realize for their fish, all fresh and scarcely done floundering from the English Channel. But although their fish were very fine, they concluded, on the whole, not to be too avaricious in this their first speculation, and to sell at moderate rates, so as to let the whole affair pass off with the utmost good humor. They arrived soon at the market, where they proceeded to unload their fish on the sidewalk, and to prepare for the sales.

Here began the troubles of our gay adventurers. It is a very easy and pleasant thing for great men to fish, but to sell fish is a very different affair. In laying their plans they had entirely overlooked the legal regulations of the market, which all the fish dealers well understood, and which they were interested to see enforced; and they had also encumbered the sidewalk with their baskets of fish, in violation of the city ordinances. Thus situated, they found themselves all at once sur-

rounded, much to their surprise, with an excited crowd of market men and women. They were hissed and hooted ; the women poured on them their choicest Billingsgate ; they were jostled, pushed, and pulled about in the rudest manner ; and they were even threatened with more violent treatment, with every appearance that the threats would be executed on the spot.

Totally dumbfounded, and even quite alarmed, the celebrated painter and the distinguished ambassador of China to all the rest of the world, took to their heels and ran, amid derisive shouts from the multitude which had been attracted by the tumult, and made their escape to a neighboring street. This afforded the market people a rare opportunity to take their vengeance on the fish, which had been brought all the way from Dieppe, and which had been thus incontinently abandoned. And this they proceeded at once to do as the legitimate spoils of the victors, carrying away in a few moments everything, even to the baskets. All this while the painter and ambassador stood afar off, lifting up their eyes on the scene of devastation, but not daring to interpose so much as a gentle remonstrance, even diplomatically, in defense of their rights and privileges. They were, however, glad to notice that the cart which they had hired was still left, though completely empty, with not a sardine left in it ; and as for the horse, he stood feeding on cabbage-leaves, with most profound and provoking philosophy, as if nothing of an extraordinary character had taken place.

"Very well," said Gudin, when he had recovered himself sufficiently to speak, "I am very glad we have escaped as well as we have." "Very well," said Mr. Burlingame, with his accustomed coolness, "*allons maintenant déjeuner* ;" that is to say, "let us now go and take breakfast."

Thus ended a fishing excursion which began most happily in Dieppe, and ended most lamentably, as well as most ludicrously, at Paris. It is not stated whether, on the whole, the principal actors felt like relating their adventures to their friends or not.—*Michigan Pioneer Collections, Vol. V.*

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

REMINISCENCES OF LADY HARRIET ACLAND

[As anything, which serves to illustrate the character of the lady whom Baroness Riedesel calls "the loveliest of women," will be prized, I take pleasure in laying before the readers of the MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY the following reminiscences never before in print, and which were lately sent me kindly by Mr. T. Constable of Otley, Yorkshire, Eng.* My thanks are also due to Mr. Clements R. Markham, Secretary to the Royal Geographical Society of London, for first telling me of the existence of these papers. — WILLIAM L. STONE.]

The Original Manuscript.

Lady Harriet Acland and her family, on our arrival in Somerset, resided at Pixton, upon the Ex, about twenty miles from Taunton. This amiable woman had lost all her children but one, the present Lady Porchester, who was also very delicate. As they were intimates of Lady Ann and Miss Simpsons of Bradley, we were early known to them, to our great advantage ; for their kind and generous attentions upon all occasions not only from themselves, but from all their connections, proved a source of the most gratifying satisfaction. Lady Harriet Acland was a daughter of the Earl of Ilchester ; and as her virtuous courage, in aid of her wounded husband in America, has justly rendered her one of the most celebrated female characters of this Empire, and will hand down her memory to posterity, as an uncommon instance of pure conjugal affection ; so I may add here, for your sake, and whoever reads this, during the many years we had the honor of enjoying a little of her friendship and kind attentions, her whole life was a tissue of generous and benevolent actions, of which the following is a specimen with a thousand others, now in my possession. As her manners were simple, affable, and elegant, her letters are easy, and her writing round and beautiful, highly characteristic of that perfect freedom which accompanied her on all occasions.

Though attentive to all around her, the distressed poor were the daily and more immediate objects of her unbounded charities : and where age and infirmities had rendered human assistance of little avail, her benevolent visit seldom failed to soothe their anguish and render them contented and happy.

* The MS bears the following indorsement :

The within is an extract from a manuscript volume in my possession, written by Dr. Angus Macdonald of Taunton for the use of his niece, my late mother, being a history and review of the lives of himself and his late wife, who was a daughter of Robert Ord, formerly Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer of Scotland, and a lady of high character and some literary eminence. The doctor died in 1825, having practiced as a physician at Taunton upwards of 35 years.

(Signed)

T. CONSTABLE.

MANOR HOUSE, OTLEY, May 22, 1886.

"Lady H. Acland's compliments to Dr. Macdonald, and begs to know if there is any objection to the poor young woman at Kingston having anything to procure sleep, as she finds from the mother, the pain of the wounds prevents her getting sufficient rest to support her. Lady H. begs, if he has no objection to it, that he will order something for that purpose ; which she wishes to be in the shape of pills, as she thinks there may be danger in having liquid laudanum in a house of that sort. Whatever the Doctor may have the goodness to order, she begs it may be put down to her account at Mr. Paynes, or elsewhere, as he chooses.

Lord and Lady Porchester have been prevented leaving Totten by Lady Porchester having a very troublesome sore throat, but she finds herself well enough this evening to intend setting out for Highclere to-morrow morning : in all other respects, she has been much the same as when D^r Macdonald saw her last. Lady H. is much obliged for the flower roots, and thinks many of the *Polyanthus*' extremely pretty."

Totten, Sunday night.

"Lady Harriet Acland's compliments to Dr. Macdonald, and will be obliged to him to send her the bill of what he was so good as to lay out for the poor girl at Kingston."

Totten Friday night.

"Lady Harriet Acland's compl^{ts} to Dr. Macdonald, as she knows he will be glad to hear of Lady Porchester, begs to inform him she had a very comfortable account of her this morning, and that she is with her little ones, safely arrived at Barnes."

Totten House May 2nd

"Lady Harriet Acland's compliments to Dr. Macdonald ; she is quite ashamed of having so long delayed thanking him for the piece of money from Totten which he was so good as to send, and for which she is much obliged. She has the pleasure of informing Dr. Macdonald that her little grandson is perfectly recovered and thriving very fast with the milk of his fourth nurse."

In building Totten House for Lady H. Acland, who gave up her charming place of Pixton to Lord and Lady Porchester ; in clearing out what had been the cheese-room of the Dyke family, from whom the Acland family inherited that fine estate, it was necessary to remove an immense large, round stone which stood in the middle of the room and which had served to press the cheese upon by the Tenants for the last sixty years or more. Two men were employed in removing this stone, and one of the men, a very shrewd fellow, observed, or rather observing a hollow below where the stone stood, he put down his hand and a number of large, round pieces of money immediately tingled. It was near dinner-time, and suspecting a treasure to be hid there, this crafty fellow told his companion they would

put off finishing that piece of work till next day, which was agreed to, and his fellow-workman was set to another piece of work at some distance. This man, however, continued all the afternoon in going from the house to a hedge under the pretense of a colic, and after work-people had left the place, he returned and carried away, it was affirmed, above £5000 of gold, in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth, Charles I, Charles II, and James I. These were brought to a Mr. Foy, a silversmith, who bought many of them. The artful fellow would not tell where he got them, but finding they were gold went straight to London, and has never been heard of since. These were all in fine preservation, as if from the Mint. Mr. Foy let me have a two-guinea piece of Charles II, and that piece I presented to Lady Harriet Acland, who smiled and said it was very hard that the family should not have one relic of it. Most of the families in this part of Somerset were attached to the family of Stewart, and this money was supposed to have been lodged either to pay the Royal Troops sent to oppose the Duke of Mo'mouth, or for the use of the Duke of Monmouth himself. But as you know those in my possession are beautifully entire.*

Lord Porchester, now Earl of Carnarvon [father of the present or 4th Earl of Carnarvon, a great-grandson of Lady Harriet, and late Sec'y of State for Colonies and more recently Lord Lieutenant of Ireland], is a very amiable young man, with very considerable, genteel abilities; he built an excellent new house upon the romantic hill of Pixton, where he sets an example of improving that highly picturesque country, by building bridges, enclosing and making new and improving the old roads all around Pixton with the road leading to it, put one always in mind of the river Kinnel in Dinnfresshire.

Amiable, humane, good, generous Lady Harriet, how sincerely do I lament thy death.

A. Macdonald.

TAUNTON, 19 *March*, 1819.

INTERESTING LETTER FROM JAMES MONROE TO GOVERNOR SHELBY OF KENTUCKY

From the collection of Gordon L. Ford.

Department of War
January 30 1815

Sir:

The result of the Contest which is so gallantly sustained by our troops at New Orleans, under the command of Major General Jackson, is still doubtful.

The enemy seem to have directed their whole disposable force, there, in the

* This incident recalls one of a similar character in connection with the Saratoga Battle Ground. Some years since, a poor day laborer, while ploughing over the Great Redoubt, found a number of gold pieces—how many were never known. A few months after his find, however, he bought and paid for a fine farm near Saratoga Lake. Lady Harriet died, the widow of Major Acland, July 21, 1815.—W. L. S.

hope of getting possession of that City and the command of the Mississippi, that important outlet to all the productions of the Western Country.

I trust that the justice of our cause, aided by the bravery of our troops under the favor of a gracious providence, will finally prevail over these invaders and finally overwhelm them.

As the result, however, is uncertain, and the enemy may receive reinforcements, we ought not to be less attentive to the Succour of our brave countrymen, who have so nobly submitted to every degree of privation and encountered every danger. An army must be formed and sent to their aid without delay. If our troops should be repulsed, which we cannot believe, this army will unite with their brethren, renew the attack, and repel the intruders.

If the Contest should still be undecided, the reinforcement will turn the Scale. The President requests that you will immediately detach five Thousand of the Militia of your State for this service, preferring Volunteers if they can be obtained, and hasten them down the river with the greatest dispatch possible. Arrangements will be made by the Department for their transportation, of which you shall be advised. Everything will be in readiness to take the troops down by the time they are collected.

Let every man who has one bring his Rifle or Musket with him.

Our hundred and fifty thousand dollars in treasury notes will be remitted to you to pay for the expense of transportation already incurred for the troops now at New Orleans, and for the contingent expenses of those now required which you are hereby authorised to distribute to such agents of the Government as may be employed in paying, subsisting, transporting, and providing forage for the troops. Inclosed you will receive a copy of a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury to me of this date, giving assurance that the Treasury notes will be soon forwarded, on the authority of which I trust that your Excellency will be enabled to obtain of the Banks without difficulty, on loan, by anticipation, any sum that will be necessary for those purposes.

It may be gratifying to your Excellency to know that a strong force is also ordered from Tennessee for this service.

I need not observe that should you understand that the enemy have been vanquished and either made prisoners of, or driven out, that the march of these troops will be suspended. Let not this expectation, however, prevent their collection and march as soon as possible for it.

I have the honor to be

Sir, respectfully

Your Excellency's

Most ob. Ser'vt

Jas. Monroe

His Excellency

Isaac Shelby

Governor of Kentucky.

NOTES.

THE MANUSCRIPT MARKET—One great difficulty with which the maker of manuscript is obliged to contend is, that his market is constantly overstocked. He is prone to think that if he furnishes a clever poem, a bright essay, a well-written, interesting story to a periodical, it will be certain of acceptance. But it will not be, unless accompanied by a well known name, which will carry the contribution independent of its merit. When a man has reputation, he can dispose of anything he may write. Before he has acquired reputation, his very best may go begging. The general reader's judgment of literature of any kind is commonly founded on the fame of the writer. He admires what he believes he ought to admire; he recognizes ability through the eyes of others; he adopts outside opinions as his own. The manuscript-maker seldom suspects that the periodical to which he has sent his contribution already has on hand a number of clever poems, bright essays, interesting stories, for which it cannot find room; consequently, if the editor tells him so, he is inclined to discredit the story. In truth, only a few of the initiated have any conception of the continually increasing number of manuscripts that flood every office in the land. The marvel is not that such a host are rejected, but that so many are printed. Not one out of twenty, prepared with care and confidence, ever sees the light of day. The inky mania rages universally, and is incapable of abatement.—*Junius Henry Brown, in Forum for July.*

HARAFORAS—In the interior of New

Guinea (the great link by which the Molucca Islands are connected with New Holland on the one hand and the Polynesian Archipelago on the other) is a race of *Haraforas*, who live in the hollows of trees, which they ascend by means of long notched pieces of timber. The agility of the youth of this race among the branches of trees is wonderful; they will climb and spring from one branch to the other almost with the ease of monkeys, and like those animals when attacked take to the trees as refuges, where they can defend themselves with great chance of success. Their habits are essentially the same as those of other tribes already named. Beccari bears testimony to the fact of having seen some of them wearing bracelets of human jaw-bones, and necklaces made of the spinal vertebræ which had evidently been subjected to the action of heat. Their habitations in the tree-tops were also decked with human skulls, which led to the belief that the taste of human flesh was not unknown to them.—*Anthropophagy Historic and Prehistoric, by General Charles W. Darling.*

SAN GABRIEL—To see at its best the loveliest part of Southern California, as improved, one must descend into its great valley of San Gabriel. The Sierra Madre Mountains that form its northern wall rise with a sudden sweep much higher above the valley than most of the great mountains of our country rise above the land at their feet, lifting one at once into a different climate and to a country where primeval wildness still reigns supreme. Few parts of the United

States are less known and less traversed than these great hills; yet they look down upon the very garden of all California.

Away up there the mountain trout flashes undisturbed in the hissing brook, and the call of the mountain quail rings from the shady glen where the grizzly bear yet dozes away the day, secure as in the olden time. From the bristling points where the lilac and manzanita light up the dark hue of the surrounding chaparral the deer yet looks down upon the plain from which the antelope has long been driven; while on the lofty ridges that lie in such clear outline against the distant sky the mountain sheep still lingers, safe in its inaccessible home.—*Southern California*, by Van Dyke.

THE BOSTON ROCKING-CHAIR—Admiral Sir Isaac Coffin, Bart., while at some lordly mansion in England, his

hostess had begged him to have made for her a Boston rocking-chair. Not wishing to disoblige her ladyship, he enlisted the services of the village carpenter, and a few days after had a contrivance not then to be found in fashionable mansions outside the nursery, placed in the apartment where the company at the castle assembled before dinner. With all due ceremony he led the amiable and much-honored lady to the chair, in which she ensconced herself and began to rock. Unfortunately, the rockers had not been constructed on scientific principles, and over it went, with many eyes to behold. Too well-bred to be affronted, she gathered herself up as best she could; and by taking it kindly put the admiral at his ease, and contributed to the gayety of the repast. Her husband, whose good services placed him in Parliament, did not abate them for the casualty.—*Life of Admiral Sir Isaac Coffin, Bart.*, by Thomas C. Amory.

QUERIES

THE OLD BELL-MAN—*Editor Magazine of American History*: I take it that fair-minded and well-informed historians do not consider the account of the old bell-man ringing Independence Bell at Philadelphia on the Congress adopting the Declaration of Independence, a legend or a myth, and I would ask the favor through your able journal the name of the man that rang the old Liberty Bell on that occasion?

R. W. JUDSON

OGDENSBURG, N. Y., July, 1886

"MRS."—Was the word "Mrs." used formerly to designate a single woman as

well as one married? I found the following inscription on a tombstone in the old burying-ground in this place:

"Here Lyeth Interred ye Body of M^{rs} Sarah Gardiner daughter of M^r John & M^{rs} Sarah Gardiner of New London Dec^d (A Grand Daugh't of ye Hon.^{ble} Gurdon Saltonstall late Goverour of ye Collony of Connecticutt Dec^d) who died Aug't 6 1745 Aetatis 26."

I may say that this lady was also the granddaughter of "His Excell'cy John Gardiner, Third Lord of ye Isle of Wight."

HARVARD

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS, July 10, 1886

WHERE WAS WASHINGTON?—*Editor Magazine of American History*: No intelligent and true patriot can be found in our land at the present day who does not admire the daring exploits and dashing heroism of the gallant General Anthony Wayne, and especially his courageous and successful assault upon Stony Point. We all admire his laconic and modest dispatch:

"Stony Point July 16th 79 2 o'clock A.M.
General Washington

The Fort and munitions are ours. The Officers and Soldiers acted like men determined to be free.

Yours
A. Wayne"

Will some one please say, through your Magazine, where Washington was in waiting to receive this dispatch?

R. W. JUDSON

REPLIES

COLONEL BENJAMIN WALKER [XVI. 110]—*Editor Magazine of American History*: Colonel Benjamin Walker was born in England in 1753; came to New York and became a merchant before the Revolution. Early in the war he was captain in the Second Regiment of New York Continentals. On the arrival of Baron Steuben, in 1777, Colonel Walker joined his staff. Speaking French, he was of great service to the baron. In 1781-2 the colonel belonged to General Washington's military family. August 3, 1789, President Washington, in his first list of nominations to the United States Senate, nominated Colonel Walker for Naval Officer for New York City, and his nomination (with others) was the first confirmed. Soon after Baron Steuben's death, Colonel Walker being one of his executors, removed to Utica, New York, to be near the baron's estate. In 1801-3 Colonel Walker was a member of Congress. I have never before heard that Colonel Walker was ever sent to France on any errand. He died in Utica, New York, January 13, 1818, and a few years ago his remains were removed with much parade to our beautiful Forest Hill Cemetery. M. M. J.

UTICA, NEW YORK

JOEL BARLOW AND THE SCIOTA LAND COMPANY [XVI. 110]—I can throw no light on the first part of this query, but as to the question: Who was Colonel Benjamin Walker? I can furnish this information: "Colonel Walker was a native of England, where he was born in 1753. He became a captain in the Second New York Regiment, in the Continental army, having left the mercantile business for a military life when the Revolution broke out. After serving as Steuben's favorite aid for about four years, he entered the military family of Washington in 1781. At the end of the war he was Governor Clinton's private secretary. He became a broker in New York, and was Naval Officer there during the administration of Washington. In 1797, he was appointed agent for the management of a large estate in Central New York; served a term in Congress from 1801, and died at Utica, in 1818."

WM. HARDEN

SAVANNAH, GEORGIA

THE WAR-SHIP JASON [XVI. 111]—
Was commanded by De Clochette.

I. C.

ALLEGHANY, PENNSYLVANIA

OLDEST CHURCH EDIFICE [XV. 615]—Bruton parish church, Williamsburg, built in 1678, is the oldest church in Virginia. In its tower is the clock removed from the Capitol, and a bell of peculiar value and sound, presented by Queen Anne. Three communion services belong to this church, viz.: the old Jamestown service, the service presented by George III., and the service presented by Queen Anne. The church also contains the Jamestown font from which Pocahontas was baptized. The church-yard contains many handsome monuments with elaborate armorial designs.

BOTETOURT WALLER

AMERICANS ON GUARD [XVI. 111]—The following circular-letter from Washington to the colonels in camp at Morristown, New Jersey, and the order issued by him at Valley Forge, will probably answer this query:

"Morristown, April 30, 1777.

"Sir: I want to form a company for my guard. In doing this I wish to be extremely cautious, because it is more than probable that, in the course of the campaign, my baggage, papers, and other matters of great public importance, may be committed to the sole care of these men. This being premised, in order to impress you with proper attention in the choice, I have to request that you will immediately furnish me with four men of your regiment; and as it is my farther wish that this company should look well and be nearly of a size, I desire that none of the men may exceed in stature five feet ten inches, nor fall short of five feet nine inches, sober, young, active

and well made. When I recommend care in your choice, I would be understood to mean men of good character in the regiment, that possess the pride of appearing clean and soldierlike. I am satisfied there can be no absolute security for the fidelity of this class of people, but I think more likely to be found in those who have family connections in the country. *You will therefore send me none but natives*, men of some property if you have them. I must insist, that, in making this choice, you give no intimation of my preference of natives, as I do not want to create any invidious distinction between them and foreigners."

"Headquarters,

"Valley Forge, March 17, 1778.

"One hundred men are to be annexed to the Guard of the Commander-in-Chief for the purpose of forming a corps to be instructed in the maneuvers necessary to be introduced into the army, and to serve as a model for the execution of them. As the General's Guard is composed of Virginians, the hundred draughts will be taken from the other States.

"Description of the men: Height, from five feet eight inches to five feet ten inches; age, from twenty to thirty years; robust constitution, well-limbed, formed for activity, men of established character for sobriety and fidelity. *They must be Americans born.*" I. C.

ALLEGHANY, PENNSYLVANIA

THE LEGENDARY ALAMO [XV. 521]—In the account of the fall of the Alamo in the June number of this Magazine, one of the most heroic incidents of our his-

tory, the writer seems to give almost full faith to the oft refuted fable of Francisco Ruiz, that 2,000 Mexican soldiers fell, killed and wounded, while striking down 180 defenders, and that the latter struck down more than 10 foemen each. Here we get beyond Thermopylæ, whether Xerxes did or not. The common assertion of legend, however, is not so audacious as Francisco Ruiz: it asserts that only 1,000 Mexicans fell in the assault. Now it is ascertained with tolerable certainty that the assaulting force did not exceed 2,500. If Ruiz tells the truth, only 500 of the stormers were left on foot. If common rumor is correct, only 1,500 were left. Now, better troops than those of Santa Aña do not often capture forts with a loss of four-fifths or even two-fifths of their total. Alas! how we have underrated Mexican bravery.

It is not true, as the writer I criticise has been led to believe, that Santa Aña's columns of attack while moving up were swept through by showers of grape and canister, and repeatedly repulsed. Had they suffered thus they would never have got in. Favored by darkness just before dawn, they reached the foot of the works, or points near them, with moderate loss. Then one column which assaulted the chapel was severely repulsed; but the other two columns, though staggered, soon entered the area, and the repulsed column was in a short time rallied and led in also. The main conflict occurred inside, where a long barrack proved to be the citadel while the extensive weak walls were merely the outworks. In an hour, or perhaps half an hour, after the area was entered,

all was over, and all the defenders butchered. The real loss of the assailants, as well as can be ascertained, was about 500 killed and wounded. This was a fifth of their number, showing that they fought as bravely on that occasion as in any conflict of their history.

In a fight of less than 200 against more than 2,000, when the former know they have all got to die, the bravest fall first; and the last reached is certain to be a sneak. Thus it was at the Alamo. Travis and Crocket fell early on the outworks. The last reached was a small group of skulkers, dragged from a hiding-place, half an hour after the action was over, and immediately shot. Travis was found with a single shot in his forehead on a one-gun platform in the north-west angle of the area. Crocket was found dead on a one-gun battery which overtopped the center of the west wall of the area. Incidents are often related as occurring in the Alamo, which, from the nature of the case, could have found no place there. In that hurried rush of massacre no ruffian stopped to mutilate a fallen hero. There was no time for that; and the fallen man, if already shot through the brain, would hardly be able to impale an assailant on his sword. No defender, even at the close, had time or opportunity to count out money for his life. Had he attempted this the money would have been accepted at sight, with no other voucher than a stab. In a massacre where all the defenders fall, and the assailants are too busy to take notes, and too excited for minute memory, we must not look for much preservation of personal incident. All that we really know about the exit of

the heroes is that they were found dead. The last blow, and last word, and last look of each of them is lost to history; and all which claims to fill the gap, like the last curl of Crocket's lip, is idle fabrication.

The article I am commenting on relates, as one of the conflicting stories worth repeating, on the authority of a nameless Mexican soldier, that Travis and Crocket were the last defenders killed, being found lying exhausted but unwounded among the dead, and shot by order of Santa Aña. This infamous fiction confounds them with the group of skulkers already referred to, and ought never to have been cited, even as a rumor, in any matter which claims to be historical. The writer makes one omission for which he deserves thanks. He says nothing about Crocket's destructive gun-barrel.

As I have cast a reflection on my former fellow-citizen of the Republic of Texas, Francisco Ruiz, I feel bound to close with saying what I can in his favor. He is the son of an illustrious and truthful patriot, one of the signers of our Declaration of Independence; and I never knew the son to tell a tough story except that of Santa Aña's loss at the Alamo. But he knew that our brethren of the new Republic loved to be glorified; and he was kindly willing to gratify them.

For my sources of knowledge and reasons for belief of what is set forth in this communication, I refer the reader to an essay of mine, entitled "The Fall of the Alamo," in the *Magazine of American History* for January, 1878, Vol. II., No. 1.

REUBEN M. POTTER, U. S. A.

"ABOUT A SWORD" [xv. 615]—E. Everett Davis desires information concerning a sword made for General Worth. Mr. P. A. Hargons, of 120 Broadway, New York (Equitable Building), can probably put him on track of what he desires. A member of the Hargon family, now living in New York, served upon General Worth's staff throughout the Mexican War, and will be likely to know something about the sword.

A. B. C.

DID WASHINGTON LAUGH? [xi. 80]—In reply to an observation by the writer's father that Washington was said never to have laughed, General Blake (who had been a captain in the Revolutionary army) replied, "that it is a mistake, for I saw him laugh heartily at Valley Forge. When the trees were first cut down for that encampment the stumps were left the usual height. To clear them from the parade-ground an order was issued that every officer or private who got drunk should be punished by cutting away a stump; thus they did not last long. One morning while making his usual personal tour of the camp, accompanied by several officers, of whom I was one, Washington came upon a soldier cutting at the only remaining stump, and said to him, 'Well, my good fellow, you have found the last stump.' 'Yes,' replied the man, without looking up or stopping his work. 'Now, when an officer gets drunk there'll be no stump for him to cut!' The 'immortal George' laughed heartily, and some of the officers felt a sensation of great relief."

W. J. BLAKE

CARMEL, NEW YORK

SOCIETIES

THE HOLLAND SOCIETY OF NEW YORK held its annual meeting on Pinkster-Tuesday. Many well-known men were present. Judge Hooper C. Van Vorst was elected President, and Hooper C. Van Vorst, George W. Van Slyck, Abraham Van Santvoord, William M. Hoes, and Alexander T. Van Nest Trustees. The other officers elected were: Secretary, George West Van Siclen; Treasurer, Abraham Van Santvoord; Vice-Presidents—for New York City, Robert Barnwell Roosevelt; Brooklyn, Adrian Van Sinderen; Jersey City, Theodore Romeyn Varick, M.D.; Albany, Albert Vander Veer, M.D.; Kingston, Alphonso Trumbour Clearwater; Kinderhook, Aaron J. Vanderpoel; Rockland County, Garrett Van Nostrand; Westchester County, the Rev. Charles Knapp Clearwater; Catskill, the Rev. Evert Van Slyke, D.D.; Schenectady, James Van Voast; Amsterdam, Walter L. Van Denbergh; Newtown, John E. Van Nostrand; New Brunswick, the Rev. William Hoffman Ten Eyck; Bergen County, N. J., George Frederick Schermerhorn; Passaic County, N. J., Martin John Ryerson. The society decided to visit Esopus next October and listen to an oration by George H. Sharpe in the old Dutch Church at Kingston, taking a special train to Pine Hill and back. The society has grown in one year to a membership of over 250. To be a member one must be descended in direct male line from a settler who came here speaking Dutch as his native tongue prior to 1675.

THE LINNÆAN SOCIETY met in the

anteroom of its museum in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, on Saturday afternoon, June 26, at three o'clock, and, in the absence of the President, J. B. Kevinski occupied the chair. The donations to the museum consisted of two male and one female specimens, also one specimen of the larvæ of *Dynastes tityus*, a Coleopterous insect, from North Carolina, donated by W. P. King, resident there. The donations to the library consisted of a pamphlet on "Insects affecting the Orange;" "Archetypal Consummation," 1846; Smithsonian Report for 1884; Bulletin of Washburne Laboratory of Natural Sciences; Academy Natural Science Proceedings of January to March, 1886; several pamphlets on Alaska; Buffalo Historical Society report for 1885; current numbers of the United States Patent Office Gazette; numerous pamphlets, prospectuses and specimen numbers of scientific journals and catalogues. Mrs. S. P. Eby donated a mounted specimen of *Cypripedium Acaule* to the herbarium. Miss Le Fevre distributed some seeds of the custard apple, from Burmah, among the members for growing. Dr. S. S. Rathvon read a paper on the "Duck-billed Platypus," and one on the "Dynastes tityus," donated by W. P. King. Dr. T. R. Baker also read a paper on "Chemical Examinations of Our Kerosene Oils."

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The quarterly meeting was held on the evening of July 6, at the cabinet. President Gammell occupied the chair. The first business that came before the

meeting was the reading of communications received during the past quarter, namely, those from General Ebenezer W. Pierce, J. Hammond Trumbull, B. F. Stevens, Senators Aldrich and Chace, ex-Governor Elisha Dyer two, one in regard to the death of Hon. John R. Bartlett, the other concerning a proposed collection and preservation of Indian names.

An address was delivered by Rev. Crawford Nightingale, on the subject of the Nightingale family. He dwelt especially on the importance of the family in history and the national life. He compared the family in this respect with the thread in the manufacture of cloth, which is made up of the fibres, as the family is made up of the individual. He traced the family from the original Samuel Nightingale, in Braintree, Massachusetts, a Harvard graduate of 1734, who removed to Providence.

A paper by Mr. J. O. Austin, entitled "Some Phases of Genealogical Study," was then read by the President. It consisted of an analysis of the characteristics of genealogical research, and the qualities required in the prosecution.

ARYAN ORDER OF AMERICA—The summer meeting of the Aryan Order of America was held July 10th to 12th at the Mar estate, Scarborough, Maine. Frederic Gregory Forsyth presided, and opened with resolutions of sympathy for the Comte de Paris, which was duly inscribed. The line of membership now stands as follows: I. For Americans of royal descent; II., for Americans having titles of European nobility or knighthood conferred for merit. The prescriptive right to future membership is to all those descended from past members.

The book entitled "Americans of Royal Descent," by Browning, was criticized as containing several errors, and not as complete as it might be; but as a first effort in this line by an American it was esteemed worthy of praise. The following were appointed to the supreme council: Sir Edward Warren, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S., Paris, France; General John B. Gordon, Atlanta, Ga.; Colonel C. C. Jones, jr., LL.D., Augusta, Ga.; William J. Ritter, Esq., Baltimore, Md. Frederic Gregory Forsyth, of Portland, was re-elected the Herald-Marshal of the Order.

BOOK NOTICES

MEMOIRS OF GENERAL WILLIAM T. SHERMAN. 2 volumes. Second edition, revised and corrected. 8vo, pp. 455 and 570. New York, 1886: D. APPLETON & CO.

It is ten years since the first edition of this work was issued, and now the second appears with two additional chapters, appendices, an index, and some excellent maps and portraits. The frontispiece is a good steel portrait of General Sherman as he looks at the present time. A special feature of this new edition is an account of his ancestors, with a brief outline of his own personal history from 1820 to the Mexican war, where the former edition, now repaged, began. But the added chapter at the end of the second volume, entitled "After the War," is by far the most important of the fresh material. In it we have the author's testimony as to the controversies between President Johnson and others, which resulted in the impeachment trial, including the attempt to get Grant out of the way by sending him on a mission to Mexico, the work of the Indian Peace Commission of 1867, and Sherman's assumption of the command of the army, and his attempt to re-adjust the relations of the commanding general to the War Department. It also furnishes the correspondence between Johnson and Sherman, in which the latter declined the brevet rank of general and successfully objected to the assignment to a new command in the East, with headquarters at Washington, which President Johnson had arranged for him. Sherman said his presence at Washington under such circumstances would be construed as making him a rival to Grant for the President's purposes, whereas in case of any difference arising to cloud their long friendship he should resign at once.

General Sherman's reminiscences of Washington city as a dwelling-place are by no means cheerful. During the Johnson troubles he thought of resigning and trying civil life, but "hard times and an expensive family" made him forbear. However, he saw Washington grow from a straggling, ill-paved city to one of the most attractive in the world. Of General Thomas, Sherman writes: "We had been intimately associated as man and boy for thirty odd years, and I profess to have had better opportunities to know him than any man then living. His fame as the 'Rock of Chickamauga' was perfect, and by the world at large he was considered as the embodiment of strength, calmness, and imperturbability. Yet, of all my acquaintances, Thomas worried and fretted over what he construed neglects or acts of favoritism more than any other." He was especially worried

by what he considered the injustice of promoting Sheridan.

In view of the critical studies and writings of eminent men during the last ten years, and the better light afforded them through increased facilities for the examination and comparison of official documents on both sides, we are disappointed to find the revision and correction of the first edition so slight. The statements made ten years ago concerning the battle of Shiloh are repeated in spite of the general disbelief in that version of the affair. It would have been wise, to say the least, if General Sherman had explained certain situations and modified certain assertions.

LAND, LABOR, AND LAW. A SEARCH FOR THE MISSING WEALTH OF THE WORKING POOR. By WILLIAM A. PHILLIPS. 8vo, pp. 468. New York, 1886: CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS.

The author of this treatise, Hon. W. A. Phillips, has been a land-owner as well as an active member of the Committee on Public Lands in the Forty-third Congress, and of banking and currency in the Forty-fifth. He was prominent in the formation of the institutions of Kansas, and has had large practical experience in public affairs. He has given much study to the relations of property and to the early history of land tenures. The result is before us—a work that is worth the widest reading, and one that no student of political economy can afford to miss. Mr. Phillips says, "Men have a slavish disposition to respect precedents without stopping to scrutinize the circumstances on which they were founded, or to remember that for much of what is good in modern society we are indebted to innovation. Systems and principles must be considered in so far as they affect governments and men. Cool, calculating selfishness may be deemed the best balance-wheel of society, but experience shows us that it brings communities into a condition when organized benevolence or revolution are indispensable." Facts in regard to the political and social system of ancient Israel, the systems of land and labor in ancient empires, the condition of labor and land in the Middle Ages, the Christian system as its principles affect society and organized government, the Mahometan system and the governments and forms of society founded on it, land and labor in Russia and Asiatic countries, the land systems of modern Europe and of the British empire, the aboriginal American system of land tenure, and the history of the land polity of the United States, have

been collated with painstaking care, and presented in these pages in order to throw all possible light on the grave and important subject as it appears to-day. Slavery, vassalage, serfdom, and the various modes of employing and remunerating or robbing labor have been traced, together with the change from master workman to capitalist employer, the organization of capital, the formation and growth of guilds, trades unions, and labor societies. The author says, "the social and communistic organizations in the United States are interesting not only as experiments but as evidences that those who felt the defects of the present forms of society were seeking a remedy." He has referred to these chiefly, however, to exhibit the conflicting ideas about social organizations. "On the one hand, individualism with its extreme assumptions; on the other, society as entirely submerging the individual. The civilization we are founding is based on the most absolute assertion of the independence of the individual. But it errs fatally when this individualism assumes to be supreme. There is a field for the individual and a field for the action of society. The individual cannot be allowed a monopoly of any of the rights of nature. It is with the duties as well as the privileges of the individual we have to do." Mr. Phillips claims that it is in the power of the people to correct the errors of the past, and shape the avenues to the great natural resources of our country, that they may be within reach of all, giving an equality of privilege and an equality of opportunity. He further says: "Not until Christianity fully pervades our business and social system, and the doctrine of charity and brotherly love it preaches are accepted, can it overthrow the dominion of selfishness, avarice, and dishonest bargains."

MASSACRES OF THE MOUNTAINS. A

History of the Indian Wars of the Far West.

By J. P. DUNN, Jr., M.S., LL.B. Illustrated. 8vo, pp. 783. New York, 1886: Harper & Brothers.

The author of this volume has evidently made a conscientious study of the harrowing events connected with the several Indian wars in the far West, from our first occupation of the country to the present time. He does more than recite the facts; he presents in living colors the various and vacillating policies of the national government during its formative period in western history. Of much more value, however, than individual opinion as to the latter course to be pursued in the management of Indian affairs, are Mr. Dunn's graphic descriptions of the horrors of frontier life, based upon official reports and other authoritative publications. He deals with facts gleaned from a great variety of sources, and the reader may com-

prehend the situation, and draw his own conclusions. "The acquisition of the Mountains" is a chapter of thrilling interest. The story has been often told, and will bear a thousand repetitions. The romantic wedding journey of Dr. Whitman, and his subsequent return for settlers to hold Oregon, are passed over lightly; but nearly forty pages are devoted to the painful narrative, in detail, of the subsequent "murder of the missionaries" at Walla Walla. If possible the account of the "Mountain Meadows" massacre, which forms the subject of Chapter X, is even more distressing and revolting. In this painful bit of history the Mormons had a part which earned for them the unenviable reputation, so tersely expressed by Mr. Dunn, "that Mormon declarations and oaths are worth less than the breath in which they are uttered, or the paper on which they are written." The author dwells at considerable length upon the troubles with the Apaches. He says, "the Apaches cannot be driven about like cattle." He thinks that if there is an attempt to remove them from Arizona there will be a terrible war. On the other hand, should they be treated fairly, he predicts that these "demons of the past may develop into a quiet, self-sustaining people." The "Tragedy of the Lava Beds" occupies the seventeenth chapter. The author tells us that the Modocs leaped into notoriety more suddenly than any other tribe of American Indians. "They were a peculiar people, good-natured as a rule, but high-tempered; industrious, and yet as haughty as the laziest Indians on the continent." The Modoc war was caused by keeping that tribe on a reservation with the Kiamathas who maltreated them so that they could not raise food. The book is profusely illustrated with portraits, sketches of scenes and scenery, maps of special value, and many other things pertinent to the narrative. It is handsomely printed and bound, and contains a mass of trustworthy information not elsewhere existing in condensed and available form—either for interested perusal or ready reference.

THE WILDERNESS ROAD. By THOMAS SPEED. [Filson Club Publications. Number Two]. Large quarto, pp. 75. Louisville, Ky., 1886: John P. Morton & Co.

Nearly two years ago, we had the pleasure of noticing the first monograph issued by the Filson Club, a handsome quarto, written by Mr. R. T. Durrett. The second of the series comprehends an account of the famous Wilderness Road and the routes by which the first settlers journeyed into Kentucky, written by Mr. Thomas Speed, a descendant of Thomas Speed, one of those same brave pioneers. It is well written in a direct and clear style, and is issued in the same elegant and at-

tractive form as its predecessor. It is emphatically a book of adventure, showing how the people who had heard of this inviting land beyond the mountains reached it in the face of innumerable obstacles, and planted a new civilization in the wilderness. The Virginia mountains, stretching from north-east to south-west, were impassable to pack-horses, or even hunters. The road followed the trough that lay between the mountains until the traveler came out into the valley south of Cumberland Gap. Thence the wilderness road lay across the streams and hills north-west to Hazel Patch, St. Asaph, and Boonesboro. It was this roundabout way that men passed to and from Kentucky. Measured along it, the distance from Philadelphia to the Falls of the Ohio was more than eight hundred miles, and described a bold curve like a half circle. Yet for many years it was the only safe and practicable route. To those who like to observe the beginning of things, this work is more interesting than a novel. It cannot fail to be of priceless value to every Kentuckian and to all others whose families are identified with the settlement of this State. An excellent map illustrates the distance this Kentucky civilization was from the East. A wilderness three hundred miles in extent separated it from the nearest inhabited country.

THE LIFE OF ADMIRAL SIR ISAAC COFFIN, BARONET. His English and American Ancestors. By THOMAS C. AMORY, 8vo, pp. 141. Boston, 1836. Cupples, Upham & Co.

"The name of Coffin is so widely spread over our continent, so many thousands of men and women of other patronymics take pride in their descent from Tristram, its first American patriarch, that what concerns them all, any considerable branch or distinguished individual of the race, seems rather history than biography," writes the scholarly author of this interesting volume in introducing his subject to the reader. "Sir Isaac was too remarkable a man to pass into oblivion. His long life, commencing in 1759 in Boston, and ending eighty years later in Cheltenham, England, was crowded with events, many of historic importance. By his native vigor, doughty deeds, and eminent services, he rose to distinguished rank in the British navy, became captain of a line-of-battle-ship at the age of twenty-two, and was created a baronet at the age of forty-four. This not from large means, family influence, or court favor, but that his character and conduct afloat and ashore entitled him to such preferment. Throngs of heroic officers won glory in the same wars that he did, attracted attention by more conspicuous achievements; but his fearless daring, zeal, and ability, and what he accomplished, inscribes his

memory high up on the roll of honor, if not on the scroll of fame." The Boston Coffins were all loyal to the crown; Isaac, at the age of fourteen, entered the Royal Navy. The chapters of the book in which Mr. Amory sketches the early life of Sir Isaac Coffin in Boston, and his subsequent career upon the ocean and in England, are brightened with anecdote and presented in the most felicitous style. The reader, as he turns the pages, can almost see the British admiral in the flesh, "tall, erect, with rich color in his cheeks and merry sparkle in his eye, brimming over with animal spirits, companionable, and with fitting chat for all. His funny words and ways were the delight and dread of the children, into whose frolics he entered with zest, bewildering their minds with his drolleries, both they and himself exploding with merriment at practical jokes too good-natured to offend;" or later in life when, Mr. Amory says, "I remember well weeks passed under the same roof with him when preparing for my college examinations. The family were in the country, and he was tied by the foot to his couch by the gout. But from morning till night, droll stories, amusing incidents, whimsies and oddities of every description, exploded like fire-works from the aged man's pillow."

The genealogical information which the book contains makes it specially valuable to all who have any connection with the Coffin family. But aside from that feature of the work, the graphic history of an American who rose to distinction in a foreign land solely through his own merits, and led such a stirring and eventful life, deserves not only a general reading, but a permanent place in our literature.

THE REAR-GUARD OF THE REVOLUTION. By EDMUND KIRKE, author of "Among the Pines," "Down in Tennessee," etc., 12mo, pp. 317. New York, 1886. D. Appleton & Co.

Like many other writers, Mr. James Roberts Gilmore is better known as Edmund Kirke than by his own proper name. His former books have dealt with realistic local descriptions of the picturesque regions that have recently occupied so large a place in literature—namely the Southern mountains. In the "Rear-Guard of the Revolution" he introduces a historical element. We wish that it were possible to say that he has done so with entire success, but truth compels the admission that it is with a shade of disappointment that we find his "Rear-Guard" is not a rear-guard at all, but an independent command partaking more of the nature of partisan rangers or "bushwhackers" than of the stern resolution and discipline that should characterise the rear-guard of an army. Let that pass, however—there are those who think that to be at-

tractive a title should always be misleading. The volume deals with the wonderful achievements of that brave band of frontiersmen who, under the leadership of John Sevier, Cleveland, Campbell, and the rest crossed the Smoky Mountains into North Carolina, and inflicted a crushing defeat on the British under Ferguson. Prior to this, however, he reviews the whole romantic story of early colonial times in the wild region explored by Daniel Boone and settled by his fellows. A historian without imagination would be a flat failure, but a peculiar kind of imagination is requisite to insure success. To our thinking, Mr. Gilmore's rather runs away with him when he says (p. 254) that "the little mountain was now everywhere in eruption, belching forth smoke, lightning, and thunder. One long sulphureous blaze encircled and flashed everywhere along it, from base to summit." Surely the more correct form "sulphurous" would have done just as well, not to carry the criticism farther in a literary point of view. A fine portrait of John Sevier serves as a frontispiece, and if the reader will disabuse his mind of the idea of history, the volume will be found highly interesting and suggestively instructive.

MICHIGAN PIONEER COLLECTIONS.

Report of the Pioneer Society of State of Michigan. Vols. v., vi., vii. 8vo, pp. 614, 571, and 709. Published respectively in 1884, 1885, 1886.

The fifth volume of this excellent series of publications opens with the address of President John E. Holmes before the annual meeting of the society in June, 1882. The reports of the officers for the year follows, and then we have a series of papers of curious interest, as, for instance, "The Growth and Progress of Michigan," by Senator Ferry; "Early Recollections," by William C. Hoyt; "Michigan Past and Present," by Dr. Alger; "Kaskaskia," by E. S. Mason; "The Wild-Cat Banking System of Michigan," by H. M. Utley; and the "History of the Black Hawk War," by Henry Little. There are numerous biographical and memorial sketches, of which "The Life and Times of William A. Burt, of Mount Vernon, Michigan," was read at the annual meeting, by Scott Cannon. This Mr. Burt was in the autumn of 1826 elected a member of the territorial legislature, Lewis Cass being then the territorial governor. He built the Dexter Mills at a place of that name some nine miles west of Ann Arbor. "In order to reach there a team and wagon were necessary to convey his tool-chest and effects across the country. A neighbor was engaged for that purpose, and it is worthy of note that among the *essential articles* for the outfit was a *barrel of whiskey*."

The sixth volume chronicles the proceedings

of the annual meeting in 1883, which was first addressed by its president, Hon. C. I. Walker of Detroit. He said, "It is not ten years since this society was organized. Its object, as stated in the articles of association, was to preserve historical, biographical, and other information in relation to the State of Michigan. It has within this time fully shown its right to exist by its works. It has gathered a large amount of valuable material illustrative of the history, condition, and resources of the State, much of which would otherwise have been hopelessly lost. The legislature has shown its confidence by making appropriations to facilitate the publication of our collections, and there is no other organization engaged in the work." The contributions to this volume include the paper read at this annual meeting by the Rev. George Taylor, describing his "First visit to Michigan," in the month of July, 1837. "A History of the Press in Michigan" is a work of great value; and sketches of the Hillsdale College, the State Agricultural College, and Monroe County are invaluable. In the second paper on Monroe, read by Talcott E. Wing, an interesting incident is related of Dr. Horatio Conant, who settled at Maumee in 1816, and was for a half century known as the oldest justice in Ohio. He was first appointed by Governor Cass. "In 1819, Seneca Allen held a commission from the governor of Ohio as justice of the peace, with jurisdiction over the same disputed territory, and notified Dr. Conant that he must not attempt to do any business under his commission from the governor of Michigan. But Allen, in December, 1819, had an engagement to marry a couple on the north or Maumee side of the river. The river was high, full of running ice, and very unsafe to cross. Conant lived near the bank of the river on the Maumee side, Allen near the bank on the Perrysburg side and nearly opposite. Allen, finding it impracticable to cross to fill his engagement, called to Dr. Conant across the river and requested him to marry the couple. The doctor reminded Allen of his former prohibition under his commission; but Allen insisted, on the ground that *necessity* knew no law. Dr. Conant married the couple, and received for his marriage fee a jackknife."

In the seventh volume one of the most interesting chapters relates to "the Saginaw Valley," written by Judge Albert Miller, the first President of the Pioneer Society of Michigan. He describes his journey from Vermont to the Far West in 1840, where he went to seek his fortune. He went north from Detroit, searching for good land, which he found in Saginaw, and soon after settled there. His descriptions of early life in the wilderness are extremely readable. Its dangers, amusements, characters, and incidents are pictured with much spirit; and road-making, serenades by the wolves, early fruit-growing, the courts, and progress in general are discussed.

The work is well illustrated.



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AN ILLUSTRATED CHAPTER OF BEGINNINGS

THE FOUNDER, PRESIDENTS, HOMES, AND TREASURES
OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FEW subjects as important are less familiar to the average American citizen of to-day than the origin and development of historical societies in this country. These peculiar institutions have multiplied with marvelous rapidity during the past few years, and now exist in nearly every State and chief city of the Union, in many of the counties and towns, at the principal seats of learning, in the colleges and some of the schools, and in clubs and social circles throughout the land. Yet how many are there in any of our intelligent communities who can define the source from which they originally sprung? It is well known that the awakening of general interest in historic inquiry is of comparatively recent date. Formerly, men only of exceptional learning and large wealth worked, or could afford to work, for the preservation of historic material. Whatever was rich and rare and delightful fell into the superb collections of the few. The general public were treated to the crumbs, and professional writers, without time or opportunity for research, went on from year to year repeating each other's errors, and furnishing misinformation greatly in excess of the demand. But the movement of the human mind, taken collectively, is invariably toward something better. The gems of private collections gradually drifted into these historical museums, of which the world knew so little, and which, with magnificent accumulations of instructive material, are now made accessible to all students of history. Authors of every grade have thus found their possibilities enlarged, and inspiration has been given to a new race of historians. The present of any period illustrates nothing of its own significance—any more than the individual brick shows the architecture of the house of which it is a part. It has become the fashion to be wise, and yet no wisdom is satisfactory without familiarity with past events. The old-time notion that America has no history worth bothering about disappears in the fresh, clear light. The scholar must understand his own country. There is no longer any pardon for him if he does not. And as to the journalist who would guide

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public opinion, a thorough knowledge of American history has become absolutely essential in discussing the principal topics of the hour. The truth is, and it is more and more appreciated with each rolling year, that no country, however old, presents more of the picturesque and romantic in its background than our own.

It is an interesting and notable fact that these institutions, which have done so much toward educating the public taste, can be traced for their primary impulse and origin to one individual. The world has never heard much of John Pintard, but through his genius and persistence we have a priceless inheritance. He is the acknowledged founder of historical societies in America. He was a bright, handsome, energetic young man of twenty in 1779, a New Yorker by birth, and a French Huguenot by descent, who had enjoyed the special friendship of Dr. Witherspoon at Princeton College, and otherwise secured many distinguished friends. His uncle, Louis Pintard, was commissary for American prisoners during the Revolution, and John was his secretary for three of those exciting years. It was while in this employ that he first became distressed with the want of some repository for the safe preservation of records of passing events. When the war ended, and for two full decades thereafter, he constantly pressed his views concerning this great need upon the attention of others. He was a close student of public men and measures, and in addition to classical acquirements and familiarity with elegant literature, he possessed a rich fund of historical, geographical, legal, and didactic information. One of his eminent contemporaries said: "You could scarcely approach him without having something of Doctor Johnson thrust upon you; he was versed in theological and polemical divinity, and there were periods in his life in which he gave every unappropriated moment to philological inquiry, and it was curious to see him ransacking his formidable pile of dictionaries for radicals and synonyms with an earnestness that would have done honor to the most eminent student in the republic of letters." He was a stirring man and journeyed extensively through the country, and at a time when steam-boats and railroads were unknown. His ideas in regard to the formation of historical societies were never allowed to slumber, but they first took shape and effect in Boston. On the 10th of August, 1789, the celebrated Rev. Jeremy Belknap wrote from Boston to Postmaster-General Hazard in New York, saying: "This day Mr. Pintard called to see me. He says he is an acquaintance of yours, and wants to form a society of antiquaries, etc. He seems to have a literary taste." Postmaster Hazard, in his reply, said: "Mr. Pintard has mentioned to me his thoughts about an American Antiquarian Society. The idea pleases me much. Mr.



John Pintard.

The Founder of Historical Societies in America.

[From a rare print presented to the author by the late Stephen Whitney Phoenix.]

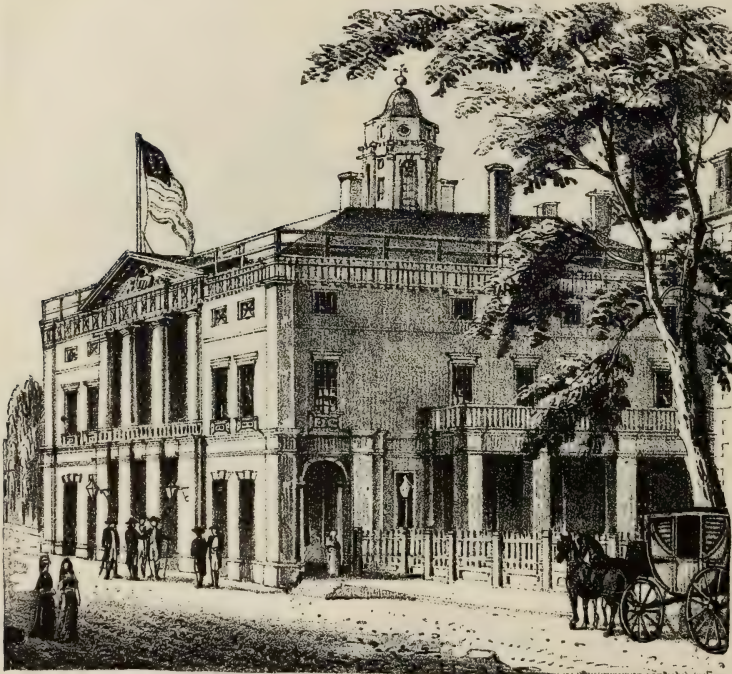
Pintard has recently purchased a large collection (in volumes) relating to the American Revolution. It was made by Dr. Chandler, of Elizabethtown, who was in England all the war. It is valuable, as is Mr. Pintard's library." In the month of October, 1790, Postmaster Hazard wrote again to the great Boston divine: "I like Mr. Pintard's idea of a society of antiquaries, but where will you find a sufficiency of members of suitable abilities and leisure?"

In the spring of 1791 we find a letter from Mr. Pintard himself to Rev. Jeremy Belknap concerning the "proposed institution." He writes that an account will soon be published of the New York Tammany Society. "This

being a strong national society," he goes on to say, "I engrafted an anti-quarian scheme of a museum upon it. It makes small progress with a small fund, and may possibly succeed. We have a tolerable collection of pamphlets, mostly modern, with some history, of which I will send you an abstract. If *your* society succeeds, we will open a regular correspondence. If my plan once strikes root it will thrive." The first-fruit of Mr. Pintard's scheme was the Massachusetts Historical Society, organized with

Belknap at its head before the end of the year 1791. New York fell into line thirteen years afterward. To John Pintard is due the honor of originating both of these institutions.

In the intermediate time Pintard explored the wilderness of the West, and studied into the history and habits of the Indians. He also vis-



FEDERAL HALL, WALL STREET.

First Home of New York Historical Society, 1804-1809.

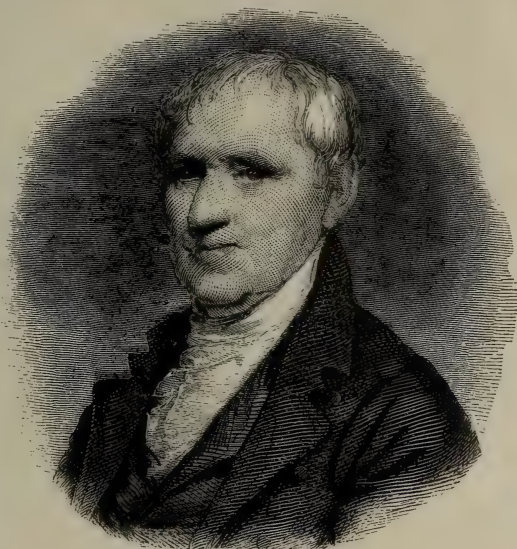
ited New Orleans and published a topographical and medical study of that city. For a short time he edited the *New York Daily Advertiser*, and then engaged in commercial enterprises. He was the first city inspector, appointed in 1804; originated the first savings bank in New York; was conspicuous in the formation of the American Bible Society; was the main-spring in the organization of the Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and an efficient auxiliary to De Witt Clinton in the furtherance of his canal policy. But Pintard's greatest achievement was the

New York Historical Society. The first meeting was held on the 20th of November, 1804, in the City Hall, in Wall Street, which resulted in the appointment of a committee to draft a constitution. The second meeting was on the 10th of December, and the constitution was then presented and adopted. The permanent officers were chosen at the third meeting, January 14, 1805.

Judge Egbert Benson was the first president of the institution, and since his time its successive presidents—Gouverneur Morris, De Witt Clinton, Dr. David Hosack, Chancellor Kent, Morgan Lewis, Peter Gerard Stuyvesant, Peter Augustus Jay, Albert Gallatin, Luther Bradish, Rev. Dr. De Witt, Hamilton Fish, Augustus Schell, Frederick De Peyster, and Benjamin H. Field—have been nearly all men of national reputation. From the beginning the society, in its membership, represented the best scholarship of the country and the age. Its influence became a power, and its example contagious. Special committees were appointed to further the studies of zoölogy, botany, mineralogy, philosophy, and other branches of learning, that ere long developed into separate societies. Art, science, and literature were encouraged and fostered.

Beyond all this, garrets and trunks were ransacked for letters and papers which had been cast aside as worthless, scattered documents were rescued from oblivion, and material of the first consequence concentrated and made available for reference. In their enthusiasm these accomplished men of letters, who had projected the work, were instrumental in directing public attention throughout the land to the preservation of contemporary records as the data from which all future history must receive its correct interpretation, thereby giving life and progression to the great family of historical societies in America.

Although the new society received the name of the sovereign State of

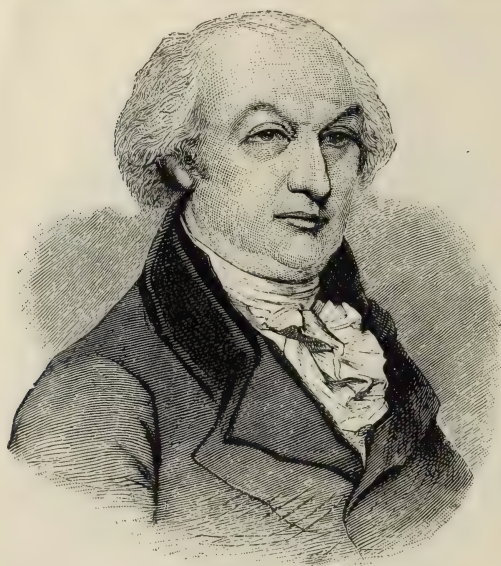


JUDGE EGBERT BENSON,

First President of New York Historical Society, 1804-1816.

[From the celebrated painting by Gilbert Stuart, in 1807, in possession of New York Historical Society.]

New York, and would give its best energies to the rescue of its history from oblivion, its avowed purpose was to collect and preserve whatever might relate to the natural, civil, or ecclesiastical history of the United States in general. Its original founders and promoters, as well as its succession of presidents, deserve more than a passing notice. At the first meeting Judge Benson was conspicuously prominent and the oldest man present. He was in his sixtieth year, honored and beloved. He was a fine English and classical scholar, well versed in Indian lore and Dutch



GOUVERNEUR MORRIS,

Second President of New York Historical Society, 1816.

[From the original painting by Ames, in possession of New York Historical Society.]

history, an author of superior talents, had been a member of the Revolutionary Committee of Safety, held the highest rank in jurisprudence, was the first attorney-general of the State, a member of the first legislature in 1777, a regent of the New York University some thirteen years, and a member of Congress for ten years—a man whose integrity was a proverb.

De Witt Clinton was then mayor of the city. He was only thirty-five, tall, with large, well-proportioned figure, a finely shaped and admirably poised head, beautiful curly chestnut hair, clear hazel eyes, a Grecian nose, and fair complexion. He was everywhere helpful in the formation of the society, as he

predicted it would perform a double service in clearing the way for other herculean enterprises already taking form in his mind. His tastes were literary; he had collected a large and valuable library, and his minerals in after years formed one of the most valuable private cabinets in the United States. He had resigned his seat in the Senate of the nation to accept the mayoralty of New York, and few men were ever more industrious, or applied genius and industry to higher or more important ends. He became the third president of the society, serving two years, from January, 1817, to January, 1820, when he was succeeded by Dr. Hosack.

Rev. Dr. Samuel Miller was the first corresponding secretary, and John

Pintard the first recording secretary. Dr. Miller was thirty-five, the same age as De Witt Clinton, and had already won high reputation as a theological and polemical writer. His *Brief Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century*, published in 1803, marks an era in our literature; and according to a British critic, "Its author richly deserves the praises of both hemispheres." He was



DE WITT CLINTON,

Third President of New York Historical Society, 1817-1820.

[From the original painting in the City Hall.]

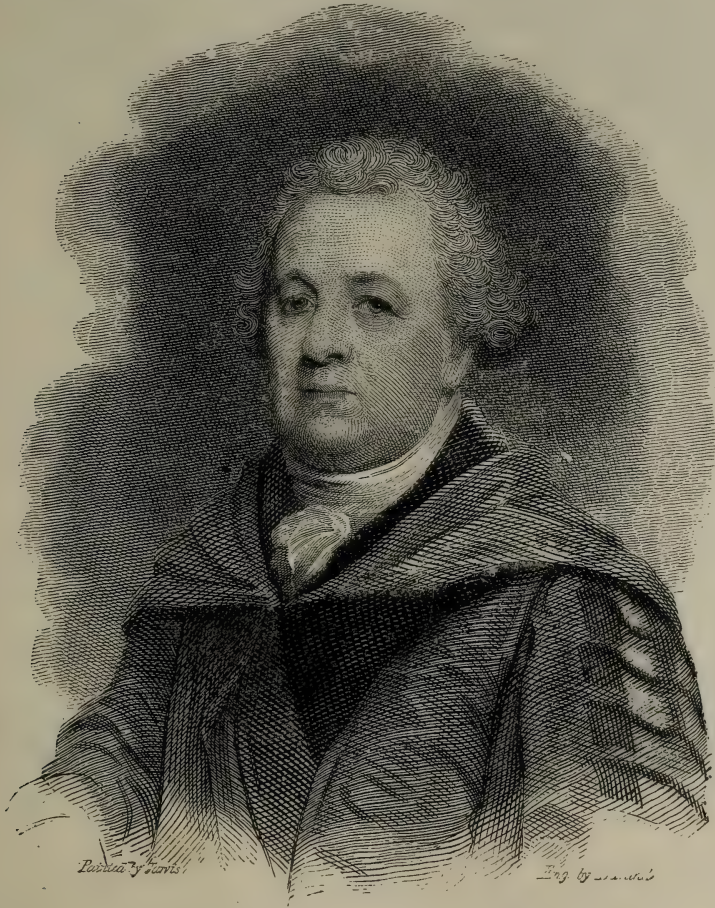
pastor of a Presbyterian church in New York, from 1793 to 1813, when he became professor of ecclesiastical history and church government in the theological seminary at Princeton. Rev. Dr. John M. Mason, another of the eminent founders of this society, was esteemed the greatest pulpit orator of his time. He was but thirty-four, of noble and peerless bearing and marvelous erudition. Animation of manner, warmth of temperament, vigor of thought, and energy of diction were his special characteristics.

He temporized with no errors, and was intimidated by no obstacles. Through his efforts a theological seminary was established in New York in 1804, of which he was appointed professor. He projected the *Christian's Magazine*, in which he carried on a controversy with Bishop Hobart. Rev. Dr. William Linn, one of the eleven who held the first meeting, was pastor of the Dutch Reformed Church, and distinguished alike for pulpit eloquence and varied scholarship. He was fifty-two, a divine who very greatly interested Washington, and was often invited with his wife familiarly to the dinner table of the first President of the Republic, while the seat of government was in New York city. Rev. Dr. John N. Abeel, another of the eleven, was thirty-five, a polished speaker, magnetic, full of life and vivacity, and the possessor of a voice of great sweetness and melody. He was one who rarely failed to capture the attention of an audience, and his literary attainments were of the highest order.

The first vice-president of the society was Right Reverend Bishop Benjamin Moore, and the second vice-president, Judge Brochholst Livingston. Bishop Moore was then fifty-six. Aside from his clerical duties, he was from 1801 to 1811 the accomplished president of Columbia College. It is said that his style of conferring degrees was most charming. His manners were the perfection of dignity and grace. He was slender in figure and of medium height, with an animated, attractive countenance, a man of great learning and remarkable loveliness of character. Judge Livingston was the son of William Livingston, the famous war governor of New Jersey during the Revolution. He was forty-seven, in the prime of his brilliant judicial career, and a man of broad culture and critical literary ability.

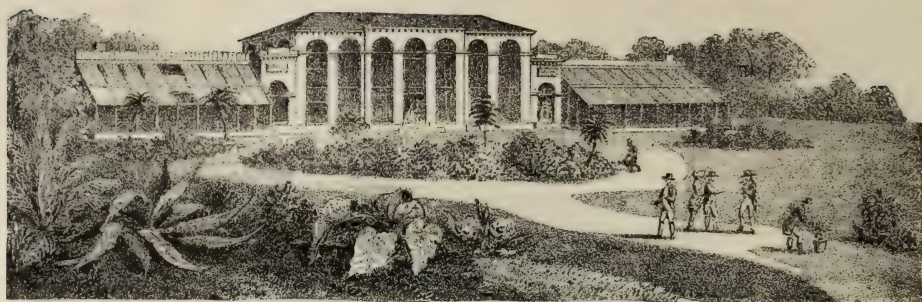
The first standing committee of the institution was Dr. Samuel L. Mitchill, Dr. David Hosack, Daniel D. Tompkins, William Johnson, John McKesson, Anthony Bleeker, and Rev. Dr. Mason. Dr. Mitchill was one of the most versatile and remarkable of men. Duyckinck enumerates one hundred and eighty-nine distinct achievements or important acts of his busy life. He was just forty at this eventful period. His public life embraced six or more years as a member of Congress, and he was in the United States Senate from 1804 to 1809; but he found opportunity meanwhile to be of essential service in innumerable ways to New York. His medical career and scientific labors, as well as his political services and contributions to literature, gave him wide fame; he became in course of years an active member of nearly all the learned societies of the world. He was a sort of human dictionary whose opinion was sought by all originators and inventors of every grade throughout his entire generation. His

analysis of the Saratoga waters greatly enhanced the value and importance of those mineral springs. His ingenious theory of the doctrines of septon and septic acid gave impulse to Sir Humphry Davy's vast discoveries; and his essays on pestilence awakened inquiry all over the world. He was



SAMUEL L. MITCHILL, M.D., LL.D.

a polished orator, a versifier and a poet, a man of infinite humor and excellent fancy. His eccentricities furnished material for the wits of the day to fashion many a joke at his expense, over which no one laughed more heartily than himself. He was equally at home in studying the geology of Niagara or the anatomy of an egg, in offering suggestions as to the angle of a windmill or the shape of a gridiron, in deciphering a Babylonian brick

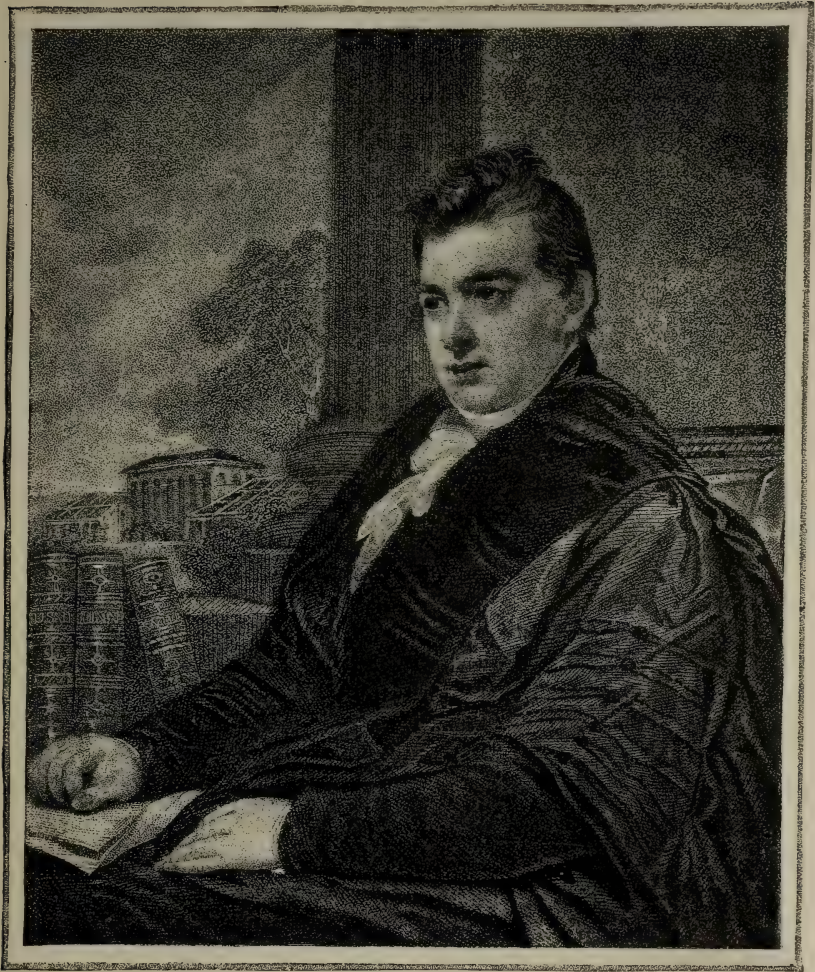


THE ELGIN BOTANICAL GARDEN IN 1825.

Between Fifth and Sixth Avenues and 47th and 51st Streets.

or investigating bivalves and discoursing on conchology, and in advising how to apply steam to navigation or in disputing about the Bible with his neighbor the Jewish Rabbi. He possessed a charm of manner and a magnetism of mind that was unusual; and he did much to advance the public and private interests of America, and elevate our scholastic reputation in foreign countries.

Dr. David Hosack was five years younger than Dr. Mitchill, and none the less far-famed as a physician and author. Quite recently a New York gentleman of hitherto undoubted intelligence, inquired "Who was Dr. Hosack? Did he practice medicine in this city?" There are possibly others among us equally benighted, hence the following brief explanation: Dr. Hosack was born and educated in New York, but had the advantage of medical training in Edinburgh and London under the most celebrated professors of the age. He returned to New York in 1794, bringing the first collection of minerals introduced into America; also duplicate specimens of plants from the herbarium of Linnæus. He founded the Elgin Botanical Garden in 1801, a work of princely munificence, where, amid twenty cultivated acres, he illustrated to his classes in Columbia College the mysteries of the vegetable kingdom—the loves and habits of plants and trees. This garden was located on Murray Hill, covering the ground between Fifth and Sixth avenues, and Forty-seventh and Fifty-first streets. It soon became the resort of the curious, and of many eminent men. Torrey, the great naturalist and public benefactor, was a pupil of Dr. Hosack, as was also Professor Gray. For thirty or more years Dr. Hosack was the leading practitioner in the city, and distinguished above all rivals in the art of healing. It is universally conceded that he was the most eloquent and impressive teacher of scientific medicine and clinical prac-



DAVID HOSACK, M.D., F.R.S.,

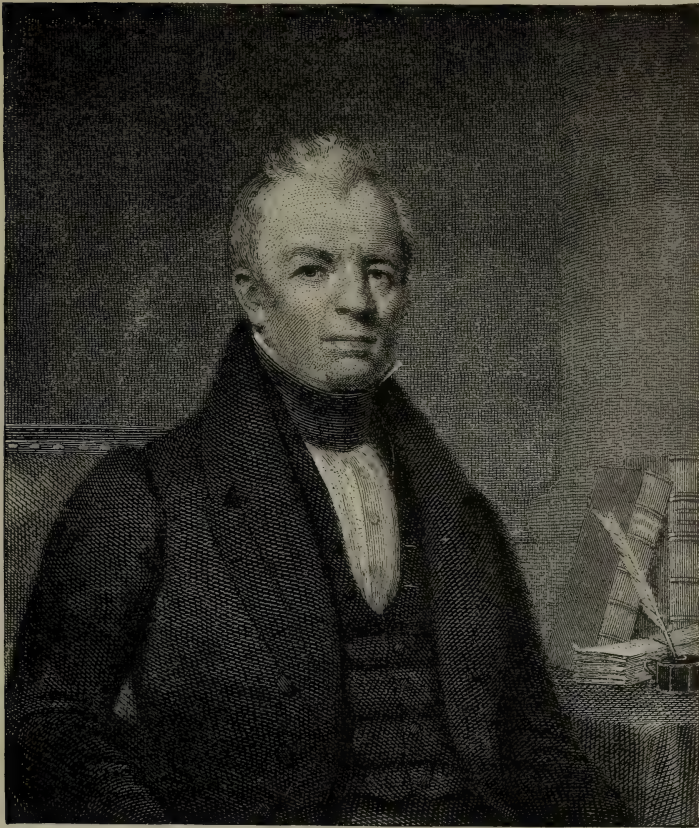
Fourth President of New York Historical Society, 1820-1828.

[From the celebrated painting by Sully.]

tice this country had as yet produced. In all prominent movements connected with the arts, the drama, literature, medicine, city improvements, or State affairs, he bore a conspicuous part. It was frequently remarked at one period in his life-time that "Clinton, Hosack, and Hobart were the tripod upon which the city stood." He was fond of society and exercised a strong personal influence. He gave Saturday evening parties, and, sur-

rounded by his large and costly library and his works of art, there was rarely a more genial and captivating host. Great divines, jurists, statesmen, philosophers, philanthropists, physicians, merchants, scholars, authors, artists, editors, educated men in any specialty, and distinguished foreigners were invited to his entertainments, and went away charmed with his generous hospitality. His house was the resort of the learned and enlightened from every part of the globe. No European traveler of any note was satisfied to visit New York without a personal interview with Dr. Hosack. The Duke of Saxe-Weimar mentions in his diary the social prominence of the Hosack Saturday evenings. When Thomas Sully painted Dr. Hosack's portrait he deftly introduced the celebrated botanical garden into the background, with some of the volumes Dr. Hosack had himself written resting carelessly on the table by his side. The handsome, finely moulded features of Dr. Hosack, as represented by Sully, express singular sweetness of character, and his graceful costume and air of high breeding are most effectively presented. He was one of the original projectors of the Literary and Philosophical Society, besides giving much of his time and talent to historical pursuits. He was the fourth president of the New York Historical Society, from 1820 to 1828.

Anthony Bleecker excelled all others in devotion to the interests of the new institution, and his taste was indispensable in any and every arrangement. He possessed the literary instinct, and was a general favorite with all the men of genius. Daniel D. Tompkins, subsequently for ten years governor of the State, and for eight years Vice-President of the United States, was then a young and very popular man of thirty, of pleasing manners, fine manly presence, and much influence; he had just been appointed associate-justice of the Supreme Court of New York, and his future was full of promise. He was one of Jefferson's most enthusiastic admirers. Among those present at the second meeting of the society, when the constitution was adopted, were Rufus King, the orator, statesman, and diplomatist, who had recently returned from his mission to England, and Rev. John Henry Hobart, subsequently Episcopal bishop of New York, the successor of Bishop Moore. King was in his fiftieth year; Hobart was thirty. King had been one of the framers of the Constitution, and one of the first national senators chosen by New York under the Constitution. Bishop Hobart was, perhaps, the greatest thinker of his generation, and a ready writer and speaker, natural, earnest, bold, effective, the movements of his mind being as rapid as those of his limbs. He was small of stature, dignified and courtly; but he walked in the street as swiftly as if for a wager. He was a handsome man, with a bright, clear,



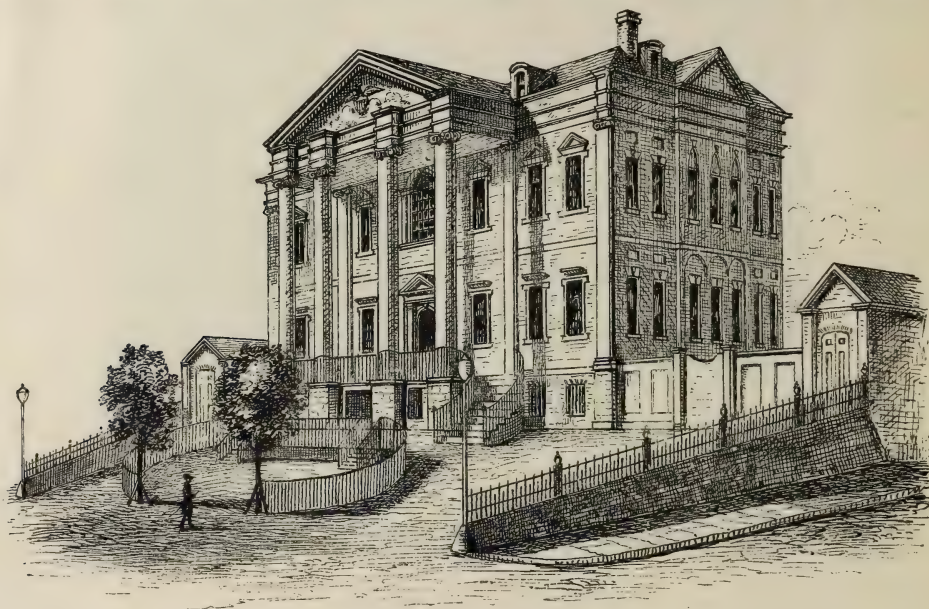
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Fifth President of New York Historical Society, 1828-1832.

piercing eye, and a smooth face. He spoke, acted, and bore himself as one having authority, and with the great mass of the clergy his will was law. In the pulpit he was commanding and his voice penetrating, though not strong. His utterances, however, were quick and energetic, and his choice of language elegant, concise and vigorous. His diocese extended upward of three hundred miles from east to west. A broader field of action, and a sway of public sentiment more powerful, have seldom fallen to the lot of any man clad in the robes and bearing the symbols of the prelacy. There was intensity in all his mental and moral characteristics—

a sort of elevated impetuosity running like a chain of fire through mind, heart, and life. He was surrounded by a host of friends and was alive to every social courtesy. He founded the school of theology in 1813 which developed into the Episcopal Theological Seminary in Ninth Avenue, which has ever since been sending its ministerial candidates to every part of the land. William Johnson was well known in his day as the able reporter of the decisions of the Supreme Court of the State of New York.

There were many others present at the inauguration of the society whose names reflect luster upon the organization. Rev. Dr. John Bow-

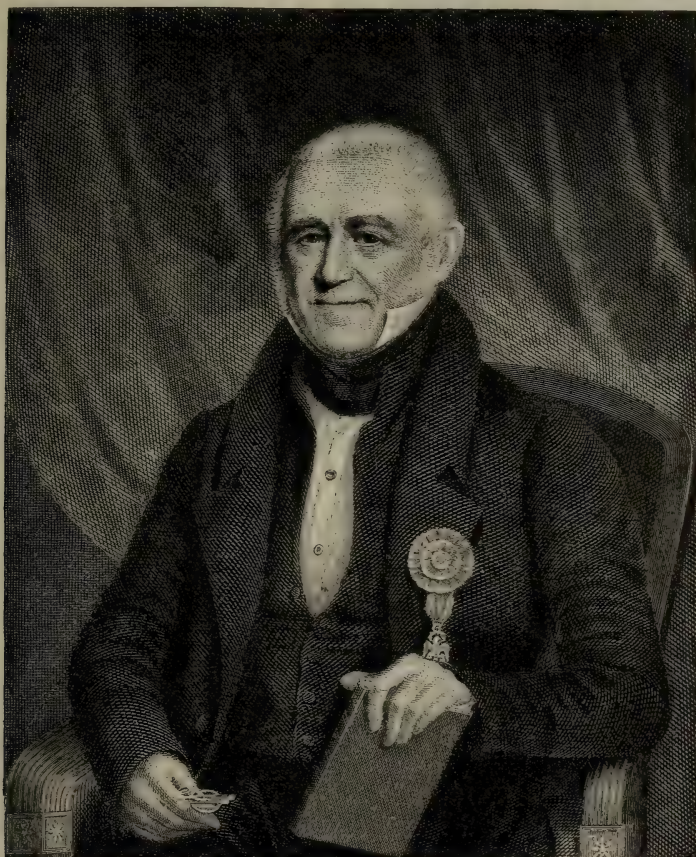


THE OLD GOVERNMENT HOUSE.

Second Home of the New York Historical Society, 1809-1816.

den, for a dozen years professor of moral philosophy and belles-lettres in Columbia College ; Rev. Dr. John C. Kunze, among the most learned divines and Oriental scholars of his day, and the first to strongly urge the propriety of educating youth in English ; John Kemp, of Columbia College, the eminent mathematician, who was elected to the Royal Society of Edinburgh before he was twenty-one ; Rev. Dr. William Harris, rector of St. Mark's Church, afterward president of Columbia College for many years ; Peter Wilson, a notable linguist, who possessed much other knowledge of value to the new institution ; John Murray, Jr., a clever man, a lover of the arts, a philanthropist, and an ardent promoter of our free-

school system ; Dr. Archibald Bruce, a young physician who was editing the *Journal of American Mineralogy*—the first professor, indeed, of mineralogy in this country ; and Samuel Bayard and Peter Gerard Stuyvesant, both gentlemen of education, culture, wealth, public spirit, and benevo-



MORGAN LEWIS,

Sixth President of New York Historical Society, 1832-1836.

lence. Bayard resided in New Jersey, where he had done much to promote learning, but he was essentially a New Yorker. Mr. Stuyvesant was the seventh president of the society, from 1836 to 1840. From his Bedford home Chief-Justice John Jay rendered substantial aid ; and his eldest son, Peter Augustus Jay, the eminent lawyer, contributed largely to the material for a library. His gifts embraced much of that curious accumula-



PETER AUGUSTUS JAY,

Eighth President of New York Historical Society,
1840-1843.

[From *Harper's Magazine*, May, 1883.]

tion of periodicals published before the Revolution. He said, "A file of American newspapers is of far more value to our enterprise than all the Byzantine historians." This accomplished scholar was the eighth president of the society, from January, 1840, to January, 1843. His death occurred in February, 1843. John McKesson, one of the first standing committee, was a large contributor of legislative documents, of which were the Journals of the Provincial Congress and Convention, together with the proceedings of the Committee of Safety from May, 1775, to the adoption of the State constitution in 1777.

The first treasurer of the society was Charles Wilkes, president of the Bank of New York, a nephew of the celebrated John Wilkes of the English Parliament, and an uncle of the famous Charles Wilkes, hero of the capture of *Mason and Slidell*; the first librarian was John Forbes.

The celebrated James Kent, one of the most eminent jurists and first legal writers of his time, was an early member, and the fifth president of the institution, from 1828 to 1832. Prior to 1804 he had filled numerous positions of trust, and was that year made chief-justice of the State. He was then forty-one. In 1814 he became chancellor of the State; and in 1822 represented Albany in the State Constitutional Convention, of which he was a distinguished member. Two years later he became a professor of law in Columbia College, and his lectures delivered before his classes form the basis of his celebrated commentaries on the United States Constitution.

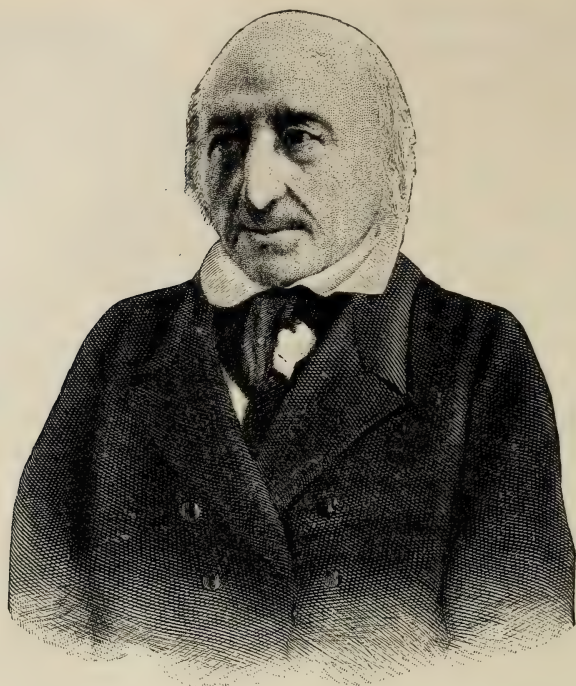
It will be observed that the Faculty of Columbia College furnished a strong delegation to aid in the formation of this society—and also that several of the founders were regents of the university. Morgan Lewis, the jurist and soldier, who was governor of the State from 1804 to 1807, took an active interest in its affairs, and in the course of years became its sixth president, succeeding Chancellor Kent—from January, 1832, to the beginning of 1836. He delivered the centennial address on the 22d of February, 1832, before the city authorities, in honor of the birth of Washington. The name of Matthew Clarkson stands high upon the first list of members

—a name associated with the foundation of nearly all the early meritorious societies of the metropolis, whether intended for education, culture, relief, or protection. He was twenty-one years president of the Bank of New York, and the senior vice-president of the American Bible Society. De Witt Clinton said, "Whenever a charitable or public-spirited institution was about to be established, Clarkson's presence was considered essential. His sanction became a passport to public approbation."

Gouverneur Morris, the brilliant statesman and orator, was for some years the first vice-president of the society, and the second president, succeeding Judge Benson in 1816. He presided over it, however, only a part of that year, his death occurring in November. The reader in every part of our broad country is familiar with his public career. Born in 1752, we find him at twenty-five one of the committee to draft the State constitution; next a member of the Continental Congress while the Revolution was in progress; one of the framers of the Constitution of the Republic; then minister to France; and in the United States Senate from 1800 to 1803. He was also chairman of the canal commission from 1810 until his death. He resided on his beautiful estate at Morrisania and passed the later years of his life in munificent hospitality.

It was in the year 1814 that a memorial to the legislature of New York, drafted in a masterly manner by De Witt Clinton, then the second vice-president of the institution, setting forth its grand and important objects, was so favorably received as to induce the grant of \$12,000 toward the beginning of a substantial library. In 1838, another enlightened memorial to the legislature, urging the importance of an investigation of the European archives, produced an act authorizing the appointment of an agent to visit England, France, and Holland, to secure if possible copies of all papers and documents relating to our colonial or other history. John Romeyn Broadhead was chosen for this mission, and spent upward of three years in the work. The result was a mass of documentary information of the utmost importance, much of which has been printed for reference, and distributed through the public libraries of the land. The cost of rescuing these scattered memorials of our colonial existence was some \$12,000; but it was an economical outlay. The society was congratulated on every hand for its exertions and their reward.

It was in 1843, during the term of Mr. Broadhead's investigations abroad, that the veteran financier and political economist, Albert Gallatin, was elected to the presidency of the society. He held the office until his death in August, 1849. He was of medium height, with features strongly marked, a bald head, and an eye of piercing brilliancy. He was the best



Albert Gallatin

Ninth President of New York Historical Society, 1843-1850.

talker of the century, at home on all topics, with a wonderful memory for facts and dates. His intellectual charms were such that after he took up his abode permanently in New York, in 1827, the Gallatin Club was formed for the sole object of listening to his conversation. He was mainly instrumental in founding the Ethnological Society, of which he became the first president. He was also president of one of the New York banks from 1831 to 1839; and he wrote and published many works of great value. He is best remembered as the Secretary of the Treasury from 1801 to 1813, where he exercised a potent influence in other departments of the Government and in the politics of the country. But his diplomatic services—at St. Petersburg, in 1813, at Ghent, in 1814, when the treaty of peace was concluded, and in France where he remained eight years—were of no less consequence to America. On his return home from these various missions, he declined a seat in the cabinet, and also to be a candidate for Vice-President. He had resolved to devote himself chiefly to literature, science,



*Respectfully Yours
L. Bradish*

Tenth President of New York Historical Society, 1850-1863.

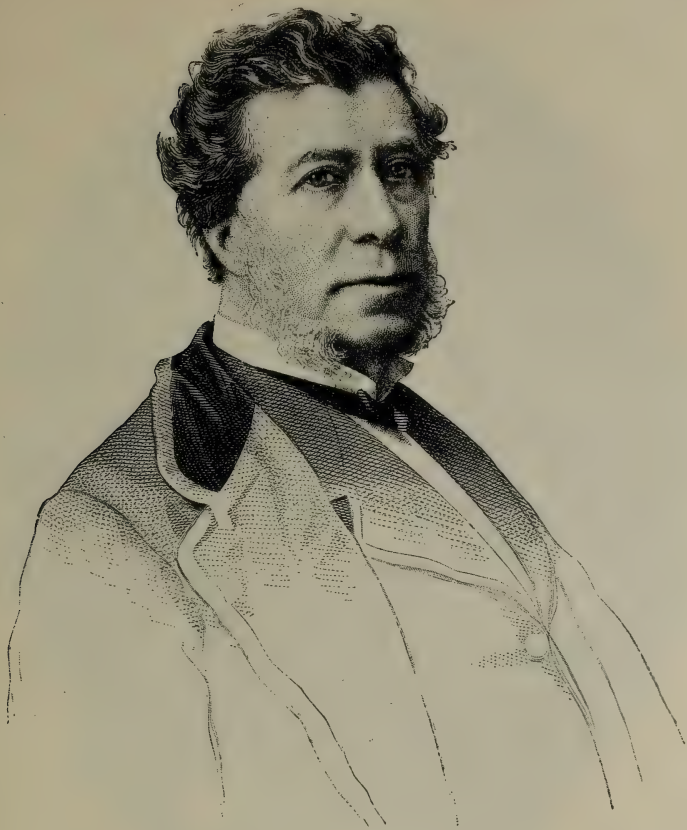
and historical and ethnological researches. His whole history, from the time he reached this country from Switzerland, in 1780, at nineteen years of age, reads like a veritable romance. Few instances grace our annals where an adventurer in a strange land raised himself by simple force of energy and talent to such a pinnacle of distinction and usefulness, or where perfect purity was balanced in a political character with so much of genius and culture.

Luther Bradish was the tenth president of the society, taking the chair in January, 1850. He was re-elected annually for thirteen successive years, and died in office, August 30, 1863. In elegance of scholarship, and in

the numberless graces that combine to make the perfect presiding officer, he was unrivaled. He was a native of Cumington, Massachusetts, and a graduate of Williams College in 1804; had studied law, traveled extensively abroad, served six years in the legislature and fourteen years as lieutenant-governor of New York, and was Assistant Treasurer of the United States at New York during Fillmore's administration, a position which he filled with great satisfaction to all parties. He occupied his spare moments with many educational, charitable, and reformatory projects, and commanded universal admiration and esteem. He was president, also, of the American Bible Society.

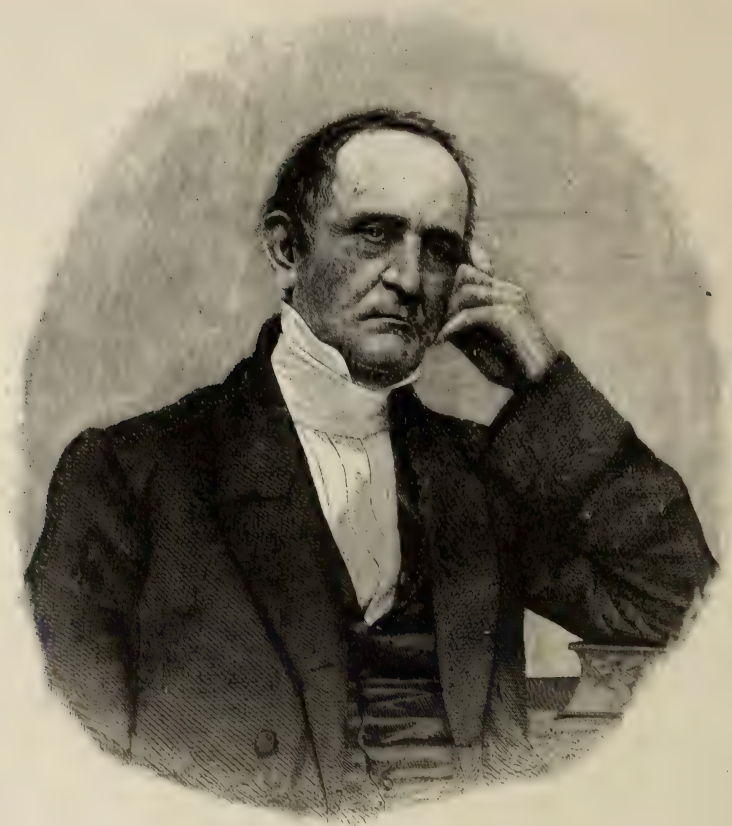
His immediate successor in the Historical Society was Frederic De Peyster, who was president from 1864 to 1867, and again from 1873 until his death, August 17, 1882. Mr. De Peyster had been forty years an active member of the institution, and was its corresponding secretary from 1827 to 1837, its foreign secretary in 1844, and one of its vice-presidents from 1850 to 1853. He had also been the envoy of the society in 1827 to the legislature at Albany, and, with great tact and discretion, succeeded in convincing the hostile legislators of the importance of preserving perishable papers and fugitive pamphlets; and obtained the substantial grant of \$5,000 for the aid of the society. He was chairman of many important committees, not least of which was the building committee when the present edifice was erected. He opened his purse liberally on all occasions, and his various gifts reveal his genuine taste for history, art, and archæology. He was the representative of one of the oldest and best families in New York, where he was born in 1796, was a graduate from Columbia College, had studied law, and at one time was Master in Chancery. He was connected with more social, learned, literary, and philanthropic societies than any other man of his time. He was one of the founders of the St. Nicholas Society, president of the St. Nicholas Club, vice-president of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, trustee of the Deaf and Dumb Asylum, manager of the Home for Incurables, for fifty years clerk of the board of trustees of the Leake and Watts Orphan House, and president of the New York Society Library, besides holding positions of honor in many other noteworthy organizations. He was the author of several historical monographs of special value. He was a large-hearted Christian gentleman of the old school, of ripe culture, large wealth, high social position, and kindly, courteous manners.

Hamilton Fish, the honorable Secretary of State during President Grant's administration of eight years, was made the twelfth president of the society, elected in 1867, and resigned in 1869 to take his seat in the



Twelfth President of New York Historical Society, 1867-1869.

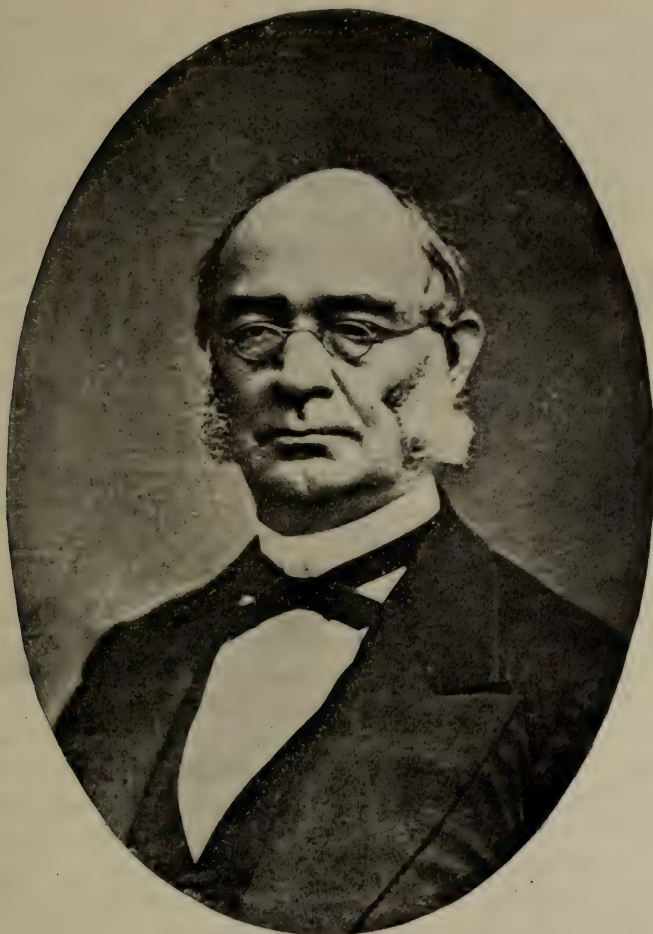
councils of the nation. It was through his suggestion that the joint high commission between the United States and Great Britain met in 1871, to settle the various difficulties between the two nations, including the famous Alabama claims. His career of public usefulness commenced early. He was doing duty in 1837 in the legislature of New York, was in Congress from 1843 to 1845; was elected lieutenant-governor in 1847, was governor of the State from 1849 to 1851, and was United States senator



Thomas De Witt

President of New York Historical Society, 1870-1872.

from 1851 to 1857. He is the son of Colonel Nicholas Fish, of old New York memory, and through his mother a direct descendant of the famous Governor Peter Stuyvesant. Peter Gerard Stuyvesant, president of the society from 1836 to 1840, was the uncle of Hamilton Fish. As a citizen no New Yorker occupies a more enviable place. He has been invited to the presidency of numerous clubs, societies, and institutions; and in 1872 was made president of the Order of the Cincinnati. He is now the first vice-president of the New York Historical Society; and William M. Evarts, the honorable Secretary of State during President Hayes' administration, and at present United States senator, is its foreign corresponding secretary.



Augustus Schuyler

President of New York Historical Society, 1872 and 1883-1884.

[From the painting in possession of the New York Historical Society.]

The thirteenth president of the society was Rev. Thomas De Witt, D.D., one of the most eminent divines in the Reformed Dutch Church, who had long been identified with the institution as one of its vice-presidents. He was a graceful and vigorous writer and an eloquent preacher. His historical "Discourse," delivered before his congregation on the last Sabbath in August, 1856, is one of the finest productions of the kind

extant. Dr. De Witt was elected in the beginning of the year 1870, and presided over the society most acceptably for two years. In 1872, Augustus Schell became the president for one year, and in 1883 was re-elected, holding the office until his death, March 27, 1884. He had been a member of the society since 1838, and for twenty-five years one of its executive committee, of which he was chairman nineteen years. A part of that period he was one of the vice-presidents of the society, and furthered its interests immeasurably through his purse and his personal influence. He was a tall, stately man, with an air of quiet, unobtrusive dignity, a countenance genial and kind, manners courteous and affable, and great force and strength of character. He was one who respected in the minutest particular the rights and opinions of others, and as a consequence was exceedingly tenacious of his own. From 1857 to 1861 he was collector of the port of New York. Prior to that time he had been an exceedingly busy man in law and politics, and was concerned in the foundation of many institutions and societies now well known and prosperous, of which the New York Institution for the Blind may, perhaps, be said to have stood first in his affections. Later on he embarked in railroad schemes, and, possessing the rare faculty of seeing men and things quickly and clearly in their practical relations, he soon became a power among the railroad princes. It was thought at the time of his death that, with the exception of one, he held more positions as director in railroads and companies than any other man in the country. Meanwhile he was very active in the politics of the city, the State, and the nation. During the last twelve years of his life he was the Grand Sachem of the Tammany Society. His last appearance in public was on the evening of the 27th of November, 1883, when he presided at the seventy-ninth anniversary of the New York Historical Society, held at the Academy of Music, on which occasion Hon. John Jay delivered an address on "The Peace Negotiations of 1782 and 1783." The brother of President Schell, Mr. Robert Schell, is treasurer of the New York Historical Society at the present time. The president chosen in 1885 to succeed Augustus Schell, and who still presides over the society, is Benjamin H. Field, a well-known and accomplished gentleman, who had long been one of the vice-presidents and a member of the executive committee. Cornelius Vanderbilt is the second vice-president, Mr. Fish, as before stated, being the first. Colonel Andrew Warner is recording secretary, Edward F. De Lancey is domestic corresponding secretary—Mr. Evarts being the foreign corresponding secretary—and Jacob Moore, the brother of the accomplished Dr. George H. Moore, long identified with the society as its librarian and one of its executive committee, is librarian.

The celebration of important historic events has formed a notable feature of the work of this institution from the first. In 1809 commenced the third century since Hudson discovered Manhattan Island, and a great festival was planned. It was during that year that the society obtained, through the powerful aid of De Witt Clinton, a charter from the legislature of the State, which placed it on a firm and substantial foundation. Its home was about the same date removed to one of the rooms in the Government House. On the 4th of September the society assembled in the front court room of Federal Hall, in Wall Street, and listened to Rev. Dr. Miller's famous discourse, which had been carefully prepared for the memorable occasion. It was a brilliant assemblage of ladies and gentlemen who comprised the audience, and when the meeting closed the society and their invited guests repaired to the City Hotel and "sat down to an elegant dinner." The toasts and sentiments offered at this banquet are faithfully recorded in the minutes of the society. It was an affair of great social significance. This festival led to the publication of the first volume of the society's collections, since when thirty bound volumes have been issued, besides a large number of historical papers and addresses in pamphlet form. The foundation of the library seems to have been laid in 1807. Some small purchases were made, and liberal donations soon produced quite a respectable collection of books. In 1813, the first catalogue was prepared. There was an annual festival of the society in those early years on St. Nicholas day, the 6th of December, attended always with a dinner served at some of the hotels. Among the numerous orators, whose eloquence and general learning added much historical data to the special fund, were De Witt Clinton, Gouverneur Morris, Dr. Hosack, Verplanck, and Jarvis. In 1824, a notable reception was given to Lafayette by the society, who was received with the greatest enthusiasm and conducted by the president, Dr. Hosack, to the chair that once belonged to Louis XVI.—a present from Gouverneur Morris. Over this chair hung the portrait of Lafayette, painted in 1784, decorated with Revolutionary emblems. Thus the delighted guests could look upon the likeness of the chivalrous young soldier at the same instant while regarding the man who, by forty years of hard service, had reached a ripe old age, crowned with wisdom and honors.

On the 30th of April, 1839, the fiftieth anniversary of Washington's inauguration as first President of the Republic was celebrated with great spirit by the society. The memorable address on the occasion was by John Quincy Adams, ex-President of the United States. One of the most famous discourses ever delivered before the society, however, was that of

Daniel Webster, in 1852, at Niblo's. So great was the effort to obtain tickets, that, if they could have been sold, from \$50 to \$100 would have been readily given for one in numerous instances. Chief-Justice Jones, the oldest member of the bar present, offered the vote of thanks, which was seconded by Charles O'Connor, the youngest member of the bar present. In 1857, on the 3d of November, a distinguished throng assembled to participate in the exercises attending the dedication of the new library building, in Second Avenue, corner of Eleventh Street, the present home of the society. After wandering for half a century, the tenant at will of

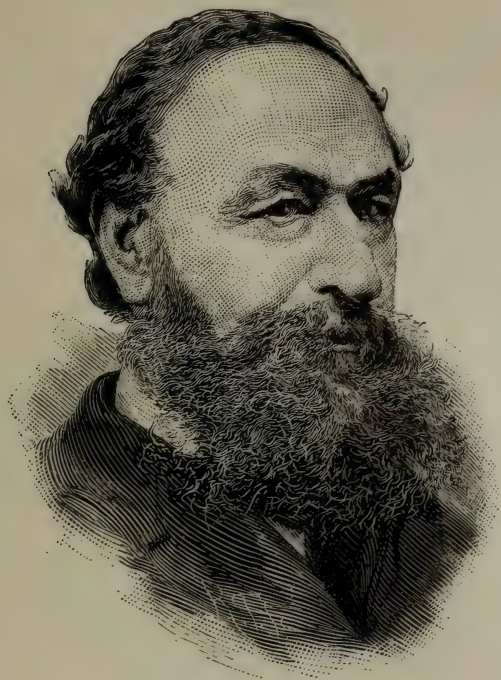


NEW YORK UNIVERSITY.

Home of the New York Historical Society, 1841-1857.

others, from the Federal Hall in Wall Street, 1804-1809, to the Government House, 1809-1816; then to the "New York Institution," where it remained until 1832; from there to a new hall in Remsen's building in Broadway, corner of Chambers Street—on which occasion a learned discourse was delivered by William Beach Lawrence; in the summer of 1837; to the "Stuyvesant Institute," an elegant new building in Broadway; and from 1841 to 1857 in the New York University; the society at last rejoiced in a temple of its own. It was a proud day when it first opened its doors to the community. Addresses were made by its president, Luther Bradish, by Rev. Dr. William Adams, by President King of Columbia College, by George Bancroft, the historian, and others. Mr. Bancroft said: "The gift of this building is significant; it is one of the many proofs that the busiest

city is the most genial home of literature. Where there is the most action, there there must be the most thought. The world of the scholar and the world of the man of affairs are all one. The widest connections furnish the greatest opportunity of concentrating knowledge, and the readiest means for its diffusion. In such a community there is no possibility of a



Fredric De Peyster

President of New York Historical Society, 1867-1870 and 1873-1882.

dead calm, of a stagnation of the mind. The ever-moving winds of controversy winnow opinions, and the fire of truth is kept alive and fed by contributions from all climes. And what city is bound by more associations and ties to all parts of the world than our own New York?" On the 17th of the same month the erudite Dr. John W. Francis, for many years one of the society's standing committee, and its librarian from 1812 to 1819, delivered the fifty-third anniversary discourse. This paper was subse-

quently published in book form—a captivating presentation of pen pictures and personalities. In 1863, the society celebrated the two hundredth birthday of Bradford, who introduced printing into the colonies, and the discourse was by John William Wallace, of Philadelphia. A great many distinguished visitors were in the city from all parts of the country to attend the Bradford centennial, and on the evening of the following day a full-dress reception was given by the society in its new library building, every room and gallery being thrown open for the purpose. The guests began to arrive about nine o'clock, and music and dancing enlivened the dazzling scene until a late hour. In 1864, the society celebrated the two hundredth anniversary of the conquest of New York by the English, and the oration was by John Romeyn Broadhead. In 1868, the distinguished John Lothrop Motley delivered the anniversary discourse, the society and its guests filling the Academy of Music—as brilliant an assemblage as was ever convened on this continent—and no one present on that occasion will ever forget the impressive scene. In 1870, Charles Francis Adams stood upon the same platform, and surrounded by the great men of the country, addressed the society and its friends in a strain of masterly eloquence. In 1875, another vast and intellectual assemblage was convened in the same place by the society to listen to the inspiring oratory of Rev. Dr. R. S. Storrs. Nor must we omit to mention the great field-day of the society in 1876, to celebrate in the open air the centennial of the battle of Harlem Heights, on which occasion the Hon. John Jay addressed an immense multitude; or the society's celebration in 1877 of the one hundredth anniversary of the adoption of the State constitution, the orator of the evening being the distinguished lawyer, Charles O'Connor, one of the vice-presidents of the society.

The most prominent men of letters, as well as the leading statesmen and clergymen within the century, have been identified with this institution—Irving, Verplanck, Halleck, Cooper, Schoolcraft, Headley, Lossing, Os-good, Bancroft, and the patriarch of American literature, William Cullen Bryant, who was for many years one of its vice-presidents. The largest and probably the most notable audience ever assembled by the society was that which filled the Academy of Music from floor to dome on the evening of December 30, 1878, to listen to a commemorative oration from the gifted scholar, George William Curtis, upon the life, character, and writings of the illustrious Bryant. The President of the nation and his cabinet were seated on the platform, together with some three or four hundred of the representative men of the country in church and state, in law, politics, commerce, and letters. At the conclusion of the exercises in the Academy



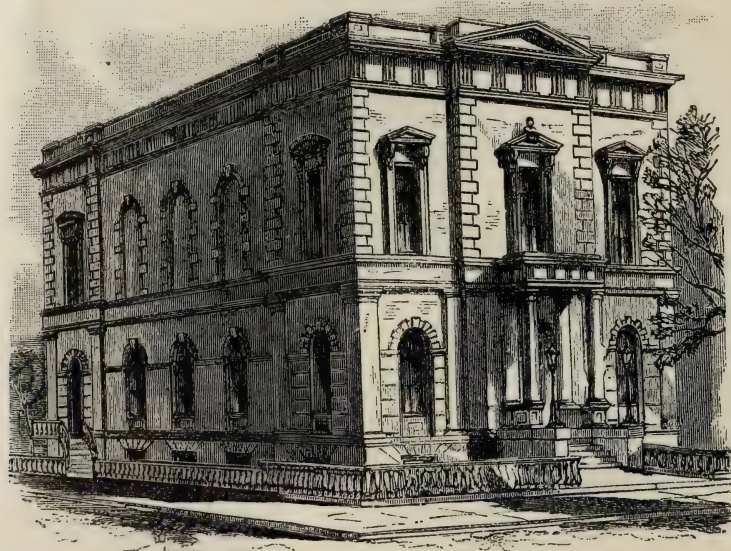
Saml H Childs

President of New York Historical Society, 1885, 1886.

an elegant reception was given to the head of the nation at the private residence of the president, Frederic De Peyster, special cards of invitation having been previously issued, and a sumptuous banquet was served to over two hundred guests of distinction.

And here let us take a rapid survey of what the society has accumulated in the eighty-two years of its eventful existence. The library now contains seventy-five volumes of reference, and an immense mass of scarce pamphlets and valuable maps and manuscripts, all of the first moment to the historical student. One room is exclusively devoted to the docu-

mentary treasures. Newspapers in well bound volumes furnish contemporaneous history in an unbroken chain through every decade since the first printing-press was established in this country. The society had no sooner taken possession of this fire-proof building in 1857—which



HOME OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 1857-1886.

Corner of Second Avenue and Eleventh Street, New York City.

was supposed large enough to accommodate its collection for a century or so—than benefactions came flowing in, some of them of great magnitude and value, and every nook and corner was soon filled to overflowing. The building is now so packed and crammed with treasures that a thousand things of the first consequence are out of sight altogether. One of the gifts to the institution was the historical collection of Rev. Dr. Hawks, of Calvary Church, a superb thesaurus of volumes, which was purchased after his death by William Niblo, who was the generous donor. Another benefaction was that of the Buckingham Smith collection of Spanish history, presented by John David Wolfe, accompanying which is the famous Vlpus globe, an

Italian production of 1542, upon which the Northern and Southern Hemispheres are constructed separately.* Many extensive collections of family papers have been donated. It has been said that books come nearer to immortality than any other production of man's skill or labor, and one cannot help being impressed with the force of the remark while observing in this rich repository the first Dutch Bible, in a remarkable state of preservation, printed in Holland in 1477; it was a gift to the society from Hon. James W. Beekman, one of its vice-presidents. Scores of rare volumes are preserved here which can be found nowhere else in existence. The collection of works upon American history embraces nearly every publication of consequence since the settlement of this continent. The department of local history and genealogy was recently greatly enlarged by the generous bequest of Stephen Whitney Phoenix of his comprehensive library, with a munificent fund for its maintenance and increase.

The picture galleries of the institution afford opportunity for the study of art from the beginning, together with the successive conditions which se-



SECTION OF THE LIBRARY OF NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

* This quaintly curious globe was fully described in the *MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY* of January, 1879, with map of globe, and portrait of Pope Marcellus II.

cured and fostered its development, particularly that between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries. Among dreams of faith, objects of worship, resignation, martyrdom, hope, ecstasy, sacrifice, repentance, devotion, and under the eyes of princes, potentates, warriors, and scholars, the lover of antiquarian art may revel in a trip backward to the dark ages. The crude specimens from the brushes of the earliest painters hang in neighborly proximity to works from the old masters, and the quaintest of settings in the line of frames give them additional interest. The number of oil paintings in the building is upwards of eight hundred—it is the largest permanent collection probably on this continent—thus a mere passing glimpse of them, as a whole, must suffice for this brief article. The galleries were considerably more than full when the Bryan collection was presented to the society, valued at \$100,000; and in 1882 a legacy from Louis Durr further added one hundred and forty-eight paintings, all of which had been selected to represent as far as possible the greatest variety of subjects and artists. The ingenuity of the custodians was taxed to the utmost to give these choice acquisitions a place; and the walls are now covered from floor to ceiling, pictures touch and overshadow each other everywhere, they adorn the audience-hall, the grand entrance, the staircases, and every available niche elsewhere. Were these rare paintings hung to advantage they would occupy six times as much space. The collection is no casual gathering of odds and ends. Many of the examples are small, but none the less gems of art. Works of Titian, Murillo, Poussin, Claude Lorraine, Albert Durer, Sir Peter Lely, Rembrandt, Rubens, Raphael, Leonardo da Vinci, Watteau, Giorgione, Guido, and Correggio—their authenticity in every instance being supported by the best authority—may be seen and studied here. There are several by Velasquez, the great Spanish master, of which the portrait of the Infanta Margarita is the most characteristic and quaintly interesting. The eccentric costume of the time of Charles IV. is treated admirably in it, and the color is soft and beautiful. A *connoisseur*, recently returned from the great art centres of the old world, says neither Paris nor Munich possesses a finer example, and that this painting would hold its place among the many masterpieces of Velasquez at Madrid.

Aside from the various early schools of art represented in these galleries—the Byzantine, Italian, Venetian, Florentine, Flemish, Dutch, Spanish, German, and French—British art and American versatility of talent hold a conspicuous place. Examples of Gainsborough, Sir Joshua Reynolds, West, Stuart, Sully, Cole, St. Memin, Jarvis, Durand, Mount, Rembrandt Peale, Charles Wilson Peale, Huntington, Trumbull, Vanderlyn,

Powell, Flagg, Osgood, Page, Hicks, and a host of others well known to the modern public are not wanting. The collection may be examined closely for days in succession without exhausting its resources. It is distinguished for embracing the largest and most important gallery of American historical portraits in the world.

In the department of antiquities attention is divided between the celebrated Egyptian museum of treasures, the Nineveh sculptures, presented to the society in 1857 by James Lenox, and relics of the North and South American Indians. To trace the features of the Egyptian collection it is necessary to traverse nearly the whole building, although the middle gallery is its special abiding-place. It will startle the bustling public to be told that by turning aside any bright morning from the mad rush in Broadway at Tenth Street, and traveling eastward two blocks, a modest edifice may be entered where one can be made contemporary, as it



PHARAOH'S CHARIOT-WHEEL. BATTLE-AXES. ANCIENT VASES. EGYPTIAN CHAIR AND FOOTSTOOL. WAR-CLUBS.

were, with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, with the Pharaohs, the Israelites in Egypt, with Shishak, and with Zerah! But it is nevertheless true. One of the vases shown in our illustration is inscribed with the cartouche (corresponding to our modern armorial bearings) of Papi, second dynasty, 2001 years B.C. Another is dated the year before Abraham's arrival in Egypt. A blue porcelain, hawk-headed vase, found in the plain of Zoan, is inscribed with the name Osorkon, the Ethiopian king Zerah of the Scriptures, who went out against Asa, king of Jerusalem, "with a host of a thousand thousand, and three hundred chariots" [II. Chronicles, xiv. 9], and was overthrown by an army of five hundred and fourscore thousand with targets

and spears, which battle took place 941 B.C. Many of these rare curiosities furnish palpable evidence of the authenticity of the Bible. The iron helmet and breastplate of scale armor of Shishak, for instance, the great Egyptian war potentate, who went against Rehoboam of Jerusalem, 971 B.C., "with twelve hundred chariots and threescore thousand horsemen," and plundered the city of all the golden shields which Solomon had made, as related in the twelfth chapter of II. Chonicles. A magnificently carved slab of limestone from the temple of Erment, represents the triumphal return of a king of the thirteenth dynasty, or possibly a more ancient Pharaoh, from a distant war, some 1850 B.C., and several fragments of linen and woollen cloth reveal the skill of the ladies in embroidery at nearly the same date. The wheel of Pharaoh's chariot corresponds in construction with those



MUMMY AND SARCOPHAGUS. HIEROGLYPHICS. SACRED IBIS. GODS. ALLIGATORS. CROCODILES. TABLETS.

represented by the ancient sculptors, having six spokes. Most interesting are the clay stamps of the government of Egypt used by Terak in the twenty-fifth dynasty, 714 B.C., for securing the locks of public buildings or granaries. The fresh Nile mud was plastered over

the lock, and impressed while wet with this stamp, after which it could not, of course, be opened without breaking the seal.

With their relics and their records, as exhibited in this museum, we have a picture of the Egyptians as they were—living, breathing, thinking, moving, laughing, weeping, loving, hating, working people like ourselves. An index to their daily life and habits is found in the household implements, eatables, and articles of utility and of the toilet. The hand-mirror in the illustration is of polished bronze, mirror-glass not having yet been discovered. The lady's work-basket is a veritable curiosity, and contains a complete variety of toilet and useful articles, not least of which is a piece of linen in process of being darned or mended. The spoon carved in hard wood represents a Nubian woman swimming, her extended arms supporting a goose which is hollowed out to form the bowl of the spoon, the head

of the figure being notably well executed, with hair dressed in the style of the old Abyssinians. There are fruit-baskets made of the papyrus leaf; baskets and cords from the fiber of the date-tree; head-rests or pillows in wood; worsted knitting work, and thread in skeins; toilet-boxes, one bearing the arms of a queen; scissors, pins, and needles in bronze; small boxes with powder for the face, and black powder (called *kohl*) in use to blacken eyelids in the time of Jezebel; castanets used by dancers; tablets upon which the children learned to write the Greek language when it was first introduced by

the Ptolemies; curious games, and quaint wooden dolls for the amusement of children; the *stylus*, or Greek pen; reeds or Egyptian pens; inkstands; the papyrus to write upon; combs in wood and bronze, and dress-combs in ivory. The jewels worn by this ancient people overwhelm us with a sense of our own insignificance. Modern invention, what is it, alas, but reproduction! The most unique designs wrought in



SACRED BULL, APIS. PHARAOH'S CHAIR.

EGYPTIAN MIRROR OF BRONZE. LADY'S WORK-BASKET, B.C. CARVED WOODEN SPOON. PHARAOH'S NECKLACE.

gold and the various metals appear in necklaces, ear-rings, pins, bracelets, rings, anklets, and other ornaments. In the picture may be seen the necklace of the first Pharaoh of Egypt, 2750 B.C., constructed with eight oval plates of gold-leaf, connected by a chain of thin strips of flattened gold, each oval plate stamped with the name "Menes." Bracelets seem to have been much worn, and the specimens are numerous; one is of twisted gold wire, the ends terminating in a lotus-flower. Diadems of quaint device,

figures of divinities stamped in gold, head-dresses, clasps and amulets, are very numerous. The mosaics of that long-ago period are gems of beauty, and they seem to reveal what many men and women believed, desired, regretted, remembered, hoped, and felt. It was the sentiment of religion that first kindled mechanical agents into life. The relation of art to a country, an era, and a community is no fanciful, but an absolute element of its history.

The humor of the Egyptians is handed along through their caricatures, of which may be instanced a painting upon a fragment of limestone of a lion seated on a throne as king, and a fox as high priest offering him a picked goose and a feather fan. It is a fact worthy of notice that glass-blowers are represented at their work in the hieroglyphics which were written in the time of Moses. One of the efforts at portraiture is of an Ethiopian king on glass. A funeral papyrus twenty-two feet long is intensely interesting. It is handsomely written, and illuminated with various significant illustrations. It is a specimen of what was deposited in every Egyptian tomb—a history of the deceased, with pictures of remarkable events in his life. The mummied specimens are of great variety. Crocodiles were held sacred by the ancients, since having no tongues and seeing in the water without being seen, they were esteemed emblematical of the Deity—as the Divine Reason governs all in silence. Cats were consecrated to the moon. Birds, scorpions, fishes, snakes, etc., all had their charms. The Sacred Bull, Apis, however, was honored above all other animals, as an image of the soul of Osiris. The soul was supposed to migrate from one Apis to another in succession, and the death of the animal was a season of general mourning, its interment being accompanied with the most costly ceremonials. Dr. Abbott found three of these mummied treasures in the tombs at Dashour, and what renders them the more valuable is the fact that not another museum in the world possesses a perfect specimen.

In tracing the beginnings of such an institution, we find no endings. The present varied collection of literary, historic, art, scientific, and antiquarian treasures—of which vastly more can be read *between* than *in* the lines of this chapter—are but the beginnings of the great museum of the future. The monumental structure to be its proud home is beginning even now to take shape in the public mind.

Martha J Lamb

THE DEFECTS OF OUR CONSTITUTION

ITS HISTORICAL AMENDMENTS AND THEIR INADEQUACY

The Constitution of the United States, as originally framed and adopted, contained seven articles. It went into effect on the 4th March, 1789, and in less than seven months thereafter Congress found it necessary to propose twelve more articles—ten of which were promptly ratified by the requisite number of States and two rejected. On the 5th March, 1794, the eleventh amendment was submitted to the States by Congress, and the twelfth on 12th December, 1803, and both accepted. Eleven of these amendments related to new matters, not touched on in the Constitution, but the twelfth was simply a change in a part of the first section of the second article.

The Constitution is, then, the joint production of the Philadelphia Convention and Congress, and it is interesting to note the difference between the work of the two. Conscious of the difficulty of getting thirteen States to agree on such a subject, the convention was content to provide a good and safe outline of government and construct the machinery for its practical administration, and then rested. Their report to Congress shows how they regarded it, in which they say : " In all our deliberations on this subject, we kept steadily in our view, that which appears to us the greatest interest of every true American, the consolidation of our Union, in which is involved our prosperity, felicity, safety, perhaps our national existence, and thus the constitution which we now present is the result of a spirit of amity and of that mutual deference and concession which the peculiarity of our political situation rendered indispensable."

But Congress, thinking the instrument rather barren, meagre, and incomplete, set to work to embody in it great principles of civil liberty and fundamental safeguards. The amendments, from one to ten inclusive, are in some sort an American Magna Charta, and embrace declarations of human rights and restraints on the power of the new government. In them are found asserted :

1. Freedom of religious belief.
2. Freedom of speech.
3. Freedom of the press.
4. Right of petition.
5. Right of the people to keep and carry arms.

6. Security from unreasonable searches and seizures.

7. That citizens cannot be tried for felony except on indictment by a grand jury.

8. That nobody shall be twice tried for the same offense.

9. That private property shall not be taken for public use without just compensation.

10. That accused persons shall be tried by jury, shall be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation, shall be confronted with the witnesses against them, and shall have compulsory process for witnesses and the assistance of counsel.

11. That excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel nor unusual punishment inflicted. Thus, while we owe the *form* of our government to the convention, we owe its *principles* to Congress.

But the wisdom of these two great assemblages seemed to desert them, in some particulars, and they failed conspicuously in one feature of the very greatest consequence—the provisions of the Constitution were defective in regard to the manner of electing the President and Vice-President, counting the electoral vote, and providing for the successor in case of the death or inability to act of the President, and these defects were not cured by the twelfth amendment. For the century during which our Government has existed, Congress and the people have been well aware of the fact that these provisions were not only immature and insufficient, but were in actual conflict with the principles upon which the Constitution was framed, and were, besides, a constant source of danger. At almost every session of Congress this has been recognized, and measures have from time to time been brought forward to remedy the trouble; but no Congress has yet been successful in grappling with it, and to-day we seem as far from a solution of it as ever.

Why it is, that a matter of such pressing importance and ever recurring menace has not forced Congress to definite action, it is hard to say. But even the experience of the electoral commission and the acknowledged short-comings of the Constitution and laws, which made it necessary to resort to such a temporary expedient, have been insufficient to compel the passage of an effective and final measure. The theory upon which the framers of the Constitution proceeded was, that it should be a joint government of the States and the people—the House of Representatives being elected directly by the people, was to represent them—the Senate elected by the States, was to represent them, and it was attempted to combine these two things in the election of the President, and thus, in some sort, let him represent both. To accomplish this the electoral college was

devised. But everybody knows how far this has departed in practice from the purposes for which it was created. They were elected by the people, and it was intended that *they* should elect the President and Vice-President, not in form only, but in fact—anybody they chose, that they should be free to elect the men they considered best suited for the places. But this never has been done; the President from the beginning has been designated, either by a congressional caucus or a convention of the people, chosen in whatever manner the party managers dictated. The electors now have nothing to do, and do nothing, except to record their votes for the nominee of their party.

That this body, constituted as it is, has fallen into practical disuse, is not surprising and not to be much regretted. If the electors had been left to do as was intended, and elect a President in fact, the process would have been attended with difficulties innumerable, and probably would have resulted in nearly every case in an election by the House of Representatives. The electors were to meet and act in their own States. When the Constitution was adopted there were thirteen States, and there are thirty-eight now, and this is one instance where men were to perform a joint act without the least opportunity for discussion, concert of action, or interchange of views. The chances are very good that but for the fact that the electors have surrendered in practice their constitutional right to elect a President, and each body being ignorant of what the others were doing, a good many men would be voted for and no one receive a majority, and the House would be called upon to decide. And when it comes to that, all the principles upon which the Constitution, Union, and Government are supposed to be based, are set at naught, disregarded, and reversed. See how anomalous and defective the twelfth amendment is.

In the first place, it fails entirely to provide for the case of a contested election, or of rival governments in a State, or two or more returns, or the settlement of any other controverted question that may arise touching the election; neither does it in direct terms authorize Congress or the States to do this. The House and Senate each have the right to judge of the election, return, and qualification of its own members, and when two claim a seat can decide between them. But who is to do this as to the President and Vice-President? As the law now stands, nobody, and if a difficulty in any of these respects should arise, it would have to be settled by some hasty and temporary legislation.

When the returns of a Presidential election are counted and it is ascertained that no one has a constitutional majority, then the election devolves upon the House of Representatives, who shall, immediately, choose the

President, voting by ballot, and the representation from each State shall have one vote.

If the election by the electors failed, then consistency and a fair regard for the principle established in creating the electoral college and prescribing how it shall vote, would require that whatever substitute was adopted, should be on a similar basis. If the electors elect, then the people and States each participate and have their due and proper weight in the election; and this because in theory the President represents both. Yet when the election comes into the House, the people are dropped entirely and the members of the House, who are elected by the people and represent them theoretically, at least, are made the instruments of rejecting that element altogether. The Senators are excluded and allowed to participate in no manner, though they have their counterparts in the electoral college. If the voting is to be done by States alone, ought it not to be done by the men who are elected by the States as their special representatives? Why devolve such a function as this upon one of the legislative branches of the Government alone? The unity and symmetry of the proceedings would have been better preserved by letting the two Houses meet in joint assembly and each member cast a vote; they would have been equal in numbers to the electoral college and represented the exact interests. It might very well happen, too, that in an election by the House of Representatives, a very insignificant minority might outvote a large majority. There are now thirty-eight States—Nevada has a population of about fifty thousand and New York of five millions, yet each would cast only one vote. Twenty States could elect and these might be the smaller States, having an aggregate population of about twelve million out of a total of more than fifty millions.

To complete, as it would seem, the anomalous surroundings of the whole affair, the twelfth article provides: "The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest members on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President. A quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to elect." The House elects the President, the Senate the Vice-President; the House votes by States, the Senate individually! In electing a President by the House, if the delegation of a State be equally divided, its vote is lost, and a system which may cause a whole State to lose its vote can't be anything but bad in a representative and Republican government.

These are the defects and anomalies of our Constitution, so far as the election of a President and Vice-President are concerned. How is it as to counting the electoral vote? This is the rule prescribed by the Constitution and the only rule. "The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted." It was at one time claimed that this invested the President of the Senate with the exclusive and absolute right of deciding all questions as to the validity of returns, and all controversies about the vote of a State. But that pretension is now abandoned and Congress has provided no mode whatever to settle this transcendently important matter. The Senate and House had, for a time, what were called joint rules and the twenty-second of them, which was adopted on the 6th February, 1865, defined and directed the mode of proceeding in counting the electoral vote and prescribed how contests should be determined. That rule, after arranging for the assembling of the two Houses in the hall of the House of Representatives, the appointment of tellers, and the mere formal parts of the ceremony, went on to say: "If, upon the reading of any such certificate by the tellers, any question shall arise in regard to counting the vote therein certified, the same having been stated by the presiding officer, the Senate shall thereupon withdraw and said question shall thereupon be submitted to that body for its decision, and the speaker of the House of Representatives shall, in like manner, submit said question to the House of Representatives for its decision and no question shall be decided affirmatively and no vote objected to shall be counted, except by the concurrent vote of the two Houses, which being obtained, the two Houses shall immediately re-assemble and the presiding officer shall then announce the decision of the question submitted, and upon any such question there shall be no debate in either House; and any other question, pertinent to the object for which the two Houses are assembled, may be submitted and determined in like manner."

Under this rule, the votes of 1868 and 1872 only were counted. During the first session of the Forty-fourth Congress, a question was raised in the Senate whether the two Houses should not concur in re-adopting the joint rules; and accordingly that body, on the 20th January, 1876, passed and sent to the House this resolution: "That the joint rules of the Senate and House of Representatives, in force at the close of the last session of Congress, excepting the twenty-second joint rule, be and the same are hereby adopted as the joint rules of the two Houses for the present session." The House did not reply to this at all, but on the 14th August, 1876, sent to the Senate, for its concurrence, a resolution to suspend the sixteenth

and seventeenth joint rules; and thereupon the Senate answered, that, inasmuch as the House had not notified the Senate of the adoption of the joint rules, as proposed by the resolution of 20th January, 1876, there were no joint rules. This occurred at the end of the session, and Congress adjourned without providing any law or rule by which to count the votes of the electoral college in the Presidential election then at hand, and when that body re-assembled in the December following, it found contests in several States, and to settle them, passed the law under which the Electoral Commission acted.

Even this dangerous and exciting crisis failed to stir Congress to the enactment of some general plan, and the situation remained unchanged till 1881, when a temporary expedient was put into execution, and again until 1885, when another make-shift was adopted, which was as follows: "Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring): That the two Houses of Congress shall assemble in the hall of the House of Representatives, at 12 o'clock noon, on the 11th of February, 1885, pursuant to the requirements of the Constitution and laws relating to the election of President and Vice-President of the United States, and the President of the Senate shall be the presiding officer; that two persons be appointed tellers on the part of the Senate and two on the part of the House of Representatives to make a list of the votes as they shall be declared; that the result shall be delivered to the President of the Senate, who shall announce the state of the vote and the persons elected, to the two Houses assembled as aforesaid, which shall be deemed a declaration of the persons elected President and Vice-President of the United States and together with a list of the votes be entered on the journals of the two Houses."

That session of Congress ended and another is almost over, and the country is still left in the same unprovided and unprotected condition. The two Houses have not agreed upon any measure, though both constantly recognize its necessity. The twenty-second joint rule was very properly abrogated. It was adopted during the war, and surely no more objectionable and outrageous proceeding was ever enforced in any country. The electoral votes are returned sealed to the President of the Senate, and kept secure by him. On the day fixed for their count, they were, under that rule, opened and read, and their contents then first made officially known. Defects either of substance or form had to be considered and passed upon *immediately*, and without debate, by the two Houses separately, and it was in the power of either to deprive any State of its vote. The abolishment of this rule seems to have been an accident, but it was a fortunate one.

That the next Presidential election will find the needed legislation still not enacted, and that once more, some resolution, trumped up for the occasion, will be resorted to, is more than probable. The provisions of the Constitution and laws in regard to the Presidential succession are as loose and unsatisfactory as in other particulars relative to the office of President. Though this clause of the Constitution is familiar to everybody, I nevertheless quote it : "In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve upon the Vice-President, and the Congress may, by law, provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall then act accordingly, until the disability be removed or a President shall be elected." The law passed to execute the above enacts that "the President of the Senate, or if there is none, then the Speaker of the House of Representatives, for the time being, shall act as President, until the disability is removed or a President elected." But for a long time there was a necessary interregnum in the office of speaker. Congress expired by law on the 4th March, and the elections for the next Congress did not take place till after that time; so, then, during the period between the 4th of March and the meeting of the next Congress in the December following there was not only no speaker but no Congress. A vacancy occurring then would have found no speaker to take it. And the same difficulty exists at the present day, for after the expiration of one Congress there is no speaker till the next Congress meets and elects one.

In an emergency the country might likewise find itself without a President of the Senate. As a measure of precaution, the Vice-President can retire from the chair as the session approaches its end, and then the Senate can elect a President, and if the Vice-President does not resume his seat before the adjournment, then the person so elected will be President of the Senate during the recess. But this is not always, nor indeed often, done. Mr. Hendricks did not do it, and he died before the next Congress met, and there was then no Vice-President, no President of the Senate, and no speaker, and if anything had unhappily befallen Mr. Cleveland the country would have been in a bad condition indeed.

It must be agreed that the law designating for the succession two officers, one of whom is no part of the regular machinery of government, and may or may not exist, as accident or chance direct, and the other having no being or life for eight months every second year, is lame and impotent. These embarrassments, serious as they are, are not all that attend

the Presidential office. What is "inability to act," and how is it to be ascertained? What body or tribunal is authorized by the constitution, or any act of, to take jurisdiction of this question and determine it authoritatively? There is none, and if a President should lose his reason there is no way known to the law by which the fact could be authenticated, and the "inability" so pronounced upon as to enable his successor to take his place.

Looking, then, at the whole Executive Department of the Government in all its phases, and considering the various processes of electing the President and Vice-President, counting the votes and ascertaining the result, deciding contests, providing fully for the succession, ascertaining and declaring what is "inability," we are forced to the conclusion that the Constitution and laws under it relating to these matters are equally defective, and that it is the imperative duty of Congress to remedy defects which have been in existence during the whole life of the Government without further delay. The Senate and House have each passed bills regulating the mode of counting the vote, but have not been able to agree on the same measure. The bill of the Senate provided that each State should decide for itself any controversy about the appointment of electors at least six days before the meeting of the electors, and that the judgment so rendered should be conclusive. If this had been done, it would have left to Congress only the formal duty of counting undisputed votes, and would have remedied one of the existing embarrassments. But the House did not favor this plan.

The bill which became a law at this session of Congress, regulating the Presidential succession, is conceded to be insufficient, and is regarded as only another of the temporary expedients which have been so prolific. But if the same inattention still continues which has prevailed heretofore it will remain unaltered on the statute-book till some great emergency befalls the country, when probably the same scenes of excitement, the same clamorous demand for a final settlement of the whole question, that have been witnessed several times in the past, will be again repeated, and more than likely with the same impotent result.

How an election by the House, under the present system, operates in practice, was well illustrated when John Q. Adams was elected under it. There were then twenty-four States, with an electoral vote of two hundred and sixty-one; of these Jackson had ninety-nine, Adams eighty-four, Crawford forty-one, and Clay thirty-seven. But when the final vote was reached in the House, Adams had thirteen States, Crawford four, and Jackson only seven.

Of the difficulties attending the office of President, all of which are of the utmost gravity, none is so pressing and demands an early settlement so much as counting the electoral vote. So little time is now allowed between the meeting of the electors and the count of the vote, and party excitement is then usually at fever heat, that in case of a close or controverted election, we may reasonably fear dangerous or disastrous results. It is indispensable that some mode should be adopted disposing of all litigated matters before the two Houses assemble to count the vote. There is no reason why Congress itself should not do this. It would be easy enough to bring all disputes, if any existed, before that body early in the session, and let them be settled if necessary to the exclusion of all other business. And when considered, let it be done as by the defunct twenty-second joint rule—"immediately and without debate"—but judicially, fully, and fairly. Take time to ascertain all the facts; allow reasonable debate. Congress meets the first Monday in December; the vote is not counted till February—a period ample to allow for the most complete and exhaustive examination of any and all questions likely to arise out of or touching a Presidential election.

Or, if deemed better, pass a law, providing, when any controversy arises, for the appointment by the joint vote of the two houses of Congress of a commission, say of nine persons, who shall immediately assemble and hear and determine, like a court, all points submitted to it. It can't be said now that this would be unconstitutional, because Congress set the precedent of delegating the decision of such questions when it constituted the Electoral Commission. The adoption of either plan would give opportunities for a full hearing, and leave to Congress, when the time for counting the vote arrived, only the duty of making a formal count and declaring the result.

Of the three departments of our Government, two—the legislative and judicial—are not required, either by the constitution, or the exigencies of the public service, to be always on duty. Congress only remains in session three months every second year. The courts have their regular terms, and their vacations, when they may be said to be in a dormant state. But not so with the Executive—it can't adjourn—its duties are constant, and there is not a day, not an hour, that it has not something to do. It, in an especial manner, needs to be complete and perfect in all its parts.

John W. Johnston

MY FIRST AND LAST SIGHT OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

There is no more vivid or apparently indelible impression on the tablet of my memory than my first and last sight of President Lincoln; and the circumstances connected therewith are equally well remembered. The first occasion was when he called on President Buchanan, in company with Senator Seward, on the 23d of February, 1861, and the last was when he excused himself from making a speech at the Executive Mansion on the evening of April 10, 1865, the next day after Lee's surrender.

It is generally known that Mr. Lincoln arrived in Washington, unannounced, several hours before he was expected by the public at large. It was supposed that he would rest at Harrisburg over night, and probably not more than three or four persons were cognizant of his intention to come directly through without stopping. Indeed, it was stated at the time that he kept this intention entirely to himself, but it was doubtless known to his traveling companions, Mr. Lammon, afterward Marshal of the District of Columbia, and Mr. E. J. Allen, as well as to Senator Seward. None of the railroad officials on the train, either from Harrisburg to Baltimore, or from Baltimore to Washington, knew he was on board. Great preparations for his reception had been made, both at Baltimore and Washington; and as late as eleven o'clock, after his arrival, in the morning of the 23d, active preparations were in progress to send the contemplated extra train for him to Baltimore. Shortly before six o'clock of that morning, somewhat to the wonder of the few around at that early hour, Senator Seward was seen waiting at Willard's Hotel, where rooms had been quietly engaged for Mr. Lincoln the previous day. He had not long to wait before Mr. Lincoln arrived, and was immediately escorted to his rooms by Mr. Seward, who left him alone for rest. At nine o'clock A.M., Mr. Lincoln received his breakfast in his private parlor, and his presence was so little known in the city that it was one o'clock in the afternoon before any callers came to see him.

About eleven in the morning, in company with Mr. Seward, Mr. Lincoln went to pay his respects to the President. There was a special meeting of the Cabinet that forenoon, and it was in session when the door-keeper came in and handed the President a card. With a look of pleasant surprise, Mr. Buchanan said, "Uncle Abe is down-stairs!" and immediately

went to meet him in the red room.* In the course of fifteen or twenty minutes he returned with Mr. Lincoln and Governor Seward, who were presented to the members of the Cabinet, and after a few minutes' conversation of no special importance, the visitors left to call on General Scott. Although I was living in Washington while Mr. Lincoln was a member of Congress, I had no recollection of having ever seen him before. I was at once struck by his tall, lank figure, towering, as it did, almost head and shoulders above Senator Seward, and even overtopping President Buchanan, as they entered the room. I was equally impressed, also, by his quiet, unaffected manner and placid disposition. I did not observe in him the least sign of nervousness or deep concern; and there is good reason to believe that, "with malice towards none, with charity for all," he felt confident of being able to gain the good-will of the Southern malcontents and of soon bringing the seceding States back to their proper relations in the Federal Government. The Peace Convention was then in session, and hopes of an amicable settlement had not yet been abandoned. But, alas! alas!! Instead of allowing wisdom to assert its control, the madness of folly bore sway, and for four long years the country was deluged in blood!

The news of Lee's surrender was received at the War Department just before nine o'clock Sunday evening, the 9th of April, 1865, and ere the dawn of day the citizens were awakened by the sound of cannon proclaiming the joyful tidings. Soon crowds of people, accompanied by bands of music, passed through the streets, singing the "Star-Spangled Banner," "Rally Round the Flag, Boys," and other patriotic songs. The courts met and adjourned, and nearly all business was suspended. The clerks in the various offices were dismissed for the day, and hundreds of them, augmented by throngs of other citizens, gathered on the south steps and sidewalk of the Interior Department, and unitedly raised their voices to the grand old tune of "Old Hundred" in singing

"Praise God from whom all blessings flow."

Never in my life had I heard those words sound so sweetly or seem to touch the heart so tenderly. I was on my way to the Post Office Department, where I found Postmaster-General Dennison in the main hall of the second story making a congratulatory address to a crowd assembled around him. About ten o'clock, a line, composed of nearly two thousand persons, mostly from the Navy Yard and vicinity, and constantly increasing, passed

*[The writer of this article was one of the members of President Buchanan's Cabinet at the time.—EDITOR.]

along Pennsylvania Avenue, headed by the Marine Band, and with two small howitzers in the rear, which were fired at intervals. On reaching the White House, after several airs by the band, loud calls were made for the President, when he shortly appeared at a front chamber window, and was greeted with hearty cheering. The band now struck up the stirring tune, "America," and was joined vocally in the words,

"My country, 'tis of thee I sing,"

by the assembled multitude. It was some minutes before order was restored, when, after a moment's stillness, Mr. Lincoln said :

"I am greatly rejoiced, my friends, that an occasion has occurred on which the people cannot restrain themselves. I suppose arrangements are being made to appropriately celebrate this glorious event this evening or to-morrow evening. I will have nothing to say then, if it is all dribbled out of me now. I see you have a band. I propose having this interview closed by the band performing a patriotic tune, which I will name. Before this is done, however, I wish to mention one or two little circumstances connected with it. I have always thought that '*Dixie*' was one of the best tunes I had ever heard. Our adversaries over the way, I know, have attempted to appropriate it. [Applause.] I referred the question to the Attorney-General, and he gives it as his legal opinion that it is now our property. [Laughter and applause.] I now ask the band to favor us with its performance."

The band responded most heartily, to the delight of all present, and the crowd proceeded to call on Secretary Stanton, who declined speaking on the plea of ill health. He, however, introduced General Halleck, who said :

"Always ready as I am to obey the orders of my superior officer, the Hon. Secretary of War, I hardly think he will go so far as to require me to become a stump-speaker. [Laughter, cheers, and cries, 'The people require it; it is a military necessity.'] Stump-speaking, my friends, is something in which I have never indulged. I can only say that our congratulations and thanks are due to General Grant and our brave generals and soldiers, in the field, for the great victory announced this morning, and for the blessing of peace, of which it is the harbinger." [Applause.]

Secretary Welles was next called on at his house, when he appeared and merely bowed his thanks for the honor. About five o'clock in the afternoon, several hundred persons assembled in and around the portico of the White House in expectation of a speech from the President. After repeated calls, Mr. Lincoln appeared at the centre window over the front

door, and, as soon as the cheering with which he was received ceased, he spoke substantially as follows :

"I appear, my friends, in response to your call, for the purpose of saying that if the present company have assembled by appointment, there is some mistake. More or less people have been gathered all day, and in the exuberance of good feeling—all of which was greatly justifiable—have called on me to say something. I have said what was proper to be said for the present. Some mistake has crept into the understanding, if you think a meeting was appointed for this evening. [Voices: 'We want to hear you now.'] I have appeared before larger audiences than the present during the day, and have said to them what I now desire to repeat. With reference to the great good news, I suppose there is to be some further demonstration, and perhaps to-morrow would suit me better than now, as in that case I should be better prepared. I would therefore say that I am willing, and hope to be ready, to say something then. [Applause.] Occupying the position I do, I think I ought to be particular, as all I say gets into print. A mistake hurts you and the country, and I try not to make mistakes. [A voice: 'You have never made any.'] If agreeable to have a general demonstration to-morrow evening, I will try and say something, in which, at least, I shall be careful to avoid making any mistakes."

Thanking those present for the call, the President bade them good-night, and retired amid the cheers of the assemblage. I never saw him again. Throughout this brief address his face wore a benignant and satisfied expression, which told plainly of the unspeakable relief the surrender of Lee had brought to him. I could but remark the great change from his usually sad look to one, I might say, almost angelic; and I am fortunate to possess his photograph taken while in this happy state of mind at that time. He delivered his contemplated speech to an immense crowd on the following evening—his last public address on earth.

Horatio King

PIUS IX. AND THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY

When the Confederate Government was founded at Montgomery, Alabama, its President, Jefferson Davis, appointed a joint commission to visit Europe and secure the recognition of the Confederate States by the European governments. It consisted of Wm. L. Yancey, Alabama's most gifted orator, Judge Rost, of Louisiana, and A. Dudley Mann. Of the three, Mr. Mann was most intimately connected with the results. To the younger generation Mr. Mann is probably unknown, as his public career ended with the downfall of the Confederacy. He was born in Virginia in 1801, and while still a boy accompanied his father to Kentucky. After a short course at West Point, he resigned and went to Washington in 1823, and there mingled with all the great statesmen of the time. In 1841, President Tyler sent him to Europe, as consul to Bremen. His next mission—from President Polk—was to arrange certain commercial treaties with the then independent German States; and at another time he was sent as confidential agent of the United States, at the moment when Hungary was struggling for her independence against the combined force of Russia and Austria. Mr. Mann's instructions gave him full power to recognize that independence, whenever he thought that such a recognition would be to the advantage of the country. He remained in Hungary until all hope of her ultimate success was gone, and then returned to Washington. On his return, the Austrian Government, through its minister, the Chevalier Hulseman, charged him with having been a spy, declaring that if he or any other American should dare to return to Hungary he would be treated as a spy, and punished accordingly. Daniel Webster, then Secretary of State, came to the rescue, and ably defended Mr. Mann, declaring that the United States Government was ready to defend its position with every ship and every soldier at its disposal. The controversy ended with a letter from the Austrian Minister which Webster accepted as an apology. During President Taylor's administration, Mr. Mann was sent abroad to negotiate a treaty with Switzerland, in which he was eminently successful. He refused to accept an office from Buchanan and retired from active political life. Jefferson Davis sent for him and urged him to become one of the joint commission, and Mr. Mann accepted this responsible mission.

Shortly after their appointment, Mr. Yancey and Judge Rost, thinking they would have trouble if their voyage was delayed, sailed for Europe by way of New Orleans. Mr. Mann was strongly urged to follow their example, but he desired to see how matters were in Washington and sail from New York. His stay in Washington was fraught with danger, and his arrest was ordered by President Lincoln. Through the intercession of his friends, however, the order was canceled, but he was advised to leave Washington as soon as possible. This he did, reaching New York, where he saw many friends, who assured him there would be no war between the States. He sailed from New York on the *Europa*, March 30, 1861, and that was the last time he ever saw the United States. He arrived in London about a fortnight before his colleagues. When Mr. Yancey and Judge Rost arrived they sought an interview with the English Government, but succeeded only in meeting Lord Palmerston, Russell, and other members of the Parliament. The feeling in England they found to be favorable to the South, although there was no disposition to recognize the Confederacy. Mr. Mann discovered that the question of slavery did not "weigh a feather's weight in the scale." In France, the higher classes looked at the slavery question in the same light as did the English. Mr. Mann did not, however, visit France in his official capacity. He had no confidence in Louis Napoleon, as he thought he played throughout a double-faced policy on the American war question. But Mason and Slidell felt confident of persuading Napoleon to recognize the Confederacy.

With the arrival in London of Mason and Slidell, the joint commission was dissolved. Mr. Mason was assigned to duty in London, Mr. Slidell in Paris, Judge Rost in Spain, and Mr. Mann in Belgium and Central Europe. Mr. Yancey returned to America, and soon after entered the Confederate Senate from Alabama. Of all the commissioners, Mr. Mann succeeded the best. On arriving in Belgium, he found King Leopold cordially and favorably disposed toward the South—more so, in fact, than any other European ruler. But the general policy of all the continental governments at that time was to await the action of England and France. Mr. Mann had, also, a commission to Russia, but as he was not sanguine of success in that country, he did not go there. While in Belgium, he received a special commission to the government of the Pontifical States. This forms a most interesting chapter in the foreign diplomacy of the Confederacy. It is one concerning which the most contradictory statements have been given to the public. It is an event in which Mr. Mann played an important part, and his statements concerning it carry that weight which is due to authority only.

In 1862, his Holiness Pius IX. addressed open letters to the archbishops of New Orleans and New York, in which he urged them and their clergy to use all their efforts toward the restoration of peace and tranquillity in the United States. Jefferson Davis deemed it proper and politic to convey to his Holiness his own and the thanks of the people of the South for the sympathy, charity, and deep feeling which he displayed in his epistles. This letter Mr. Mann received while at Brussels, under date of the 23d of September. With it he received instructions from the Confederate State Department to proceed immediately to Rome and deliver it to the Pope, and also a commission from Mr. Davis appointing him a special envoy to the Holy See. In his letter to the Pontiff, Mr. Davis wrote that he was "deeply sensible of the Christian charity and sympathy with which his Holiness had twice appealed to the venerable clergy of his church, urging them to use and apply all study and exertion for the restoration of peace and tranquillity, and that he deemed it his duty to inform his Holiness that this people, at whose hearth-stones the enemy is now pressing with threats of dire oppression and merciless carnage, are now and ever have been earnestly desirous that this wicked war shall cease; that we have offered at the footstool of our Father who is in Heaven, prayers inspired by the same feeling which animate your Holiness; that we desire no evil to our enemies, nor do we covet any of their possessions; but we are only struggling to the end that they shall cease to devastate our land and inflict useless and cruel slaughter upon our people; and that we may be permitted to live at peace with all mankind under our own laws and institutions, which protect every man in the enjoyment, not only of his temporal rights, but in worshiping God according to his own faith." With this letter, Mr. Mann at once proceeded to Rome, reaching that city on the 9th of November. He sought and promptly obtained an interview with the Cardinal Secretary of State, Antonelli, to whom he made known the object of his mission. Politically, Antonelli was emphatically the State. He has been recognized as one of the best informed statesman of his time. His channels for obtaining intelligence from every quarter of the globe were more diversified and reliable than those of Louis Napoleon. His worst enemies, while claiming that he was utterly unscrupulous as to the means he employed, that he resorted to the most violent and perfidious measures as the surest means of accelerating the moment of deliverance and power, yet accorded to him abilities of the highest order. There can be little doubt that no other man could have saved the temporal power of the Pope as long as he saved it. Cool and judicious, courageous and resolute, he was eminently fitted to be ruler of any nation.

Cardinal Antonelli instantly assured Mr. Mann that he would obtain for him an audience with the Pontiff; he expressed his "unbounded admiration of the wonderful powers of resistance the Southern people had shown in a war prosecuted with energy and aided by the employment of all the recent improvements in the instruments for the destruction of life and property, unparalleled, perhaps, in the world's history." He asked Mr. Mann several questions concerning President Davis, remarking that he certainly had created for himself a name that would rank with those of the most illustrious statesmen of modern times. He expressed an earnest desire for the cessation of hostilities, and observed that there was nothing that the Holy See could do with propriety to bring about such a result that it was not ready and prepared to do.

Two days after his interview with Cardinal Antonelli, Mr. Mann received formal notification that the Pontiff would receive him the following day at noon, and that his own secretary, Mr. Grayson Mann, could assist at the audience. Accordingly, at the time appointed they proceeded to the Vatican, and were at once conducted to the presence of his Holiness. They were graciously welcomed by him and a spirited conference ensued. The Pope remarked that he had been so afflicted by the horrors of the war in the United States that he was constrained to write to the archbishops of New Orleans and New York, urging them to use all their influence in bringing about as speedy as possible a termination of the hostilities between the North and South. Mr. Mann, with a few prefatory remarks, proffered the letter from Mr. Davis to the Pope, who took it, looked for a moment at the address, then at the seal, and, finally taking up his shears, cut the envelope. After glancing at it he remarked:

"I see it is in English—a language which I do not understand."

"If it will be agreeable to your Holiness," replied Mr. Mann, "my secretary will interpret its contents to you."

The Pope cordially acquiesced, and the translation was made in French, during which Mr. Mann carefully watched the countenance of the Pontiff. How he was impressed may be given best in Mr. Mann's own words:

"A sweeter expression of pious affection, of tender benignity never adorned the face of mortal man. No picture can adequately represent him when exclusively absorbed in Christian contemplation. Every sentence of the letter appeared to sensibly affect him; at the conclusion of each he would lay his hand upon the desk and bow his head approvingly. When the passage was reached wherein Mr. Davis stated in such sublime and affecting language, 'that we have offered up at the footstool of our Father who is in Heaven, prayers inspired by the same feelings which animate your

Holiness,' his deep sunken orbs visibly moistened and were upturned toward that throne on which ever sits the Prince of Peace. The soul of infidelity—if indeed infidelity have a soul—would have melted at sight of so sacred a spectacle." At the conclusion of the translation there was a pause for some minutes, which was broken by the Pope inquiring whether Mr. Davis was a Catholic. He was answered in the negative. He then asked Mr. Mann if he was a Catholic, and was told that he was not. His Holiness then turned the conversation on the war, remarking that the Northern Government had endeavored to create an impression abroad that they were fighting for the abolition of slavery, and perhaps it might be judicious to consent to gradual emancipation. Mr. Mann replied that the subject of slavery was one over which the government of the Confederate States, like that of the United States, had no control whatever; that all ameliorations with regard to the institution must proceed from the states themselves, which were as sovereign in their character in this respect as Great Britain, France, or any other power; that true philanthropy shuddered at the thought of the liberation of the slave in the manner attempted by the North; that such a procedure would be practically to convert the well-cared-for civilized negro into a semi-barbarian; that such of the slaves as had been captured or decoyed were in an incomparably worse condition than while in the service of their masters; that they wished to return to their old homes, the love of which was the strongest of their affections; that if, indeed, African slavery was an evil, there was a power which in its own good time would doubtless remove that evil in a more gentle manner than that of causing the earth to be deluged with blood for its sudden overthrow.

After a lapse of twenty-three years, we can see how the sentiments embodied in this answer seem altogether unfounded. They, however, were received by the Pope with an approving expression, who remarked that Mr. Mann had reason to be proud of the self-sacrificing devotion of his countrymen to the cause for which they were contending. "The most ample reason," Mr. Mann replied, "and yet scarcely so much as of my countrywomen whose sorrows and privations, whose transformation, in many instances, from luxury to penury are unparalleled, and could not be adequately described by any living language. What they were in the commencement they still are, more resolute if possible, than ever, emulating in their devotion to the cause—earthly though it was in its character—those holy spirits who were the last at the cross and the first at the sepulchre." His Holiness received this statement with evident satisfaction, and said he would like to do anything that could effectually be done, or

that even promised good results, to aid in putting an end to a most terrible war which was harming the good of all the earth, if he only knew how to proceed. After a little more conversation, the Pope said :

"I will write a letter for you to convey to Mr. Davis of such a character that it may be published for general perusal." "I expressed my heartfelt gratification at this promise," writes Mr. Mann, "and that terminated one of the most remarkable conferences that ever a foreign representative had with one of the potentates of this earth. Even after this lapse of time, I cannot help but think how majestic was the conduct of the government of the Pontifical States in its bearing toward me, when contrasted with the sneaking subterfuges to which the other European governments had recourse in order to evade intercourse with our commissioners."

The Pope was true to his words. A few days after the conference, Cardinal Antonelli transmitted to Mr. Mann the Pope's answer to Mr. Davis. It was written in the Latin language, of which a version was made as follows :

"To the Illustrious and Honorable Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States of America :

"Illustrious and Honorable Sir—GREETING : We recently received, with all the kindness due to him, the envoy sent by your Excellency to convey to us your letter dated the 23d of the month of September of the present year. It was certainly a cause of no ordinary rejoicing to us to be informed by this gentleman and by the letter of your Excellency, of the lively satisfaction you experienced and of the deep sense of gratitude you entertain toward us. Illustrious and honorable Sir, when you first perused Our letters addressed to those Venerable Brothers, John, Archbishop of New York, and John, Archbishop of New Orleans, on the 18th of October of last year, in which we again and again strongly urged and exhorted those Venerable Brothers, on account of their great piety and episcopal solicitude, to make it the object of their constant efforts and of their earnest study, acting thus in Our name, to put an early end to that fatal civil war prevailing in that country, and to re-establish among the American people peace and concord, as well as feelings of mutual charity and love. It was peculiarly gratifying to Us to hear that you, illustrious and honorable sir, as well as the people whom you govern, are animated by the same desire for peace and tranquillity which We so earnestly inculcated in the letters referred to, addressed to the said Venerable Brothers. Would to God that the other inhabitants of those regions (the Northern people) and their rulers, seriously reflecting upon the fearful nature of intestine warfare, might in a dispassionate mood hearken to and adopt the counsels of

peace! We on Our part shall not cease offering up Our most fervent prayers to Almighty God, begging and supplicating Him in His goodness to pour out upon all the people of America a spirit of Christian charity and peace, and to rescue them from the multitudes of evil now afflicting them. We also pray the same all-clement Lord of Mercies to shine upon your Excellency the light of his divine grace, and to unite you and Ourselves in bonds of perfect love. Given at Rome at St. Peter's, the 3d day of December, 1863, in the Eighteenth year of our Pontificate." (Signed) Pius, P. P. IX.

His mission being thus successfully accomplished, Mr. Mann concluded to return to London. Before leaving Rome he had a second interview with Cardinal Antonelli. Although he intended it to be a short one, the Cardinal became so much interested in the communications which Mr. Mann made to him that it was prolonged for nearly an hour. In the course of the conference, the Cardinal informed Mr. Mann that the acting representative of the United States had seen him the day before in order to remonstrate against the facilities afforded by the government of the Holy See to "rebels" for entering and sojourning in Rome. The Cardinal said he had replied, that he intended to take all such "rebels" under his special protection, because it would be asking too much of humanity to expect them to take an oath of allegiance to a country they bitterly detested. Frequently he would take Mr. Mann's hand and exclaim: "Mon cher monsieur, your Government has accomplished prodigies alike in the Cabinet and in the field."

Along with the Pontiff's letter to Mr. Davis, Mr. Mann sent the following dispatch to the late Judah P. Benjamin, Secretary of State: "The Cardinal Secretary of State, Antonelli, officially transmitted to me yesterday the answer of the Pope to the President. In the very direction of this communication there is a positive recognition of our Government. It is addressed 'To the Illustrious and Honorable Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States of America.' Thus we are acknowledged by as high authority as this world contains to be an independent power of the earth. I congratulate you. I congratulate the President. I congratulate his Cabinet; in short, I congratulate all my true-hearted countrymen and countrywomen upon this benign event. The hand of the Lord has been in it, and eternal glory and praises be to His holy and righteous name. The example of the Sovereign Pontiff, if I am not mistaken, will exercise a salutary influence upon both the Catholic and Protestant governments of western Europe. Humanity will be aroused everywhere to the importance of its earnest emulation. I have studiously endeavored to prevent the

appearance of any telegraphic or other communications in the newspapers in relation to my mission. The nature of it is, however, generally known in official circles here, and it has been mentioned in one or two journals here. The letters, in my opinion, ought to be officially published at Richmond under a call for the correspondence by one or the other branch of Congress. In the meantime I shall communicate to the European press, probably through the medium of the *London Times*, the substance of the letters. I regard such a procedure as of primary importance in view of the interests of peace, and I am quite sure that the Holy Father would rejoice at seeing those interests benefited in this or any other effective manner."

Whether the other leaders of the Confederacy interpreted the Pope's letter in the same way, and attached the same value to it as exercising a salutary influence upon the European governments in their bearing toward the South is not known. Mr. Davis was not heard from officially on the subject. Perhaps the only exception was the Secretary of State, Judah P. Benjamin. In a letter to Mr. Mann, he maintained that the best influence of the Pope's letter would be, no doubt, to produce a check to the foreign enlistments made by the United States; that as a recognition of the Confederate States, it was of little value, being a mere inferential recognition, unconnected with political action or the regular establishment of diplomatic relations, possessing none of the moral weight required for awakening the people of the United States from their delusion that those States still remain members of the old Union; and that the Pope's address to Mr. Davis as "President of the Confederate States" was a mere formula of politeness to his correspondent, not a political recognition of the fact.

Such was the opinion of a great lawyer and statesman. The facts of the case have been given, and now that a decade has passed, it remains for the public to judge for themselves whether the epistle of Pope Pius IX. to Jefferson Davis was a recognition of the Confederacy.

J. Algernon Peters.

FROM CEDAR MOUNTAIN TO CHANTILLY *

I

ALONG THE RAPPAHANNOCK

THE withdrawal of Jackson behind the Rapidan left our cavalry corps free to re-occupy the positions it had held prior to the Cedar Mountain battle, and accordingly its line of outposts was again extended from Raccoon Ford to the Blue Ridge. On the 14th of August, General Pope was joined at Culpeper Court House by General Reno with his own and Stevens' Division, of Burnside's Corps, which had been called from North Carolina, and had arrived by way of Newport News and Acquia Creek. These two divisions, eight thousand strong, were Pope's first re-inforcement. Jackson's retrograde movement was followed up as far as Robertson River by the First Corps, under Sigel, whose command in its new position held the right, while McDowell's, at Cedar Mountain, held the center, Reno's, at Raccoon Ford, the left, and Banks', at Culpeper, the reserve of the Army of Virginia.

By this time General Lee's forces disengaged at Richmond were pushing rapidly northward. His army had been organized into two grand divisions or wings—right and left—and had an effective force variously estimated at from 55,000 to 65,000 men. Its right wing, under Longstreet, was already at Gordonsville, ten miles south of the Rapidan, and was joined there, August 15, by General Lee in person. The left wing (Jackson's Corps) had preceded the right in this movement just a month, and now held the south bank of the Rapidan River.† General Pope's position between the Rapidan and the Rappahannock was an indefensible one, inviting attack. His only line of railway communication extended across the enemy's line of advance, and was greatly exposed to hostile forays. Nevertheless, he was disposed to hold his advanced position as long as possible in order to gain time for the withdrawal of the Army of the Poto-

† The itinerary of General Lee's northward movement up to this time may be thus summarized: Jackson, with two divisions—his own and Ewell's—was ordered to Gordonsville, July 13; arrived there and established outposts on the Rapidan, July 19; was joined by A. P. Hill's Division, July 27; advanced across the Rapidan, August 8; fought at Cedar Mountain, August 9; returned to the Rapidan, August 11 and 12; the infantry divisions of Longstreet, Hood, and R. H. Anderson, and the main body of Stuart's cavalry were ordered to Gordonsville, August 13. Lee arrived there August 15, and was joined by most of the remainder of his veteran troops still at Richmond about the time McClellan disappeared from Harrison's Landing.

mac from the Peninsula, and its approach as then intended, by way of Acquia Creek and Falmouth.

General Lee, impatient to assail Pope before he could be re-inforced, and hoping to catch him between the two rivers, assembled his army on the south bank of the Rapidan from Raccoon Ford to Liberty Mills, ready for a sudden push northward. His plan and orders given were to cross the Rapidan on the 18th of August, but his movement was delayed until the 20th. Meanwhile General Pope was warned by a lucky chance of the designs against him. A cavalry expedition which he had sent out on the 16th toward Louisa Court House captured on the person of General J. E. B. Stuart's adjutant-general an autograph letter of Lee's dated at Gordonsville, August 15, betraying his purposes. Pope lost no time in profiting by this information, and gave orders for the immediate withdrawal of his army behind the Rappahannock, the line of which he was instructed to defend. The wagon trains were first put in motion, and preceded the troops, those of Reno moving by way of Stevensburg to Kelly's Ford, and those of Banks and McDowell crossing the Rappahannock at the point where that river is intersected by the Orange and Alexandria railroad. Sigel, having occupied the most westerly position, was ordered to move by way of Culpeper and Jefferson, and cross the Rappahannock at White Sulphur Springs. By these routes the different columns, screened by the cavalry, withdrew rapidly to their new defensive position.

From the beginning of this retrograde movement until its end at the close of the campaign, the enormous baggage and supply trains accompanying the army were a troublesome encumbrance. To dispose of and protect them without hinderance to the rapid and intricate movements of the troops required much skill and forecast. Unfortunately our regiments had not yet learned how to get along with a minimum allowance of baggage, or no baggage at all, and the proportion of wheels carried was much greater than was customary later in the war.

Sigel's movement from Robertson River began on the 17th, and during the whole of the following night Milroy's brigade, which followed the First Corps trains, waited for them to get on the road. Time and again during the night the brigade quitted its bivouacs, expecting to begin its march, but had to return to its camp-fires and smother its impatience. There seemed to be no end to the sluggish caravan, and the sun was already up when the column got fairly into motion.

At noon we reached the Cedar Mountain battle-field, and at dusk marched once more through the sullenly secession town of Culpeper. The movement continued far into the night, and was resumed early the

following morning. The weather was still fiercely hot. At evening, on the 19th, Sigel's Corps reached Warrenton, Sulphur Springs, and there crossed the Rappahannock. Next morning, by Pope's order, it reversed its course, and moved down the left bank of the river, until it joined the right of McDowell's Corps, which, in turn, connected with the forces of Reno, who had crossed the day before at Kelly's Ford. The entire body of cavalry was sent to the right of Sigel to watch the enemy's movements and picket the line of the Rappahannock, which, in its upper part, is but an inconsiderable stream, offering no serious obstacle to the advance of an army.

Thus General Pope nimbly escaped from the trap laid for him, much to the chagrin, no doubt, of the Confederate commander, who was prompt, however, to follow up our movement, and early on the 20th attacked and drove in our pickets. The position of our army was now a strong one, as against front attack, and the enemy, not being able to force a passage of the river without great loss, contented himself with heavy skirmishing and artillery dueling through the 20th. By night-fall the bulk of Lee's forces had been brought up from the Rapidan, and confronted Pope's new position from his extreme left at Kelly's Ford to a point beyond his extreme right, which rested about three miles above Rappahannock station.

It was now manifest that unless Pope should be largely re-inforced, or should withdraw from the line of the Rappahannock, he could not prevent the enemy from turning his right by way of Sulphur Springs, and marching on Warrenton, from whence a good turnpike leads directly to Washington. Obviously intending a movement of this kind, Lee's column pushed steadily on up the west bank of the river. Pope, it should be borne in mind, was still under orders to keep himself in close communication with Fredericksburg, from whence the Army of the Potomac was expected to approach after landing at Acquia Creek. These instructions were coupled with positive assurances that all necessary help would be given for carrying them into execution, as witness the following, dispatched to Pope on the 18th by General Halleck from Washington :

"I fully approve your movement. I hope to push Burnside's forces to near Barnett's Ford by to-morrow night, to assist you in holding that pass. *Stand firm on the line of the Rappahannock till I can help you. Fight hard, and aid will soon come.*"

And this, on the 21st :

"I have telegraphed General Burnside to know at what hour he can re-inforce Reno. Am waiting his answer. *Every effort must be made to hold the Rappahannock. Large forces will be in to-morrow.*"

And this, later on the same day :

"I have just sent General Burnside's reply. General Cox's forces are coming in from Parkersburg, and will be here to-morrow or next day. Dispute every inch of ground, and fight like the devil until we can reinforce you. *Forty-eight hours more and we can make you strong enough.* Don't yield an inch if you can help it."

These instructions and promises of Halleck, of course, implied and anticipated the speedy arrival of the Army of the Potomac. The order for the withdrawal of that army from the Peninsula was given on the 4th of August. It was directed to proceed to Fortress Monroe, and thence by transports up the Chesapeake Bay and the Potomac River to the Acquia Creek landing. After much hesitation, General McClellan began embarking his forces at Harrison's Bar, as if intending to carry his whole command—sick, cavalry and all—from that point by water. Impelled from Washington, he marched the bulk of his forces by land to Fortress Monroe, but the last of his army did not get away from Harrison's Bar until the 16th of August. Meanwhile, as early as the 13th, Lee had started Longstreet's Corps by rail for Gordonsville. Thus the enemy had ample time and opportunity to make his concentration in front of Pope, for the moment the Army of the Potomac set out for Fortress Monroe it was completely "put out of the fight." During the period of its transit northward from the James River and to the front, lasting from ten to fifteen days, its military potentiality ceased to exist. Moreover, by taking a roundabout course on transports, instead of marching directly northward overland, as Sherman afterward did through the Carolinas, instead of embarking his army, as requested, at Savannah, the troops became separated from their wagon transportation, and were obliged to go to the front scantily supplied with food and ammunition.

General Pope's estimate of his effective force at this time, after allowing for losses by fighting and sickness, is 40,000 men. Probably it did not exceed 45,000, including Reno's two divisions. Most of our troops were constantly in motion or under fire, and owing to their perpetual changes of position were imperfectly fed. It was very difficult to keep the supply trains within reach and yet out of the way of the shifting columns. The troops, therefore, often went hungry simply because the quartermasters could not follow or find them. Along the river the skirmish firing was incessant, and from the heights on the opposite banks the batteries hammered each other with unflagging persistency.

On the 20th, Pope was confronted from Kelly's Ford northward by Longstreet, and farther up, toward Beverly Ford, by Jackson. The rail-

way crossing at Rappahannock Station was still in our possession, with a *tête-de-pont* on the south bank of the Rappahannock held by a brigade. On the 21st, the enemy extended his left still farther northward, his infantry and artillery often moving in plain view of ours on the hills skirting the west bank of the river. Nevertheless a strong show of force continued to be made in front of our own left, in the vicinity of Rappahannock Station.

FREEMAN'S FORD

On the 22d Jackson, holding the Confederate left, moved up the west bank of the river as far as Warrenton Sulphur Springs, and there threw across one of his brigades (Early's), which advanced to a position behind Great Run. Sigel, holding our right with the First Corps, made a corresponding movement along the east bank, and at Freeman's Ford sent across the Seventy-fourth Pennsylvania, Colonel Schimmelpfennig, to reconnoiter. Part of Sigel's artillery, including Buell's, Dilger's, and Wiedrich's batteries, had meanwhile been hotly engaged at the Ford, and Captain Frank Buell, a valuable officer of the First West Virginia Artillery, had been killed.

The river was, at this point, about 250 yards wide, and waist deep. Having gained the west bank by fording, Schimmelpfennig captured some wagons and stragglers, and discovered a Confederate force marching parallel to the river with its flank and wagon trains exposed. Reporting these facts, he asked for re-inforcements, and accordingly General Bohlen led over his remaining regiments—the Eighth West Virginia and Sixty-first Ohio. General Schurz, commanding the division, and Captains Spraul and Tiedemann, of his staff, accompanied the movement. Sigel deemed this a good opportunity to cut Lee's army in two,* and was about to follow Schurz with the entire First Corps, when he found that the river was rising, and that his pontoon train—the only one in the army—had been ordered away by General McDowell.

Bohlen attacked vigorously and at first successfully, but he was soon fiercely assailed, in turn, by Trimble's heavy brigade, covering Jackson's rear, and by Hood, who was commanding Longstreet's advance. Under the impetus of this counter attack the Eighth West Virginia broke in disorder, but the Seventy-fourth Pennsylvania and the Sixty-first Ohio—

* That Sigel did not misjudge the situation, and his opportunity, appears from the report of General Trimble, commanding the Confederate force attacked, who says: "As General Ewell's Division was *five or six miles in advance* and General Longstreet's Division *the same distance in the rear*, I deemed it most prudent to hold my brigade on the defensive and endeavor to protect the trains."

the latter led with conspicuous gallantry by Lieutenant-Colonel McGroarty—held their ground stubbornly, and with beating drums and loud cheers renewed the fight. It was not possible, however, for such an unequal contest to last long, nor was it prudent that so small a force as Bohlen's should longer remain detached from the main body, especially as a heavy rain was falling and rapidly increasing the depth of the river. Our troops therefore withdrew, fighting, to the Ford. Covered by our batteries, and by the musketry fire of Milroy's and McLean's brigades, the entire reconnoitering party recrossed to the east bank, though not without some casualties by drowning. During the movement back to the river, and while bravely rallying and directing his men, Brigadier-General Henry Bohlen, an officer of rare ability and accomplishments, fell from his horse mortally wounded. His body was recovered after the fight under flag of truce. Our loss in this affair was about 200 in killed and wounded.*

Sigel was now very anxious, as he had reason to be, about his exposed right flank, and expressed his apprehensions to Pope, who (at 6.30 P. M., 22d) telegraphed from Rappahannock Station to Halleck:

"Everything indicates clearly to me that the enemy's movement will be upon Warrenton, by way of Sulphur Springs. If I could know with anything like certainty by what time to expect troops that are starting from Alexandria, I could act more understandingly. I have not heard of the arrival of any of the forces from Fredericksburg at the fords below, though I have withdrawn nearly the whole of Reno's forces from Kelly's Ford. I cannot move against Sulphur Springs just now without exposing my rear to the heavy force in front of me, and having my communication with the forces coming up the Rappahannock intercepted, and most likely the railroad destroyed. I think it altogether well to bring Franklin's force to Alexandria. Lee made his head-quarters at Culpeper last night. He has the whole of his army in front of me. Its numbers you can estimate as well as myself. As soon as his plans are fully developed I shall be ready to act."

Three hours later Pope telegraphed again to Halleck:

* General Trimble conveys the impression in his report that our loss was much greater. He says: "Our men pursued them closely, and slaughtered great numbers as they waded the river or climbed up the opposite bank. The water was literally covered with dead and wounded."

Trimble further says: "The battle lasted two hours, during which time we drove the enemy one mile." This certainly does not speak badly for the resistance made by Bohlen's little force, for General Hood, who re-inforced Trimble, says in his report: "On my arrival . . . the Texas Brigade being placed on the [Trimble's] right and Colonel Law's on the left, the attack was made at once, General Trimble leading off in the center." Three brigades against three regiments.

"Reports from our forces* near Sulphur Springs just in. Enemy was crossing the river to-day at Sulphur Springs, and on the road from Warrenton to Sperryville. He is still in heavy force at Rappahannock Ford, and above, and my rear is entirely exposed if I move toward Sulphur Springs or Warrenton. I must do one of two things—either fall back and meet Heintzelman† behind Cedar Run‡ or cross the Rappahannock with my whole force, and assail the enemy's flank and rear. I must do one or the other at daylight. Which shall it be? I incline to the latter, but don't wish to interfere with your plans."

To this came the following response, dated August 22, 11 P.M.:

"I think the latter of your two propositions the best. I also think you had better stop Heintzelman's Corps, and the troops of Sturgis and Cox [the latter coming from the Kanawha Valley, the former from Alexandria] as they arrive to-morrow, at Warrenton Junction, instead of taking them to Bealton."

From these dispatches it will be seen that Pope, re-assured from Washington, clung to his expectations of immediate re-inforcement, and that Halleck, encouraging, and himself cherishing this illusion, still inculcated the idea that the Army of Virginia must hold, at all hazards, the line of the Rappahannock. Pope therefore, upon receiving Halleck's answer, resolved to mass his entire force, recross the river by the bridges and fords at Rappahannock Station and Kelly's Ford below, and fall with all his strength upon the flank and rear of the enemy. The chances for the success of this venture were exceedingly few, and its result would probably have been to place both the Rappahannock River and Lee's army between ours and Washington. Fortunately, it was never attempted. During the night a heavy rain-storm set in which caused a rise of six or eight feet in the river, sweeping away the bridges and drowning the fords. The intended movement was thus rendered impracticable, and at the same time a formidable barrier was interposed to the advance of the enemy.

During this same night of the 22d, while Pope was preparing to fall upon the rear of Lee's army, a demonstration was made in his own rear by General J. E. B. Stuart with a Confederate force of 1,500 cavalry and two guns. Passing our right flank by way of Waterloo Bridge and War-

* Sigel's Corps.

† Heintzelman's Corps, of two divisions—Hooker's and Kearny—from the Army of the Potomac. General Pope estimates the strength of this corps at about 10,000. It did not join Pope until August 25.

‡ Cedar Run is a tributary of the Occoquan, with which it unites about twenty miles from Alexandria.

renton, Stuart, in the midst of a furious rain-storm and pitch darkness, surprised Pope's head-quarters train at Catlett's Station, destroyed a few wagons; and set fire to the railway bridge over Cedar Run. Fortunately, the rain put out the fire and saved the bridge. At the time of this raid most of the wagon trains of Pope's army were at or near Catlett's, and were under guard of not less than 1,500 infantry and five companies of cavalry. The shameful negligence of this guard in allowing itself to be surprised needs no comment, and the fact that such a raid as Stuart's was possible tells its own story of the illusive expectation that McClellan's army would by this time be near enough to protect our line of communications.

Having been thwarted, for the time being, in his intended movement to the left, Pope now, as was more prudent, directed his attention to his right. Sigel, convinced that the enemy had outflanked us near the Sulphur Springs crossing, proposed to withdraw his corps to Beverly Ford or Bealton, with a view to concentrating the army in that vicinity. Adopting just the reverse course, Pope directed Sigel (at 7.15 A.M., 23d) to march upon Sulphur Springs, attack and beat whatever opposing force he might encounter, and push along the river to Waterloo Bridge. Banks' Corps was ordered to support Sigel's in this movement, and McDowell's Corps, augmented by the Pennsylvania Reserves* under General Reynolds, moved on Warrenton, whither Pope, first ordering that the bridge be destroyed and the works abandoned at Rappahannock Station, directed his own course.

GREAT RUN CREEK

During the afternoon of the 23d, McDowell's advance, accompanied by Pope, occupied Warrenton, which place Stuart's cavalry had quitted a few hours before. Sigel did not get along so smoothly. Late in the afternoon his advance, held as usual by the impetuous Milroy, came upon Early's Brigade in the vicinity of Great Run Creek, and a sharp action ensued, lasting until after dark. During the night the Confederates withdrew across the bridge, burning the bridge. Next morning Sigel crossed Great Run, and, with his entire corps drawn up in line of battle, moved toward Sulphur Springs. No enemy was discovered, for Early, who had been, as he thought, in a position of great peril, had decamped and recrossed the Rappahannock. However, as our lines moved down the slope toward the

* A division of three brigades under Brigadier-general John F. Reynolds. This division, 2,500 strong, arrived from Acquia Creek on the 23d, and was the first re-inforcement received by General Pope from the Army of the Potomac.

Springs, a heavy fire was opened upon them from the Confederate batteries which had been posted all along the west bank of the river. Milroy, who was leading, discovered the enemy in strong force holding the bridge near the Springs, and made dispositions to attack. Sigel, having learned what his frantic subordinate was about, was much vexed, and sent him a peremptory order to "let the bridge alone," and push on toward Waterloo, as he had been instructed to do. Milroy, somewhat crest-fallen, obeyed, and arrived at Waterloo late in the afternoon.

WATERLOO BRIDGE

Buford's cavalry, which had preceded us, had attempted to burn the Waterloo Bridge, and had failed. Something was therefore left for the impetuous Milroy to do which was worthy of his rash and adventurous temper. A strong Confederate force held the high ground on the west bank of the river, and their sharp-shooters made it exceedingly interesting for any one attempting to approach the bridge from our side. However, Milroy's marksmen were tolerably expert in this business, and they soon made it exceedingly interesting for the Confederates. In the Eighty-second Ohio regiment were many hardy deer-hunters and pioneers who were very skillful with the rifle, and to that regiment, under Colonel Cantwell, was confided the perilous duty of setting the bridge on fire. Supported by a furious fusillade of musketry and artillery, some platoons of picked men from the Eighty-second dashed forward to the river, followed by fatigue parties carrying bundles of combustible matter. Amidst a wild tumult of arms the bridge was reached, and in a twinkling fired. A column of smoke and flame, and the cheers of our troops, announced the success of this brave exploit. The destruction of the bridge took place during the afternoon of the 25th.

During the night of the 24th our army was situated as follows: Sigel's Corps extended along the river from Waterloo toward Sulphur Springs; Reno's, near the Springs; Reynold's division, at Warrenton; Ricketts', four miles east of Waterloo, on the Warrenton road; and King's division, between Sulphur Springs and Warrenton.

These dispositions were modified by an order of General Pope's, issued early on the 25th, having in view the formation of a new line of battle extending from Warrenton to Kelly's Ford *via* Bealton. In the meantime, Sigel's situation on the river had become one which caused him great anxiety, and the contradictory and confusing instructions given him aggravated his uneasiness. During the night of the 24th he received an order to move to Fayetteville, so as to take his position on the new line of

battle, but on the morning of the 25th he was directed by General Roberts, Pope's chief of staff, to hold Waterloo Bridge at all hazards. With this latter order the assurance was given to Sigel that he would be supported by McDowell and Buford on the right, and by Banks and Reno on the left. Soon after these instructions and assurances were given the enemy made a strong demonstration at Waterloo Bridge and vicinity, as though he meant to force a crossing. Sigel was alarmed, and looking around for the supports promised him, found they were wanting. Confronted by an enemy of twice his strength, he stood isolated and alone. He discovered that the enemy's cavalry had crossed the river on both his flanks, while before him were twenty-eight regiments of Confederate infantry, with six batteries of artillery and considerable cavalry. At the same time he observed the movement of a large body of the enemy toward his right. Sigel reported to Pope that he believed the enemy to be advancing upon him in force, and received no response. Then came from McDowell (at that time commanding the right wing) a dispatch directed partly to Banks inquiring as to his (Banks') corps, and partly to Sigel directing him to move to Fayetteville. Now, to withdraw in the presence of a formidable foe in broad daylight is a perilous undertaking. Sigel therefore decided to remain where he was until night-fall and then march to Fayetteville, although he did not consider this last a wise thing to do. Meanwhile, a detachment of cavalry which he had sent to Sulphur Springs, under Colonel Beardsley, routed the enemy there, and either by its own cannonade or by that which it provoked, set fire to that village.

At night-fall, just as Sigel was about to set out for Fayetteville, as instructed, he received an order to march to Warrenton. This latter order he put into execution at once. Cautiously the First Corps withdrew from the river, and then marched nearly all night. About three o'clock in the morning the head of column was approaching Warrenton, when Sigel, to his great consternation, was overtaken by an order to force a passage at Waterloo Bridge (which had been burned), and see what was in front of him! This order had been issued by Pope the evening before. Let us trace its history and the reasons which had prompted it.

Up to this time our army had baffled all attempts of the enemy to pass the line of the Rappahannock. As late as the afternoon of the 24th General Pope had not abandoned the idea of holding that line, for he then telegraphed to Halleck his intention of sending a considerable part of his force back to Rappahannock Station. But a crisis was at hand requiring that other plans should be considered. Longstreet's Corps, having arrived from below, made its appearance before Waterloo and relieved Jackson,

who adroitly withdrew westward toward Jefferson. These, in part, were the movements which had alarmed Sigel. Next day (25th) our Signal Corps, from its stations on the high points along the Rappahannock, observed the mysterious departure from the head of Lee's column. A large detachment of the enemy, comprising thirty-six regiments of infantry, with the usual proportion of artillery and cavalry, was seen moving off to the northward, and then inclining to the east in the direction of Salem. For hours the signals reported the movements of this strange detachment, until, at length, it disappeared beyond the farthest range of vision. What did it mean?

When General Pope, apprehending that the enemy intended turning his right, suddenly reversed his purpose of recrossing the Rappahannock by the left, and moved his entire army toward Warrenton, he evidently expected serious resistance in that quarter. But this expectation was not realized. The Confederate force (Early's brigade) which had crossed the river at Sulphur Springs had easily been compelled to recross to the west bank, and now that this supposed flanking movement was thwarted, and appeared to be a feint, what could be the purpose of this new expedition?

General Banks, watching it through the eyes of his signal officer, and perhaps with the memory of Winchester fresh in his mind, reported to Pope August 25, 11.25 A.M. as follows:

"It seems to me apparent that the enemy is threatening or moving upon the Valley of the Shenandoah *via* Front Royal, with designs upon the Potomac—possibly beyond."

And so Pope, at Warrenton Junction, sent to Sigel, at 9.30 P.M., August 25, the following ill-tempered and ill-timed dispatch, already referred to:

"You will force the passage of the river at Waterloo Bridge to-morrow morning at daylight, and see what is in front of you. *I do not believe there is any enemy in force there, but do believe that the whole of their army has marched west and north-west.* I am not satisfied either with your reports or your operations of to-day, and expect to hear to-morrow early something more satisfactory concerning the enemy."

At the same hour Pope dispatched to General McDowell:

"*I believe that the whole force of the enemy has marched for the Shenandoah Valley by way of Luray and Front Royal.* The column which has marched to-day toward Gaines' Cross Roads has turned north, and when last seen was passing under the east base of Buck Mountain, toward Salem and Rectortown. I desire you, as early as possible in the morning, holding Reynolds in reserve at Warrenton or vicinity, to make a reconnois-

sance with your whole corps, and ascertain what is beyond the river at Sulphur Springs."

Inasmuch as Sigel had already quitted the river, as repeatedly ordered to do, and his troops were much fatigued with their all-night march, these reconnoissances were made by King's division and Buford's cavalry, under the direction of General McDowell. They developed the enemy's main force still in front of Waterloo Bridge and Sulphur Springs, where General Sigel had truthfully reported it to be. The belief that Lee's whole army had marched off toward the Shenandoah Valley was therefore a delusion. But how about the northward-moving detachment? Where did that go?

THE MYSTERY SOLVED

The mysterious column was Stonewall Jackson's. Shot like an arrow from Lee's extended line, it swept northward as if aiming, as Generals Pope and Banks believed, for Front Royal, the Potomac, and "possibly beyond," but really making for a widely different destination. Its movement is thus graphically described by a Southern writer:*

"The famous foot cavalry were now called upon to put forth their utmost strength. A long and exhausting march was before them; every moment was precious; Thoroughfare Gap must be reached before the enemy arrived, and the ordinary rules of marching must be changed. So, though recognizing the maxim, that wherever two men can place their feet an army can move, Jackson pushed on beneath the shadow of the Blue Ridge, 'across open fields,' declares one of his men, 'by strange country roads, by a little town in Fauquier called Orleans, on and on, as if he would never cease.' . . . The troops were not permitted to pause for an instant; weary, foot-sore, almost without food, they were still marched steadily forward, and at night, worn out but gay, hungry but full of enthusiasm, they bivouacked near the town of Salem on the Manassas Gap railroad."

. . . "Reaching Salem at midnight, the troops were again in motion at daylight, and passing crowds all welcoming, cheering, staring with blank amazement at the sight of the Confederate troops in that region, pressed on through the plains to Thoroughfare Gap. The mountain gorge was undefended, the enemy had been 'headed off;' and passing rapidly between the frowning ramparts with their belts of dusky pines, Jackson, with his army hungry and exhausted, but resolute as ever, descended like a hawk upon Manassas."

* John Esten Cooke, of General J. E. B. Stuart's staff.

Let the reader keep in his mind this description of Jackson's celerity and energy as a companion piece to other descriptions, soon to be given, of the manner in which some of our own soldiers were led. Cooke proceeds :

"General Stuart was on the right flank of the Confederate column, with a cordon of pickets and net-work of scouting parties, scouring the whole region, and to penetrate Stuart's chain of videttes in any important movement was next to impossible. Had General Pope felt convinced that the force advancing to assail his rear was not a body of cavalry only, but an army corps, under a commander so active and dangerous as Jackson, his operations on the Rappahannock would doubtless have terminated two days sooner. Thoroughfare Gap would have been defended, and the conditions under which the great battles at Manassas were fought would have been changed."

General Pope had valuable hints of what was going on, but he failed to realize their signification. Moreover, the delusion into which he had been led that the Army of the Potomac was rushing to his assistance, induced him to believe that the line upon which that army was supposed to be approaching was sufficiently secure against disturbance. Still, it is hard to understand why Thoroughfare Gap was left wholly unwatched, not to say undefended.

Cooke's narrative continues :

"Thoroughfare Gap was passed ; the open country lay before Jackson, and at Gainesville General Stuart came up with his cavalry and took position on the right flank. It was important to strike the Federal communications immediately, and attack Manassas, if possible, before General Pope received intelligence of the advance upon his rear ; and with this end in view, Jackson hurried forward to Bristoe, a station on the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, four miles from Manassas, which was reached and a small guard captured after sunset (26th). As Stuart approached this place the sound of cars was heard from the direction of Warrenton, and a train was soon seen approaching rapidly. Colonel Munford, of the Second Virginia Cavalry, fired into it, but did not succeed in stopping it. It continued its way and reached Manassas in safety.* Other trains were coming from the same direction, however, and, dividing his force, General Ewell took possession of two points on the railroad, which was obstructed by logs on the track. The trains came on without suspicion, and the result in this case was more satisfactory."

* This train did not stop even at Manassas, but rushed on at full speed, and crashed into a south-bound train loaded with soldiers, which was standing on the track at the Bull Run Bridge. Three soldiers were killed and several wounded by the collision.

The position which Jackson had thus gained, though perilous, gave him every opportunity for mischief, and he proceeded to make the most of it. Without a moment's delay he started a detachment down the railroad and broke it up at Kettle Run, only six miles east of Warrenton Junction. At the same instant another detachment, under Stuart, moved up the railroad intending to seize Manassas Junction, where several million dollars' worth of army supplies was at that time accumulated. In spite of the darkness of the night, and the weariness of his men, who had been marching all day, Stuart made good time, and before midnight (August 26th) reached the Junction, where he surprised and captured the garrison, and made himself master of everything within reach. Cooke thus enumerates the spoils seized by the raiders: Eight pieces of artillery, seventy-two horses and equipments, three hundred prisoners, two hundred negroes, two hundred new tents, one hundred and seventy-five additional horses exclusive of artillery horses, ten locomotives, two railroad trains of enormous size heavily loaded with stores, fifty thousand pounds of bacon, one thousand barrels of beef, twenty thousand barrels of pork, several thousand barrels of flour, and a large quantity of forage. The hungry Confederates helped themselves to everything they could eat or wear, and destroyed the rest, including all public buildings.

At Centerville, eight miles east of the Junction, was Brigadier-General George W. Taylor's New Jersey brigade, which had been sent forward from Alexandria. Learning of the surprise and rout at Manassas, this brigade pushed forward, and at seven o'clock in the morning drove in the Confederate skirmishers posted on the hills skirting Bull Run. Taylor then pushed on, and was permitted to approach within easy range of the fortifications around the Junction, where the enemy's infantry and cavalry awaited him in silence. Suddenly the artillery opened upon him from the breastworks, and his line was driven to the shelter of a neighboring ridge. Here Taylor was assailed by infantry, and made a gallant resistance, but he was obliged to fall back and recross Bull Run. His attack was hopeless from the beginning, for Jackson had by this time come up from Bristoe, and had with him two Confederate divisions. In this affair General Taylor was mortally wounded.

The way now being open eastward, Stuart's cavalry went raiding at will in that direction down the railroad, which was broken up as far east as Burke's Station, within fifteen miles of Alexandria.

Such was the first stage of Jackson's daring raid. It cost us dearly, but it was worth to us every cent it cost provided only we could promptly and fully avail ourselves of the opportunities it gave us. But of that further along.

In a military sense Jackson's exploit seems an impossible one, and it certainly would have been impossible had all the precautions which General Pope says he had provided against it been carried to fulfillment. But in one important particular he was not as vigilant as he should have been. While thinking of his left, and vainly extending his hand in that direction to grasp that of McClellan—a hand, by the way, which he was never able to seize during this campaign*—he set too little store by Sigel's warnings of what was going on upon his right. He, therefore, left the gate-ways of the Bull Run Mountains open. For this he was responsible.

On the other hand, as early as the 22d, he tells us, he had instructed General Sturgis, commanding at Alexandria, to see personally that strong detachments were posted along the railroad from Manassas Junction to Catlett's Station. He had furthermore sent orders to the commandant at the Junction to retain there, as a garrison, the first division that should come from Alexandria, and to push forward all his cavalry toward Thoroughfare Gap. He had also requested General Halleck to push Franklin's Corps with all speed to Gainesville, where, he says, he had reason to expect confidently, from assurances given him, that Franklin would arrive during the afternoon of the 26th. Such are General Pope's claims.

But no detachments, adequately strong, were posted along the railroad; no division reached Manassas, and no cavalry was thrown forward to Thoroughfare Gap. As for Franklin, he did not reach Alexandria until the afternoon of the 26th, and did not get as far forward as Centerville even until this campaign was virtually over. Reynolds' division, 2,500 strong, came up, as we have seen, on the 23d. On the 25th, Heintzelman's Corps reported to Pope at Warrenton Junction, and on the 26th Fitz John Porter's† at Bealton. These three commands, numbering in all about 22,500 effective men (General Pope says 20,500) constitute the whole of the re-inforcements which the Army of Virginia received from the Army of the Potomac. They were, indeed, the only troops from McClellan's veteran army of 90,000 men which took any efficient part in this campaign.

General Pope thus states, with substantial correctness, the condition of his army at this time:

"From the 18th of August until the morning of the 27th the troops

* On the 4th of July General Pope had written to McClellan a full statement of his forces, situation, and plans, and made cordial proffers of coöperation. McClellan replied that he *would not "fall back"* from his position at Harrison's Landing "unless absolutely forced to do so." Official Records, vol. XI, Part 3, pp. 295, 306.

† Porter's Corps, including Piatt's Brigade, was about 12,000 strong. It contained most of the regular troops, and was thoroughly officered and equipped.

under my command had been continually marching and fighting night and day, and during the whole of that time there was scarcely an interval of an hour without the roar of artillery. The men had had but little sleep, were greatly worn down with fatigue, had had but little time to get proper food or to eat it, had been engaged in constant battles and skirmishes, and had performed services laborious, dangerous, and excessive beyond any previous experience in this country. As was to be expected under such circumstances, the numbers of the army under my command had been greatly reduced by death, by wounds, by sickness, and by fatigue, so that on the morning of the 27th of August I estimated my whole effective force (and I think the estimate was large), as follows: Sigel's Corps, 9,000; Banks' Corps, 5,000; McDowell's Corps, including Reynolds' Division, 15,500; Reno's Corps, 7,000; the corps of Heintzelman and Porter (the freshest by far in that army) about 18,000 men; making in all 54,500 men. Our cavalry numbered on paper about 4,000, but their horses were completely broken down, and there were not 500 men, all told, capable of doing such service as should be expected from cavalry. The corps of Heintzelman had reached Warrenton Junction, but without wagons, without artillery, and with only forty rounds of ammunition to the man, and without even horses for the general field officers. The corps of Porter had also reached Warrenton Junction with a very small supply of provisions, and but forty rounds of ammunition for each man."

This is no exaggerated picture of the services our army had performed, and of its condition at the moment when Jackson swooped down upon its supply depot and line of communications. The bulk of Lee's army was still in front of us at Waterloo; a cavalry detachment sent out * to reconnoiter toward Thoroughfare Gap had not yet reported, and Pope was still unadvised and unsuspecting as to what was taking place in his rear. But during the afternoon of the 26th he discovered symptoms of something wrong in that direction, and sent by a staff officer the following order to General Heintzelman at Warrenton Junction:

"The Major-General commanding the Army of Virginia directs me to request you to put *a regiment* on a train of cars, and send it down immediately to Manassas to ascertain what has occurred, repair the telegraph wires, and protect the railroad there until further orders."

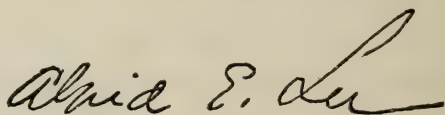
At midnight (26th) Pope instructed McDowell as follows:

"General Sigel reports the enemy's rear-guard at Orleans to-night with his main force encamped at White Plains. You will please ascertain very early in the morning whether this is so, and have the whole of your com-

* On the morning of the 26th.

mand in readiness to march. You had better ascertain to-night if you possibly can. Our communications have been interrupted by the enemy's *cavalry* near Manassas. Whether his whole force, or the larger part of it, has gone round is a question which we must settle instantly, and no portion of his force must march opposite to us to-night without our knowing it. I telegraphed you an hour ago what dispositions I had made, supposing the advance through Thoroughfare Gap to be a column of not more than 10,000 or 15,000 men. If his whole force, or the larger part of it, has gone, we must know it at once."

Such was the state of General Pope's information at midnight of the 26th. Very soon after that hour he realized more clearly, though still not fully, what the enemy was doing, and he acted upon the information, as we shall see, with promptness and energy. Twenty-four hours earlier* he had decided to mass his army between Warrenton and Gainsville, and there deliver battle. This determination, and the disposition of his forces which it had prompted, prepared him well for the unforeseen emergency now to be met.



* Night of the 25th.

THE EVOLUTION OF CANADIAN PARTIES

If Mr. Carrick had read "The Consolidation of Canada" more carefully, he would not have charged me with misrepresentation of facts. To whom Canada is most indebted for Confederation is a much disputed question, but the names of Sir John Macdonald, George Brown, Alexander Mackenzie, and Thomas D'Arcy McGee will always be intimately associated with that event. My article did not deal with the events that preceded Confederation. No reference was made to the part taken by the politicians of either party in bringing about Confederation. Mr. Carrick's account of the part taken by Mr. Brown and Mr. Mackenzie in furthering the project is substantially correct, but it does not alter the fact that after Confederation "most of the Dominionists allied themselves with the Conservatives, while the Provincialists joined the Reformers." With Confederation Canada entered upon a new phase of existence, and all the conditions of public life were changed. The old names were retained, but it was inevitable that important changes should occur in the personnel and policy of the two parties. The first prominent politician to change sides was Mr. Richard Cartwright, now Sir Richard Cartwright. He had always been a Tory, and was elected in 1867 as a supporter of Sir John Macdonald, but shortly afterward went over to the Reformers. Since then other Conservatives have followed his example, while many Reformers have joined the Conservatives. The change in policy came about gradually. The Conservatives before long decided that with altered conditions a new policy must be adopted. Confederation was accomplished, but consolidation was not complete. It was a paper union, and would remain so unless the Provinces were brought into closer communication and made to trade with each other. The conditions of life in Canada and the United States were very similar, and wishing to profit by the experience of others, the Conservatives began to study the public policy of the Americans, feeling sure that much could be learned from an enlightened and progressive people whose country adjoined the new Dominion from ocean to ocean. Out of this grew in time what is known in Canada as the "National Policy," derisively abbreviated by the Reformers to "N. P." Mr. George Brown and Mr. Alexander Mackenzie were patriotic, honest men, but they were British to the heart's core and strongly opposed to the introduction of American methods and American measures. The Conservatives said that their change of policy

was not due to hostility to England, but that the conditions of life were so different on this continent that we must imitate the policy of our neighbors if we would compete with them. This view of the case commended itself to the great majority of Canadian electors, and the strength of the Conservative party was greatly increased. Up to this time the *Toronto Globe*, under the editorial control of Mr. George Brown and his brother, Mr. Gordon Brown, had dictated the policy of the Reform Party and exerted an extraordinary influence throughout the country, for the Browns were men of sterling integrity and great force of character. Mr. Mackenzie, the Reform leader, fully sympathized with their views, but a dissatisfied faction of the party who were opposed to what they called the Brown dictatorship, got the upper hand, and Mr. Mackenzie was deposed from the leadership to make place for Mr. Edward Blake. Shortly after this Mr. George Brown died, and his brother, Mr. Gordon Brown, long associated with him in the editorial control of the *Globe*, became managing editor. The *Globe* was founded by the Browns, and its success was entirely due to them, but they had found it necessary to form a joint-stock company, and at the time of Mr. George Brown's death did not control a majority of the shares. The new leaders wished to dictate the policy of the *Globe*, but Mr. Gordon Brown insisted that the paper must maintain an independent attitude consistent with its former policy. The anti-Brown faction obtained the ear of Mr. Nelson, the principal stockholder of the *Globe*, and Mr. Gordon Brown was forced to sever his connection with the paper which he and his brother had made a power in the land. Having deposed their old leaders, the Reformers completely reversed the policy of the party on many important questions. The *Globe* under the Browns was strongly British, and would not hear of independence or annexation, and, after his deposition from the leadership, Mr. Mackenzie said in a public speech that Canadians would gladly spend their last dollar and shed their last drop of blood in support of British connection. Under the new management, the *Globe* began to toy with the questions of independence and annexation with a view to testing public opinion, and in its issue of June 12, 1886, under the heading, "The Destiny of Canada," it went so far as to say: "The situation is tolerated by the multitudes who wish to substitute a better one merely from consideration for the sentimentalists who cling to the old form of the old connection. The flag is merely a picture of battle, and the throne nothing more than a gilded chair with a canopy, and the crown simply a bauble stuck over with jewels, to tens and hundreds of thousands in the Dominion. The British and we are aliens from each other by force of geography." Some of the Reform papers,

notably the Kingston *Whig* and the Ottawa *Free Press*, do not follow the *Globe* in regard to independence. Under the Browns, the *Globe* strongly opposed an elective senate, and it was largely due to the arguments of George Brown in Parliament that a nominative senate was decided upon. In his speech, February 8, 1865, he said: "I have always been opposed to a second elective chamber and am so still. I voted, almost alone, against the change when the council was made elective, but I have lived to see a vast majority of those who did the deed wish it had not been done. What we propose is that the upper House shall be appointed from the best men of the country by those holding the confidence of the representatives of the people in this chamber. It is proposed that the government of the day, which only lives by the approval of this chamber, shall make the appointments, and be responsible to the people for the selections they shall make." But, the *Globe* and the whole Reform Party demand that the senate be either abolished or made elective. The *Globe* and the Reform Party under the old leadership were bitterly hostile to the Roman Catholics and the French Canadians. Now the *Globe*, Edward Blake and his lieutenants are making extraordinary efforts to gain the friendship of the French Canadians and secure the Roman Catholic vote. The framers of the Canadian constitution, both Conservatives and Reformers, were very strongly opposed to the doctrine of State sovereignty. They believed that the American civil war was due to this doctrine, and they took particular pains to have it understood from the first that the Dominion was to be the unit and the provinces the factors. The American constitution reserves to the States jurisdiction in all matters not delegated to the National Government. The Canadian constitution expressly reserves to the Dominion Government jurisdiction in all matters not delegated to the provinces. The Confederation Act also provides that any act passed by the local legislatures shall be subject to disallowance by the governor-general in council within one year of the passing thereof. This was intended to prevent sectional legislation injurious to the Dominion at large, and to provide for the representation of minorities, so that, although the Dominion cannot dictate legislation for the provinces, it can refuse to sanction a provincial measure, and in the event of unjust legislation, the minority can appeal to it. This clause was agreed to during the debates on confederation, and Mr. Brown speaking in support of it said: "By vesting the appointment of the lieutenant-governors in the general government and giving a veto for all local measures we have secured that no injustice shall be done without appeal in local legislation." Mr. Mackenzie said: "The veto power is necessary in order that the general government may have a control over

the proceedings of the local legislatures to a certain extent. The want of this power was the great source of weakness in the United States, and it is a want that will be remedied by an amendment in their constitution very soon. If each province were able to enact such laws as it pleased everybody would be at the mercy of the local legislatures, and the general legislature would become of little importance." Mr. Mackenzie was of the same mind some years later, for during his administration of about five years twenty provincial acts were disallowed. Yet almost ever since the deposition of the old leaders the Reformers have denounced the Dominion Government for trenching on the reserved prerogatives of the legislatures in disallowing provincial acts. This change of policy was not induced by an undue exercise of the veto power. The "Provincial Rights" agitation was at its height in 1883. Between the years 1867 and 1882 six thousand two hundred and ninety-three acts were passed by all the provincial legislatures, and of these only thirty-two were disallowed, twenty during the Mackenzie administration of about five years, and twelve during the Macdonald administration of about ten years. I must not be understood to blame the Reform leaders for changing the policy of the party, nor do I wish to argue against either the reform of the senate or the ultimate independence of Canada. My purpose is merely to show that the personnel and policy of each party has greatly changed since Confederation, and that the old party names are no longer appropriate. In calling the Conservatives "Dominionists" and the Reformers "Provincialists," I did not intend to offend the Reformers, but thought they would rather like the new name as they have for several years made "Provincial Rights" their battle-cry, and claim, in the words of Mr. Carrick, that the several provinces are the units and the Dominion the multiple. There could not be a better time than the present for a change of names, for owing to the attitude of the Reform Party on the Riel question a number of French-Canadian Bleus, who had always associated the name "Reformers" with hostility to the French Canadians, are now anxious to follow the leadership of Mr. Edward Blake, while many Protestant Reformers are joining the Conservatives for the same reason, and will not wish to be called Conservatives after voting the Reform ticket for so many years. The Reformers of Nova Scotia certainly would not object to the name "Provincialists." I have already stated that the Reformers strongly opposed the speedy construction of an all-Canadian route to the Pacific, and that Mr. Blake said it would be better to let British Columbia secede than to undertake the stupendous work; it will not be denied that the Reformers tell the electors of each province that their natural market is not in the other provinces,

but in the neighboring States ; and all will agree that the Conservatives have always been charged with centralization ; but the most telling illustration of Reform provincialism has been furnished since the publication of my article on "The Consolidation of Canada." The Reform government of Nova Scotia went to the province with the cry of "repeal." The Reform newspapers of the province daily published articles bitterly hostile to the Dominion, and the leading local politicians of that party tried in every way to arouse feelings of hatred toward Canadians in general. The Conservative newspapers in Nova Scotia, on the other hand, were full of patriotic articles calling upon the people to sustain the union, and giving many columns of official statistics showing how greatly every branch of trade in the province has increased since Confederation and how trade would be ruined by secession. During the contest, the Reform papers in other parts of the Dominion, with one or two exceptions, said not a word in condemnation of the secession agitation, and when a repeal majority of about five per cent. of the votes was announced Reform papers throughout the Dominion claimed that it was a great Reform victory. I believe the only Reform dailies that emphatically pronounced against the principle of secession were the Kingston *Whig* and the Ottawa *Free Press*. The *Daily Times* of Hamilton, Ontario, one of the oldest Reform papers in the West, commenting on the victory, after expressing sympathy with the secessionists, said : "There is nothing sacred about Confederation. It is a human scheme devised by politicians a few years ago for the supposed benefit of the people inhabiting the several provinces, and if it turns out in practice to be an unprofitable scheme for any or all of the partners there is the same liberty to unmake it as there was to make it."

In reply to the greater part of Dr. Bender's article on Canada in the June number of this magazine it is only necessary to say : read my article in the April number again. But a few of his statements call for correction. He says that according to Mr. Brydges there were, in 1875, four thousand nine hundred and fifty-seven miles of railway in Canada. Well, the confederation did not take place in 1875 but in 1867. According to a report recently issued by the Dominion Department of Agriculture, there were in 1867 two thousand three hundred and eighty miles of railway within the territory which now comprises the Dominion of Canada. Dr. Bender says the great Welland canal was made so long ago as 1829. There was a small Welland canal before Confederation, but the great Welland canal has been constructed since. Between June 30, 1867, and June 30, 1885, \$14,117,823.88 was expended on it. He says the debt of Canada is nearly \$300,000,000. The exact figures are \$264,808,520. With \$35,191,480, the difference

between the imaginary debt and the real debt, the Canadian Dominionists could build some substantial public works. It should be noted here that this debt includes the debts of all the provinces assumed by the Dominion. This provincial indebtedness amounted to \$106,311,392, and in making comparisons with the United States federal debt this must be taken into consideration. After stating the liabilities of the Dominion, it is only fair to say something about the assets. The Dominion Government has a sinking fund, banking accounts, provincial accounts, and other investments amounting in all to \$68,236,705, leaving a total net debt of \$196,571,785, or without the provincial indebtedness assumed, a net Dominion debt since Confederation of \$90,260,393. Besides, the country has the benefit of the railways, canals, and other public works upon which there has been a government expenditure of \$210,975,789. Although these public works cannot be used to pay off the national debt, they annually put into the pockets of the people much more than the interest on the public debt, and practically entirely relieve Canadians of taxation for federal purposes, for there is no direct taxation, and the increase in prices which would naturally result from customs and excise duties has been counterbalanced by the cheapness of home production induced by easier communication and lower rates for the transportation of freight. Moreover, the construction of railways has brought within the range of settlement millions of acres of crown lands, and whether these lands are sold or given free to settlers, they must in a few years greatly increase the revenue of the Dominion Government. In support of his statement that the value of real estate in Ontario fell \$30,000,000 last year, Dr. Bender says that Sir Richard Cartwright quoted the Ontario Bureau of Industries to that effect. I have in my hand a letter from Mr. A. Blue, Secretary of the Ontario Bureau of Industries, dated June 9, 1886, which states that the report for 1885 is not yet out of the printer's hands, which accords with my statement that no government statistics bearing on the value of real estate last year had been published. I have, however, obtained advanced sheets of the report for 1885, according to which the value of farm land in Ontario increased by \$943,318 last year, while \$9,090,980 worth of farm buildings were erected in the province. But perhaps Sir Richard referred to the report for 1884. According to the report for 1884, there was in that year a decrease of \$29,314,319 in the value of farm lands, but \$10,356,250 worth of farm buildings were erected during the year, and the value of farm implements increased \$4,308,180. The report for 1883 shows an increase of \$22,450,525 in the value of farm lands, an increase of \$30,319,100 in the value of farm buildings, and an increase of \$6,492,715 in the value of farm implements. Why did the value of farm lands decrease so greatly

in 1884, a year in which the farmers were able to erect over ten million dollars worth of new buildings and purchase over four million dollars worth of farm implements? I find the explanation in the Report of the Ontario Bureau of Industries for 1883, which makes the following statement: "The table showing the value of farm property in the province has been compiled from the returns made by farmers. It is difficult to obtain reliable figures under this head so long as the fear exists that the inquiry is made with the object of levying taxes." So much for statistics of Sir Richard Cartwright, from whose speeches Dr. Bender takes his figures. Dr. Bender says: "Newfoundland's revenue this year has fallen short of the estimates accompanying an over-expenditure during the same period." Is it possible that Dr. Bender believes that Newfoundland is a province of the Canadian Dominion! It is quite probable that Newfoundland will eventually be annexed to the Dominion, but at present the Government at Ottawa is no more responsible for the condition of Newfoundland than the Government at Washington is for that of Cuba. I do not wish to convey the impression that the Dominion is enjoying extraordinary prosperity. There are very few millionaires, but the people in general are well-to-do. There is very little poverty, a great deal of comfort, and the country is making as great progress as can be expected when the difficulties to be surmounted are considered. It may seem strange, but it is nevertheless a fact, that the men in Canada who favor the disintegration of the Dominion and annexation to the United States have always opposed the adoption by Canada of measures and policies that have already been successfully tried by the Americans; and if the provinces ever do by any chance join fortunes with the States, no more patriotic citizens of the great republic will be found than the Canadian Dominionists. They are not men of narrow, sectional views. They believe that the whole is greater than its part. The unit now is the Dominion, and I think it always will be, but if annexation ever does come about, if they are forced to give up their hope of establishing a highly civilized northern democracy ranking as one of the world's great commercial nations, they will not be a drag on the progress of the United States as some of the Provincialists are upon that of the Dominion.

Watson Griffin

MONTREAL, July 8th.

VOL. XVI.—No. 3.—20

NEW ENGLAND'S LOST CITY FOUND

In the first volume of the *Magazine of American History*, a work which already fills a large place in the periodical literature of the day, at page 14, is an article by Rev. B. F. De Costa on New England's Lost City, Norumbega, and up to the time that paper was written no trace of the lost city had been discovered. But it can now be safely announced that the lost city, or what remains of it, has been found.

The fortunate discoverer is Professor E. N. Horsford of Harvard College, Cambridge, Massachusetts. He had become interested in the subject, and after reading the old authorities concerning it, and examining the early maps of the country, such as are mentioned by Mr. De Costa, he became convinced that Norumbega was something more than a myth, and that it had a local habitation as well as a name. The name Norumbega was doubtless of Indian origin, though some had attempted to show that it was a name given by the Norsemen, thus proving their early discovery and occupation of the country. Professor Horsford compared it with the Indian names in Maine, where it was supposed Norumbega was located; and early writers give its location as on the Penobscot, but mistakes of that kind were easily made at that early day. No names of rivers or localities in Maine have any similarity to it, notwithstanding the city of Bangor has a Norumbega Hall.

But Naumkuag, the Indian name for Salem, and other Indian names in the vicinity of Boston, manifested some kinship to Norumbega. The early maps and geographies, too, indicate that the lost city had a latitude and longitude nearer the vicinity of Boston than any part of Maine. Columbus and all the early navigators and explorers had no idea of the magnitude of the New World which the daring enterprise of Columbus had opened to the knowledge of the Old World. They all supposed that he had but come upon some of the outlying islands of India, or the fabled Cathay, the wonderful land of wealth. And the map of Martin Fox, referred to by Mr. De Costa, and a copy of which is published in Professor Horsford's pamphlet, represents a large island where New England now is, and on this is located Norumbega near the real latitude of Boston.

The city of Cambridge, under the authority of a charter from the legislature, had begun the construction of its reservoir at Stony Brook, at its junction with the Charles River, for its supply of fresh water, when Professor Horsford made up his mind that this must be the locality of the long lost Norumbega. He took a team, and with a friend drove to the place, and there at once came upon the remains of some ancient works, which a thorough investigation leaves no doubt is the true and real remains of "the Lost City." It is about four miles above the head of tide-water on the Charles River, and near the dividing line between the City of Waltham and the town of Weston, and is about a mile and a half above the magnificent factory of the American Watch Company. The highway now runs along, crossing

Stony Brook just below where the water for the supply of the moat that surrounded the fortress was taken by a ditch. Several years ago a dam was built by the side of the road for the supply of a mill, now the paper mill of William Roberts, Esq., and when this dam was removed by the authorities of Cambridge, for the construction of their immense work some distance above, the ditch was laid bare and found complete and well defined.



SITE OF NORUMBEGA, NEW ENGLAND'S LOST CITY.

From the point where the ditch took the water from Stony Brook to the moat I find to be nine hundred and thirty feet. The moat itself about one thousand feet in circuit, and from this, extending off along the bank of the river, is a ditch five hundred feet long, evidently as a waste wear for the water from the moat. The water being allowed to run off along its whole length to prevent gullying at any point. The space inclosed by the moat is a rounded bluff, nearly level on the summit, which is thirty or more feet above the moat. This bluff is surrounded by low ground on all sides, except the neck of land on the side opposite the river through which the moat had to be dug, to bring it to a water level, much deeper than elsewhere, and here the embankment from the earth thrown out is still high and the remains of the moat deeper than elsewhere.

The antiquity of this ditch and moat is apparent from the remains of the large stumps of trees that had grown up in it and on its sides. The trees, some of them more than a century old, were cut nearly a half century ago. Some years must have passed after the moat was abandoned before these trees could have started, which would altogether carry us back to at least two hundred years. That

brings us to about the period of the close of King Phillip's war. But then, nor at any time after the advent of the Puritans to the shores of Massachusetts Bay, this work could not have been constructed without some record of it. So that we are necessarily pushed back probably more than a hundred years prior to this, and that brings us to the time of the existence of Norumbega, for Milton, in his *Paradise Lost*, refers to it, and it must have been founded years prior to that.

One of the early writers represents it as the capital of the fur trade, standing on the banks of a beautiful river, and indulging in the fancy which at that time "run riot" over anything connected with the New World, tells us of its quartz hills, quarries of diamonds, its granite hills, pouting with untold stores of mineral wealth, and its rivers rolling over sands of gold—a magnificent city of marvelous wealth and resources. It was, indeed, the metropolis or capital of the fur trade, and for this no more fortunate location could have been selected in all New England. It was but three or four miles from the head of tide-water, navigable for vessels of the size used by early discoverers and navigators in crossing the Atlantic, and stood in the midst of a large territory most remarkably interlaced with the branches and tributaries of three rivers, the home of all the fur-bearing animals such as were sought after by Europeans. In another particular the works at the mouth of Stony Brook agree with the old authorities which represent the fortress as "surrounded by a deep moat filled with water."

The question will naturally arise, Why has not this discovery been made before? The people of the neighborhood and the owners of the territory have always known of singular traces or remains of some kind, and believed the Indians or some one else must have attempted here a system of *irrigation*. But without mattock or hoe, and with only such means as the wild fox or woodchuck has to dig his hole, the Indians would hardly have attempted it; and even with every facility for doing it the more enlightened white men would not have expended such labor to irrigate a cobble-stone and gravel hill when all around rich and fertile land invited the hand of the cultivator unclaimed. The skill and art in military engineering manifest in the plan, location, and execution of the work show that it was selected and designed by an experienced head, and for something more than a temporary purpose.

As to who were the founders of Norumbega, whether English or French, is matter of some doubt. The French early gained foothold at the North. They remained in America despite the rigors of the Canadian winters, and pushed their trading posts and Catholic missions inland. The English, meanwhile, contented themselves with the possession of the Atlantic coast under the milder skies of Virginia. And it was not till the beginning of the seventeenth century that Captain John Smith aroused the people of England to the importance of New England. Hence it appears that the most probable founders of Norumbega were the French.

A. B. Barry

ALBANY'S HISTORIC DAY

[HISTORICAL JOTTINGS]

The 22d of July, 1886, will ever be regarded as a great day in the annals of Albany. The celebration which culminated on that eventful Thursday commenced with memorial observances in all the churches of that ancient city on Sunday, July 18th. On Monday, in the morning, there was choral singing by thousands of school-children, and in the afternoon a monster parade of the business men of Albany, with moving tableaux portraying the contrasts of two centuries in manufacture and trade. By Tuesday the city had become warm with excitement, and in the morning of that day a parade of the various nationalities—French, Dutch, German, Irish, Scottish, English, Italian, American Indian, and others—with decorated floats and symbolical tableaux, attracted the attention of thousands who lined the streets; and in the afternoon there were special observances by the various nationalities, among which was the planting of a memorial oak in Washington Park by the Germans, with choral singing, and a tribute to Dongan at the Academy of Music by the Irish Societies. A review of decorated and illuminated steam-boats on the river was the great event of the evening. Wednesday was ushered in by a salute of thirty-eight guns at sunrise; the firemen and other civic organizations paraded in the forenoon, every variety of fire apparatus, from the most antique to the most modern, being exhibited. The evening of that day was devoted to the Historical Pageant, illustrating scenes and incidents connected with the history of Albany during its two hundred years. At midnight, after this unique parade, the two hundredth anniversary of the city's birth was ushered in by ringing of bells, singing of hymns, and other joyful demonstrations. At sunrise, a salute of two hundred guns awoke all who were caught napping at that hour. The city was crowded with people from every part of the State and from other States, and flags floated from every flag-staff, roof, and window, were fastened in arches across the streets in all directions, adorned the fences and trees, and brightened the vehicles that crushed along the thoroughfares. It was a brilliant scene. In the morning there was a military parade of great magnitude and striking effect. The public exercises of the day began about noon, at the rink. The President of the United States and the gentlemen of his cabinet occupied seats on the platform, and the orator of the day was the Governor of New York, David B. Hill; the poet of the occasion was Mr. William H. McElroy, and his subject was "Peter Schuyler's Mandate." The recital was from memory, in a clear, rich voice, and held the large audience captive, with occasional bursts of laughter and applause, to the end. In the evening magnificent fire-works were exhibited in the park.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

WASHINGTON'S LAST TOOTH

It is Retained as an Heir-loom by the Family of Washington's Dentist.

[In the *Commercial Advertiser* of July 24 appeared the following : " It is perhaps not generally known that the last one of George Washington's teeth is an heir-loom in the family of the late John Greenwood, a gentleman who sustained the responsible and interesting relation of dentist to the 'father of his country.' That fact was incidentally mentioned by the lawyers in a case before the surrogate court yesterday afternoon. Mr. Hamilton Squire, as counsel for the heirs of one Henry Weaver, long since deceased, yesterday made application to Surrogate Rollins to compel the representatives of the Greenwood estate to pay over to the Weaver heirs a sum of money which it is claimed has been held by the Greenwood family as trustees for the heirs of Jane Weaver since the year 1816, and which was left by Jane Weaver with Mr. John Greenwood at that time. Mr. Greenwood acted as Washington's dentist for several years. After Washington went to Virginia from New York, he sent by letter to Mr. Greenwood the last one of his natural teeth, to be used by the latter as a pattern for a new set. This tooth has been bequeathed from generation to generation in the Greenwood family, and is yet in their possession. This circumstance, which was mentioned in the course of an argument by Mr. Rudd, the counsel for the Greenwood estate, furnishes another proof of the humanity of General Washington, in that in the plenitude of his powers he suffered the dentist to survive him." In connection with this curious bit of information we are able, through the courtesy of Mr. William Alexander Smith, of New York, to publish the original letter written by Greenwood to Washington in relation to his false teeth.—EDITOR.]

Letter of John Greenwood to George Washington

[From the Collection of Mr. William Alexander Smith.]

New York December 28, 1798

Sir

I send you enclosed two setts of teeth, one fixed on the old barrs in part, and the sett you sent me from Philadelphia which when I received was very black, occasioned either by your soaking them in port wine, or by your drinking it. Port wine being sower, takes off all the polish and all Acid has a tendency to soften every kind of teeth and bone. Acid is used in coloring every kind of Ivory, therefore it is very pernicious to the teeth. I advise you to either take them out after dinner and put them in clean water and put in another sett, or clean them with a brush and some chalk scraped fine. It will absorbe the acids which collect from the mouth and preserve them longer—I have found another and better way of using the sealing wax when holes is eaten in the teeth by acids &c.—First observe and dry the teeth, then take a piece of Wax and cut it into small pieces as you think will fill up the hole ; then take a large nail or any other piece

of iron and heat it hot into the fire, then put your piece of wax into the hole and melt it by means of introducing the point of the nail to it. I have tried it and found it to consolidate, and do better than the other way and if done proper it will resist the saliva. It will be handier for you to take hold of the nail with small plyers than with a tongs thus, the wax must be very small not bigger than this. . . . If your teeth grows black take some chalk and a pine or cedar stick, it will rub it off. If you want your teeth more yellow soak them in Broth or pot liquor, but not in tea or acids. Porter is a good thing to color them and will not hurt but preserve them, but it must not be in the least pricked—You will find I have altered the upper teeth you sent me from Philadelphia. Leaving the enamel on the teeth dont preserve them any longer than if it was off, it only holds the color better, but to preserve them they must be very often changed and cleaned, for whatever attacks them must be repelled as often, or it will gain ground and destroy the works. the two setts I repaired is done on a different plan than when they are done when made entirely new, for the teeth are screwed on the barrs, instead of having the barrs cast red hot on them, which is the reason I believe they destroy or dissolve so soon near to the barrs.

Sir,

After hoping you will not be obliged to be troubled very soon
in the same way,

I subscribe myself

Your very humble

Servant,

John Greenwood

Sir,

the additional charge is fifteen dollars.

P. S. I expect next spring to move my family into Connecticut State. If I do I will write and let you know, and whether I give up my present business or not, I will as long as I live do anything in this way for you if you require it.

NOTES

ALBANY—Governor Hill, in his brilliant historical address on the occasion of Albany's two hundredth birthday, said: "Albany became the capital of the State the same year the United States Constitution was transmitted to Congress for ratification or rejection. From the adoption of the Constitution to the present time, Albany has been a great center of political power. Among the many great political contests between the intellects of other days, which recollections of Albany bring up, is the one between De Witt Clinton and his opponents; a contest which culminated in 1824 in his sudden removal, by a concurrent resolution of the Senate and Assembly, from the office of Canal Commissioner, which he held so long with honor to himself and profit to the State. Few events of the past created such popular indignation as this; and the ground on which we stand is rendered memorable by the immense gathering of people who came to express their dissatisfaction at this excessive measure of political warfare. In the midst of these scenes another citizen of Albany, a statesman of the republic, a leader of a great party, was developing the force and power of his abilities. He was the leading spirit in the famous Albany Regency, which was as powerful here as was the Areopagus at Athens, the Decemviri at Rome, the Council of Ten in Venice, or the famous Cabal in the reign of the Second Charles of England. This personage was Martin Van Buren, who wielded power with all the subtlety of a Richelieu, a Buckingham, or a Halifax. With him were associated

William L. Marcy, the first of American statesmen; Benjamin F. Butler, the learned and accomplished reviser of the statutes; and Edwin Croswell, whose trenchant pen in journalism never found but one rival in the State. . . .

A few years later and Albany was the home of another regency scarcely less powerful—a regency which largely aided in forming the great and now historical Whig party, and whose activities afterward guided its destinies in the State and largely in the nation. At the head of this regency stood Thurlow Weed, who might have said: "I am the Whig party of the State of New York" with more force and with more truth than did Louis XIV. when he exclaimed "I am France." One who made journalism his truncheon of political power, one who, without personal ambition, caused the most ambitious and aspiring to acknowledge their fealty to him ere their own political schemes could succeed, or their political ambition be gratified. . . . There was another name connected with this latter regency, that of William H. Seward, who often declared that Albany was his second home.

Albany is everywhere full of the recollections of men great in its own history, great in the history of the State, and great in the history of the nation. We open one page of history and there is recorded the career of William L. Marcy; another page is adorned by the great name of Horatio Seymour—a name that will ever grow brighter and more and more illustrious as the years pass by. Here has been the permanent location

of the legislature or law-making department of the State for nearly a century. For good or for evil, the laws which have been here enacted have made their impress upon the history and affected the destiny of our commonwealth. Whatever of them have aided to safely, wisely and successfully guide and administer the affairs of this great State—a State which in its extent, resources and power is almost a nation of itself—may be attributable in part to the wholesome influence of the local associations which have surrounded this law-abiding and peace-loving city.”

MONUMENT TO NATHANAEAL GREENE
—In the city of Savannah, on one of the principal streets, there has stood for many years an imposing monument with no inscription upon it. Numerous inquiries have been made regarding it, and a communication from General C. W. Darling, Corresponding Secretary of the Oneida Historical Society, to Corresponding Secretary William Harden, of the Georgia Historical Society, in relation to this monument, brings the following answer: “The monument to which you refer was inscriptionless down to the sixth of May last; but that can no longer be said of it. Its history, in brief, is as follows: General Lafayette, while a guest of this city (Savannah), and at the request of the citizens, on the 21st of March, 1825, laid the corner-stones of two monuments; one in Johnson Square, in memory of General Nathanael Greene, and the other in Chippewa Square, in memory of Count Pulaski. Efforts were made to raise funds for the erection of these monuments, but the

money came in slowly, and the legislature of Georgia, in November, 1826, authorized certain commissioners to raise the amount of \$35,000 (dollars) for the purpose by lottery. Still the funds were not sufficient to warrant the erection of two monuments, and the commissioners decided to make one answer the purpose of commemorating the eminent services of both heroes. Accordingly the monument in Johnson Square was put up and was known as the ‘Greene and Pulaski monument,’ until 1853, when another was erected in Monterey Square, instead of Chippewa, to Count Pulaski. The first never had an inscription (although the matter was discussed in the news papers every now and then) until within the past few months. The movement to have an inscription placed upon the Greene monument started in the City Council in 1879, at which time a proposition was made that a joint committee, of Council and the Georgia Historical Society be appointed to suggest some plan for finishing that monument. Although they moved slowly, the joint committee accomplished what was proposed and their labors culminated in the addition to the monument of two bronze tablets, one-half of the cost of which was paid by the city and the other half was raised by subscription on the part of the members of the Georgia Historical Society. The tablets were unveiled with imposing ceremonies on the sixth day of May last. The plate on the northern side bears this inscription:

‘Major-General Nathanael Greene.

Born in Rhode Island, 1742.

Died in Georgia, 1786.

Soldier, Patriot.

The Friend of Washington.

This shaft has been raised by the people of Savannah in honor of his great services to the American Revolution.'

"The plate on the southern side bears an alto-relievo portrait of General Greene." C. W. D.

UTICA, NEW YORK, *August 10, 1886.*

FACTS ABOUT POPES—The *New York Observer* publishes in a recent issue some interesting facts from the pen of S. H. Preston, from which we quote the following :

"Papists claim that the pontificate of St. Peter lasted twenty-five years. None of the Popes have ruled that length of time except Pius IX., who died at the age of eighty-seven, after having occupied the papal throne thirty-two years. It is customary to remind each Pope at his election, '*Non videbis annos Petri*' (Thou wilt not see the years of Peter).

'The first of all the Popes was Peter,
For five and twenty years he reigned ;
No Pope of all that followed have,
Save Pius IX., this length attained.'

Many of the Popes have lived to a very advanced age. Clement II. and John XXII. reigned till ninety years of age, Gregory XII. till ninety-one, and Gregory IX. till one hundred. The Popes have been well advanced in years at their election (Clement X. and some others being upward of eighty) with but few

exceptions, viz.: Innocent III. elected at the age of thirty-seven, John XI. at twenty-five, Gregory V. at twenty-four, John XII. at eighteen, and Benedict IX. at twelve. Of all who have occupied the papal chair, nine only have retained it for a longer period than twenty years ; while one hundred and thirty-three have reigned but five years ; thirty-two less than one year ; twelve less than one month, and several but a few days. The average reign has been seven years."

Pius IX., whose portrait graces this number of the Magazine, was the only one of nine of the same name whose career was of special historical interest. He was born in 1792, and studied theology at the College of Volterra, taking holy orders in 1818. He died in 1878.

THE FIRST VETO—The following is from the Diary of Shubel Worth, Collector of Customs in the city of Hudson at the time of its date ; "Apl 19, 1792—This day a bill for the apportionments of the Representatives among the several States was Returned by the President (Washington) with objections—

This is the first Bill since the Federal Sovereignty was established that the President of the United States objected to."

J. W. H.

NEW YORK, *August 9, 1886.*

QUERIES

CAN any one tell where a poll list—list of persons who voted at any election—in New York before 1777, can be

seen ? The writer has searched without success in the county clerk's office, New York, and State records, Albany. H.W.

GENERAL PETER B. PORTER—Editor Magazine of American History:—In Dawson's Historical Magazine, September, 1867 (2d series vol. 2), page 180, it is stated that "The great-grandmother of General Grant was the grandmother of the late General Peter B. Porter of Niagara Falls. Noah Grant who came from Scotland and settled at Coventry, Conn., died early, and his widow married Peter Buell, by whom she had a daughter named Abigail. This Abigail was married to Dr. Joshua Porter of Salisbury, Conn., and they were the parents of the late Augustus and Peter Buel Porter of Niagara Falls."

Can any of your readers state whether there was any relationship between General Peter B. Porter and Colonel Fitz John Porter, late of the U. S. Army?

JOHN H. GUNN

SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS.

SOUL OF SOLDIERY—Can any of the readers of the Magazine furnish any information concerning a society with the above name in existence in the early part of this century?

JOS. W. SANDERSON

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.

MARGARET CORBIN'S HUSBAND, KILLED AT FORT WASHINGTON, NOVEMBER, 1776—June 29, 1779, the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania directed an order to be drawn "in favour of Margaret Corbin, for Thirty Dollars, to relieve her present necessities, she having been wounded and utterly disabled by three

Grape shott, while she filled with distinguished Bravery the post of her Husband, who was killed by her side, serving a piece of Artillery at Fort Washington." The Council also "*Ordered*, that the case of Margaret Corbin, who was wounded and utterly disabled at Fort Washington, while she heroically filled the post of her husband, who was killed by her side serving a piece of Artillery, be recommended to a further consideration of the Board of War, This Council being of opinion, that notwithstanding the rations which have been allowed her, she is not Provided for as her helpless situation really requires."—See *Pa. Colonial Records, Vol. XII., pp. 34-5.*

Margaret Corbin's name appears in the roll of the Invalid Regiment of Pennsylvania, commanded by Col. Lewis Nicola, as it was discharged in April, 1783. See *Saffell's Records of the Revolutionary War, p. 224*, and *Pa. Archives, N. S. Vol. XI., 277*. In the winter of 1877 and 1878, at the suggestion of a friend in New Jersey, I undertook to investigate the "Molly Pitcher" tradition, and the notes I then made convinced me that Margaret Corbin mentioned above was the real heroine on whose brave deeds the story of "Molly Pitcher" is founded. Lately, having occasion to use the notes, I have been unable to find them, and therefore desire information and references on the subject. Anything, however slight, referring to Margaret Corbin or her husband will be acceptable.

I. C.

ALLEGHANY, PENNSYLVANIA, August 10, 1886.

REPLIES

"IN TIME OF PEACE PREPARE FOR WAR" [ix., 475; x., 73, 520]—In the speech of Governor William Franklin to the New Jersey Legislature, April 18, 1771, he said: "A Time of Peace, however, is certainly the best Time to prepare for War." W. N.

PATERSON, N. J.

[The above speech will appear in the forthcoming Vol. X., N. J. Archives, to be issued, perhaps, next month.—EDITOR.]

LOUIS XVI. AND MARIE ANTOINETTE [xvi., 182]—It might be mentioned, on the credit side of France, that between the period of the treaty of alliance in 1778 and the year 1883, when the United States obtained a loan of a little more than one million dollars from Louis XVI., that monarch *lent* to the Americans nearly three and a half million dollars, and guaranteed the payment of a loan of about seventeen hundred and fifty thousand dollars from Holland, on which he paid the interest. The whole sum thus furnished by him to the United States, *after* the treaty, and when France was bound by that treaty to help the Americans, was about six and a quarter million dollars. Of this sum the king made a present of nearly a million dollars to the Americans at the time of making the last loan. The balance was afterward paid by our government in installments. D.

NEW YORK, August 2, 1886.

THE OLD BELL-MAN [xvi., 198.]—*Editor Magazine of American History*:—The same question was asked in your

Magazine in March, 1879 [ii., 203], but has never been answered. On a thorough search through all the available histories of our country I find neither the name of the old bell-man, nor the "blue-eyed boy," though several authors allude to them, among them Lossing, in his *Field Book of the Revolution*. The great demonstration in Philadelphia did not take place until July 8, 1776. In *Bryant's History*, Vol. III., page 487, a foot-note reads as follows: "The romantic tradition that as soon as the adoption of the Declaration was decided upon, a little boy on the pavement clapped his hands and shouted, 'Ring! ring!' to the old sexton in the tower, who thereupon seized the tongue of the Liberty Bell and proclaimed the momentous tidings to a waiting crowd, and that the Secretary of Congress hastened to read the paper from the steps, seems to be without foundation." It, therefore, appears that the above will have to be classed with other myths which have been perpetuated by poets and writers of juvenile story-books, and have thus been instilled into the minds of youth for so many generations that they have become accepted as historical facts.

L. C. H.

COLUMBUS, OHIO.

"MRS." [xvi., 198]—I believe that all the authorities agree that *Miss* is simply a contraction of *Mistress*, and it is, therefore, pretty certain that formerly both married and single women were spoken of as "*Mrs.*" Worcester says, on the authority of *Todd*, "Miss, at the begin-

ning of the last century, was appropriated to the daughters of gentlemen under the age of ten. *Mistress* was then the style of grown-up unmarried ladies, though the mother was living, and, for a considerable part of the century, maintained its ground against the infantine form of *Miss*." Rev. E. C. Brewer (*Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*) says: "Miss used to be written *Mis*, and is the first syllable of *Mistress*; Mrs. is the contraction of *meisteress*, called *Mis'ess*. Even in the reign of George II. unmarried ladies used to be styled Mrs., as Mrs. Lepel, Mrs. Bellenden, Mrs. Blount, all unmarried ladies." — WILLIAM HARDEN.

SAVANNAH, GEORGIA.

"MRS."—A "Query" of HARVARD'S [xvi., 198] asks: "Was the word *Mrs.* used formerly to designate a single as well as a married?" In my judgment it was so used. I have often found in old parish records entries like the following: Mr. Robert Gibson, of Spesutia Hundred, was joined in bonds of Holy Matrimony unto Mrs. Mary Gouldsmyth, spinster. This was about 1704. And then I have instances like this: "Mrs. Eliz^a Boothby, wid., dyed on Spesutia Island, 1699." And in all other cases of that period, where a prefix of any kind was used in connection with either a married or a single woman or a widow, it was almost invariably the one above mentioned. This custom, as far as I know, was discontinued prior to 1750. This Mrs. Boothby was three times made a widow. She was also the widow of the noted Colonel Nathaniel Utie, of Lord Baltimore's Provincial Council, who was sent

by Calvert to demand the allegiance of the Dutch at New Amstel (New Castle), Delaware.

J. S. H.

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND.

WHERE WAS WASHINGTON? [xvi., 199] —At the time of the receipt by him of General Anthony Wayne's dispatch, announcing his success at Stony Point, Washington was at New Windsor, where he had been for some days. In Sparks's *Writings of Washington*, Vol. VI., page 297, may be found Washington's letter to the President of Congress, transmitting General Wayne's dispatch, dated "New Windsor, half-past 9 o'clock, 16 July, 1779." By the way, the "laconic and modest dispatch," as given by R. W. Judson, differs somewhat from the copy given in fac-simile by Lossing, in his *Field Book of the American Revolution*.

WILLIAM HARDEN

SAVANNAH, GEORGIA.

WHREE WAS WASHINGTON? [xvi., 199]—*Sparks* gives a slightly different version of Wayne's letter, as follows, dated 16 July, 1779:

"Dear General,

The fort and garrison, with Colonel Johnson, are ours. Our officers and men behaved like men who are determined to be free.

Yours, most sincerely

Anthony Wayne."

Washington received Wayne's note at New Windsor, as will be seen by his letter to the President of Congress dated "New Windsor, half-past 9 o'clock, 16 July, 1779."

I. C.

ALLEGHANY, PENNSYLVANIA.

BOOK NOTICES

JUDGE RICHARD REID. A Biography.

By ELIZABETH JAMESON REID. 8vo, pp. 584. Cincinnati, 1886: Standard Publishing Company.

The eminent legal abilities and high Christian character of Richard Reid render this memorial volume one of exceptional interest. His life was quiet and uneventful, and but for the storm and tragedy in which it ended, would probably never have been known to the world at large. He was born in Montgomery County, Kentucky, October 3, 1838, received a good education, and became an industrious and successful lawyer, and then a judge of the Superior Court of the State. His career on the bench was honorable; and at the time of his tragic death he was a candidate for the Court of Appeals, with the prospect of an election by a large majority. Mrs. Reid has sketched his life from the domestic stand-point, and rarely have we met with a more irreproachable, genial, refined, generous-hearted, and lovable Christian character than that of Judge Reid as presented in these pages. His intellectual life stands out prominently also. He was a scholar as well as a gentleman. He had no differences with his fellow-citizens, and was not aware that he had an enemy in the world who could possibly make him the victim of an atrocious outrage. The whole story impresses us with the singularly barbarous condition of Kentucky. In the spring of 1834, a lawyer named Cornelison, whose professional practices had been denounced in an opinion of the Superior Court—an opinion in which, as it happened, Judge Reid had taken no part— inveigled the judge into his (Cornelison's) office, and there beat him on the back of the head with a hickory stick while he was examining some papers, striking him insensible at the first blow, and then inflicting forty or fifty more blows. When Judge Reid recovered in part from his injuries, he found that he was expected by the community to go out and kill his treacherous assailant. But his Christian principles would not permit of his taking the law in his own hands. And because an upright judge and a high-minded citizen did not choose to go out into the streets and commit murder, public sentiment in that remarkable civilization declared him unfit to be a judge! His failure to retaliate in kind was used against him in his canvass for the Court of Appeals! His dignified speeches and admirable bearing, however, soon aroused a counter sentiment in his behalf, and his election seemed assured, when, to the horror of every one, he was found dead one afternoon in the law office of a friend. The coroner's jury, upon very slight evidence, returned a verdict of sui-

cide; but the family do not think his life was taken by his own hand. Cornelison was indicted for assault, found guilty, and sentenced for three years; but the case was appealed on a point of law, and when this book was written no final decision had been reached. It is a work of touching interest, and furnishes a lesson of high moral courage that will bear the closest study.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA. Its Mountains, Valleys, and Streams. Its Animals, Birds, and Fishes. By THEODORE S. VAN DYKE. 12mo, pp. 233. New York: Fords, Howard & Hulbert.

To sportsmen, Mr. Van Dyke is well known by "The Still Hunter" and "The Rifle, Rod, and Gun in California." The present volume is somewhat larger than either of its predecessors, and more entertaining to the general reader. It deals with that wonderful tract of country over a large portion of which one may look from the peak of the San Bernardino Mountains, the eye ranging nearly a hundred and fifty miles in either direction, and taking in all extremes of fertility and barrenness from the great Colorado and Mojave Deserts to the blue Pacific on the west. This is the paradise of the hunter and camper-out. A climate where for months one may sleep in the open air with absolute certainty of fair weather, where one may find game in abundance, and streams where trout lie in the shadows that have never seen an artificial fly. The first chapters are devoted to the scenery, the seasons, the rain belts, and the climate generally. Then follow observations on the inhabitants, birds, beasts, and fishes, and the different modes of their pursuit and capture. In the concluding chapter the author endeavors, apparently in good faith—which is remarkable for a Californian—to point out the faults of this paradise. This is noteworthy as a sign of progress in the history of authorship on the Pacific coast. It must be admitted that he does not make out a very strong case, but for that the country is responsible, not the author. "Year after year," he says, "an affection that you cannot and would not resist winds itself more closely around your soul. . . . There are so few breaks or jars in the train of comfort as the long line of cloudless days rolls on, appetite and sleep hang around you so wooingly in the constant out-of-door life, that you are enthralled before you know it." Such is the conclusion of the chapter on "Drawbacks." The book contains a vast amount of information, and it is certainly written by one who knows, and in a style as admirable as it is

entertaining. We turn the last page and ponder the possibilities of even camping in that happy land where nervous exhaustion is unknown.

KIDNAPPED. Being memoirs of the Adventures of David Balfour, in the year 1751; written by himself and now set forth by ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON. 12mo, pp. 324. New York, 1886: Charles Scribner's Sons.

This story is of the last century, and the scene where the hero was kidnapped is Scotland. David Balfour took the key for the last time from the door of his father's house in the month of June, 1751, and went forth into the world to make his fortune. He was sixteen years of age, the son of a poor country dominie, and his father and his mother were dead. He carried a letter of introduction to a miserly old uncle, whose acquaintance the reader makes about as readily and unfavorably as the forlorn lad himself. The description of Ebenezer Balfour of Shaws, is humorous portraiture of the richest and most readable kind. Wishing to get rid of this newly found nephew, the wicked old wretch of an uncle caused him to be kidnapped and removed from his sight forevermore, as he supposed, by the brig *Covenant*. The story, henceforward, is one of exciting adventure and perpetual action. The boy is cast away and suffers all sorts of terrible things upon a desert isle—lives on raw shell-fish for several days, and escapes after a long and wearisome flight through a wild country. The narrative is crowded with surprises and striking episodes. The interest never flags from the first page to the last. It is a book that will interest boys of any age, and of almost any mood. Mr. Stevenson is one of the most delightful of living authors for this class of books, telling his stories in a clear, flowing, crisp style that carries the reader forward whether he will or no. Most of the characters and incidents are the author's own creation, and they are of the most original and entertaining character.

AN AMERICAN · FOUR-IN-HAND IN BRITAIN. By ANDREW CARNEGIE. 16mo, paper, pp. 192. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Mr. Carnegie, since the appearance of his first edition of the book before us, has achieved a more lasting literary fame through his "Triumphant Democracy," and a popular edition of the "Four-in-Hand" is timely, and the new venture should receive a fitting welcome. The author's unpretentious and captivating narrative of his drive of 831 miles from Brighton to Inverness loses nothing by its paper covers and its lack of elaborate book-maker's art.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Embracing the third and fourth Biennial Reports. 1883-1885, vol. iii. 8vo, pp. 519. Topeka, 1886: Kansas Publishing House, T. D. Thatcher, State Printer.

This volume includes a large fund of material relating to the early history of Kansas, of which are the earliest official documentary records of Kansas Territory. It also contains brief biographical sketches of Governors Reeder and Shannon; with extracts from Governor Reeder's diary, giving an account of his escape from Kansas through Missouri, in disguise, in May, 1856; and the addresses delivered by Governors Stanton and Denver, at Bismarck Grove, in 1884. A part of the volume is devoted to the biennial reports of the Society, making permanent record of the Society's work during a period of four years, showing the growth of its library and the character of its accessions of every kind. These reports contain the essential facts of the newspaper history of the State during that period. The volume has an index of forty-nine double-column pages of closely printed matter, in which every fact and name contained in the book is pointed out. Thus the book as a work of historical reference is remarkably complete.

THE CRUISE OF THE ALABAMA. By one of the crew. The Riverside Paper Series, 16mo, pp. 150. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

The "Mercator" maps of the world, traversed as to its navigable portion by a red line, is not a particularly pleasant object of contemplation for an American of northern birth, however it may seem to the eyes of Southerners. But the context is very readable—a sailor's story told in sailor language and from the sailor's stand-point. The author, as the publishers' announcement informs us, is Mr. P. D. Haywood, and the substance of the book simply an expansion of the paper that appeared in the "Century" magazine. It lacks, of course, the fine illustrations that lent a picturesque interest to the original paper, but the narrative bears expansion well, and while it is not, as has been intimated, altogether pleasant reading for a Northerner, there are certain passages where the most exacting patriot may feel a pardonable thrill of pride. Such, for instance, is the chapter where the *Alabama* gives chase to a fine American clipper, whose captain sets everything that his ship can carry, and holds his own against the steam and canvas combined of his pursuer. The gunner—who, by the way, is the author—is ordered to give the bow-gun its greatest elevation, but he, with a touch of admiration, manages to let the

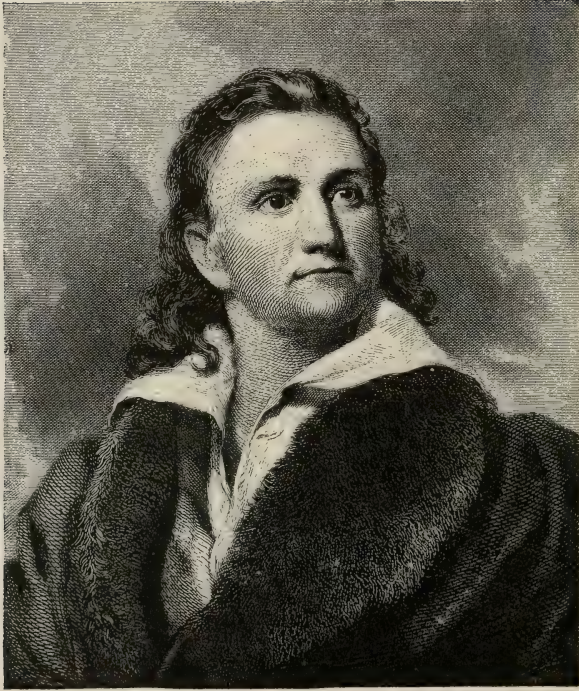
shot fall short and takes his punishment like a man for disobeying orders. The closing fight with the *Kearsage* is described with a touch of contempt for English sympathizers that is at least gratifying, while he does not attempt to conceal his admiration for the handsome and sailor-like way in which the victors achieved the final destruction of the famous Confederate ship.

THE OLDEN TIME SERIES. Gleanings chiefly from old newspapers in Boston and Salem, Massachusetts. Part Four. Quaint and curious advertisements. Selected and arranged by HENRY M. BROOKS. 16mo, pp. 153. Boston, 1886: Ticknor & Co.

These quaint and unique advertisements, so skillfully presented in the little volume before us, give a better insight into the customs and manner of living a century ago than scores of volumes of fine writing without such aids. These reveal what men and women thought and desired, what they bought and what they sold, what they wore, how they treated each other, and their progress in knowledge and refinement. The author has made his selections with great tact and discrimination. He tells us how Dr. Greenwood, of Boston, in 1788, offered his services "to give a youthful air to the countenance," and was ready to "electrize" any persons who stood "in need of that almost universal remedy." This same Isaac Greenwood was a dentist—perhaps a relative of John Greenwood, Washington's dentist—and sold umbrellas, attending to both branches of business under one roof. In 1805, we notice that Salem was the scene of a curious exhibition of "wax-work" figures. Then, again, "Mistress Sarah Brooks advertises her husband and refuses to pay his debts." And furthermore, six gentlemen advertise in the *Salem Gazette*, under date of May 17, 1791, for hostile Indian scalps, offering "to pay one hundred dollars for every one with both ears to it" which may be taken between that date and the 15th day of the following June. The little book is a treasure of curiosities.

PRYTANEUM BOSTONIENSE. NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF THE OLD STATE HOUSE, formerly known as THE TOWN HOUSE IN BOSTON—THE COURT HOUSE IN BOSTON—THE PROVINCE COURT HOUSE—THE STATE HOUSE—AND THE CITY HALL. Second Paper. By GEORGE H. MOORE, LL.D. Paper read before the Bostonian Society, February 9, 1886. Pamphlet, 8vo, pp. 31. Boston, 1855: Cupples, Upham & Co.

Dr. Moore has written a second delightful paper on the subject of the Old State House in Boston, which is more interesting, if possible, than the first paper, issued some months ago. He brings Washington before the reader in a graphic description of some of the features of a memorable occasion when our first President was entertained at Boston in 1789. The author says in this connection: "What would have been the value to New York in 1861—on the day after the firing on Fort Sumter—of the old City Hall in Wall Street, where the speakers who gave voice to the indignation of the whole people on that occasion might have stood in the very place where Washington in 1789 took the oath to support the Constitution of the United States, as the first President, and the flag of the Union was first displayed as the symbol of its authority?" Dr. Moore gives some pleasant pictures of Dr. Franklin, Lafayette, and a host of other worthies who were associated with the picturesque old building. "The most fruitful theme for study," he says, "in connection with the history of the Old State House, is to be found in the work which was done here by the men who occupied it as legislators." He believes that "Massachusetts has given the law to the United States more literally than either her friends have ever cared to claim, or her enemies would be willing to acknowledge; and the diligent student of legal antiquities may recognize in her earliest codes principles of reformation which have since pervaded the whole realm of English law." The work has a valuable appendix of some forty pages, and is altogether a very choice contribution to the historic literature of the country.



John J. Audubon

[From the painting by Henry Inman.]

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. XVI

OCTOBER, 1886

No. 4

A KING'S GIFT

FRANCE, tired of Louisiana, had just given her to Spain.

In October, 1764, Governor D'Abbadie, of Louisiana, had made public, for the first time, the letter of Louis XV. announcing that his Most Christian Majesty had, of his own free will, ceded to his dearly beloved cousin, the King of Spain, and "to his successors and heirs, in full property, completely and without reserve or restriction, all the country known under the name of Louisiana, and also New Orleans and the island in which it is situated."

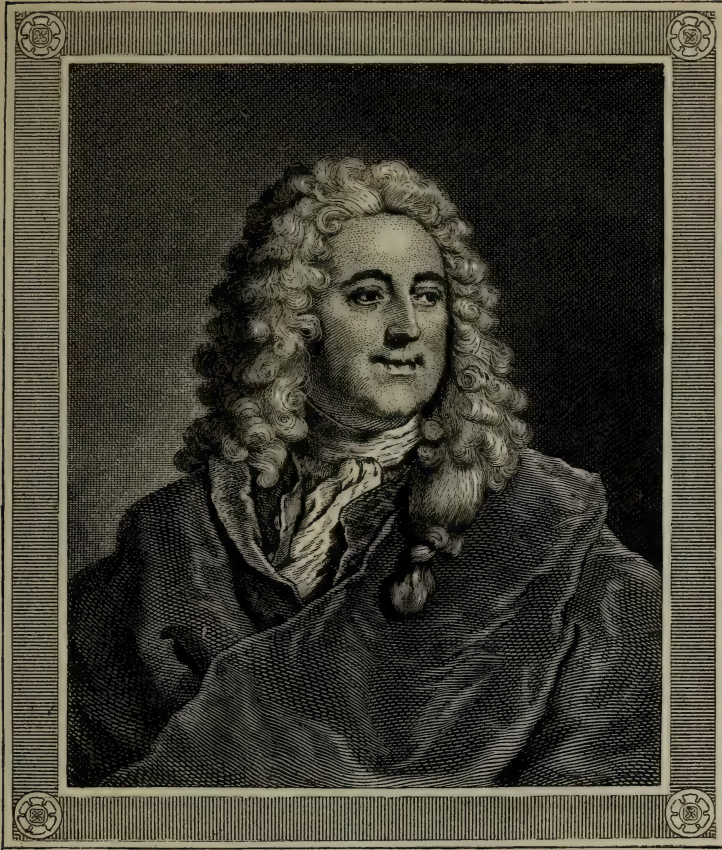
Since the first survey, in 1718, of the site now New Orleans, a war of races had given way to a rivalry of kings. A subtle essence of the long continental quarrel had come from across-sea to enter into the colonial anxieties, and to sharpen them. England, by the same treaty which ceded Louisiana, had gained the right to establish a port at Manchac, the head of the island on which New Orleans is situated, and was sure to use it. Louisiana, in spite of her fertility of soil and the marked favor of a speculating Versailles, had, curiously enough, never proved so productive as her sister colonies of the sea. While St. Domingo, Martinique, Guadaloupe, and St. Lucie were pouring out an unstinted tribute in coffee, sugar, cotton, tobacco, and cacao into the royal treasury, Louisiana had been holding out the hand which begs, not that which gives. From her very cradle she had fallen under the malefic spell of John Law—a spell from which, up to 1762, she had not recovered. Law, tempter of princes and debaucher of colonies, had begun by being practical. Through Bienville, he had founded New Orleans; and had formed settlements, destined to last, at Natchez, Baton Rouge, and Pointe Coupée. This had been the flow of a Pactolian tide—the ebb was to come too soon. Paris, drunk with golden fumes, cried out to New France that she had found an "Angel of Finance" in her "Monsieur Lass." But New France, without resources save those she could borrow, was too wretched to catch up the cry and send it back to Paris transmuted into the precious metal. A feverish period followed, more virulent in Paris than in the colony. Then came, July 23, 1721, an awful crash—the collapse of the "Great Mississippi Bubble." Johr

Law had passed away forever as a factor in American history. He who had, in his arrogance, served *lettres de cachet* upon an entire parliament, was himself now fleeing from one.

It would have been well with the colony if this had been all of "Monsieur Lass." Unhappily, that splendid rogue did not vanish until he had left in mortmain a fatal legacy behind him—his *billets de caisse*. Almost before she knew, the colony found herself handed over to the paternal mercies of the King of France. Under a disruption so violent, no change could occur without a crisis. By edict of September 19, 1735, the king approved of an emission of "card money" to the value of 200,000 livres—a trifle over \$40,000. What had been begun by Law's *billets de caisse* was completed by the king's "card money." Gold and silver, at this festival of paper, vanished across the Atlantic. Then the new paper, in its turn, suffered eclipse. To replace it, a fresh kind of bills of credit, called *ordonnances*, was issued. These lasted their day and were followed by certain treasury-notes. Chaos had long been dreaded: it had at last been reached. Its worst product was a home-syndicate, eager to speculate on the cancerous growth. Then it was that the colonial credit had taken fright. When called on to make one legitimate effort for self-preservation, it had, like Jean Nivelle's dog, fairly turned tail and slunk away.

Such was the condition, when the puzzle of making Louisiana pay for herself was turned over to Louis XV. He looked into the ledger of the colony from the first page. On the debtor side, he found "thus much monies" which France, through her kings, had paid out. He learned by heart how Louis XIV., his grandfather, had failed with Crozat, and how Orleans, his Regent-uncle, had collapsed with Law. The rest was the unbroken record of his own failures. Hence came a conviction, slow but growing day by day stronger, that France could do nothing with her bad child. Hence, also, the "Private Act," passed with much unnecessary mystery at Fontainebleau, November 3, 1762, and the supplemental announcement—after two years within a month—of the Royal Proclamation at New Orleans.

This declaration by D'Abbadie of the cession of Louisiana to Spain—to use the words of the historian Martin—"plunged the inhabitants in great consternation." The treaty of Paris, as a State paper, bristling with an array of articles, had, save for one, left them undisturbed. But that one article had brought them to an "order arms" suddenly. True to a fashion, which was destined to become distinctively American, each parish was invited, as a precautionary step, to send its delegates to a general meeting to be held in New Orleans in the beginning of the following



JOHN LAW

year (1765). In character, that meeting represented the best interests of the colony. Strangely enough, its strongest element was of the *fonctionnaire* order—many *délegates* being also members of the Colonial Council. Besides these it embraced soldiers, lawyers, merchants, and farmers. From the first, Lafrénière, the king's attorney-general, led the movement. All the vain hope of the colonists, all the loyal love which had met with so poor a recognition, spoke through his proposition that Louis should

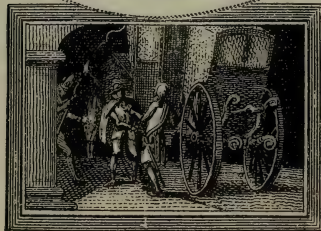
be entreated to use his influence with the King of Spain to restrain the latter from taking possession of Louisiana. On his suggesting that an envoy should be sent at once to plead their cause before Louis, the unanimous choice fell upon Jean Milhet, himself a delegate, a man already well in years, held high in esteem, long a resident of the colony, and its wealthiest merchant. Such a selection, of itself, showed wisdom. Jean Milhet was the type, at once, of its gravity, its loyalty, and its enterprise.

While awaiting the result of Milhet's mission, the Louisianians moved, pendulum like, between hopes and fears. Always, at their door, crouched the hungry wolf of financial discredit. In the general doubt as to what Spain meant to do, its howls threatened to paralyze action. To add to the money worry, came the bruit that England was snapping, at a famous rate, after her share of the roasted chestnuts of the "Private Act."* Almost as though in mockery of the unaccustomed Spanish coyness, the Englishman swooped upon his new territory. His drums beat where they had never beaten before. The words of a new tongue were heard in the forest, and the raising of a new flag made fearful talk in the wigwams of Manchac. The colonists cursed the weary time, the treaty, *le perfide Anglais*; but there was not among all these curses one small word against Louis, the "Well Beloved." Other anxieties came to vex, of which the death of Governor D'Abbadie was one, and not the least. Of his successor, Captain Philippe Aubry, but little was known. He had come accredited as a soldier who had won his spurs at Fort Duquesne. He had first appeared in New Orleans as the commander of the Louisiana Battalion, which had shriveled, by a royal order of disbandment, from forty to four companies.

It was time now that word should come from Jean Milhet. When at last heard from, the official news was more sorrowful than the hearsay. Milhet had not even been able to see the king; but he had been forced to content himself with the Duke de Choiseul, his Majesty's Minister. In his interview with the latter, he had been accompanied by no less a man than Bienville, the venerable founder of the colony, to whom, old and useless, Louis had been as cold and ungrateful as Ferdinand to Columbus. All appeals had failed. The Duke, courteous to the man, had proved deaf to the patriot.

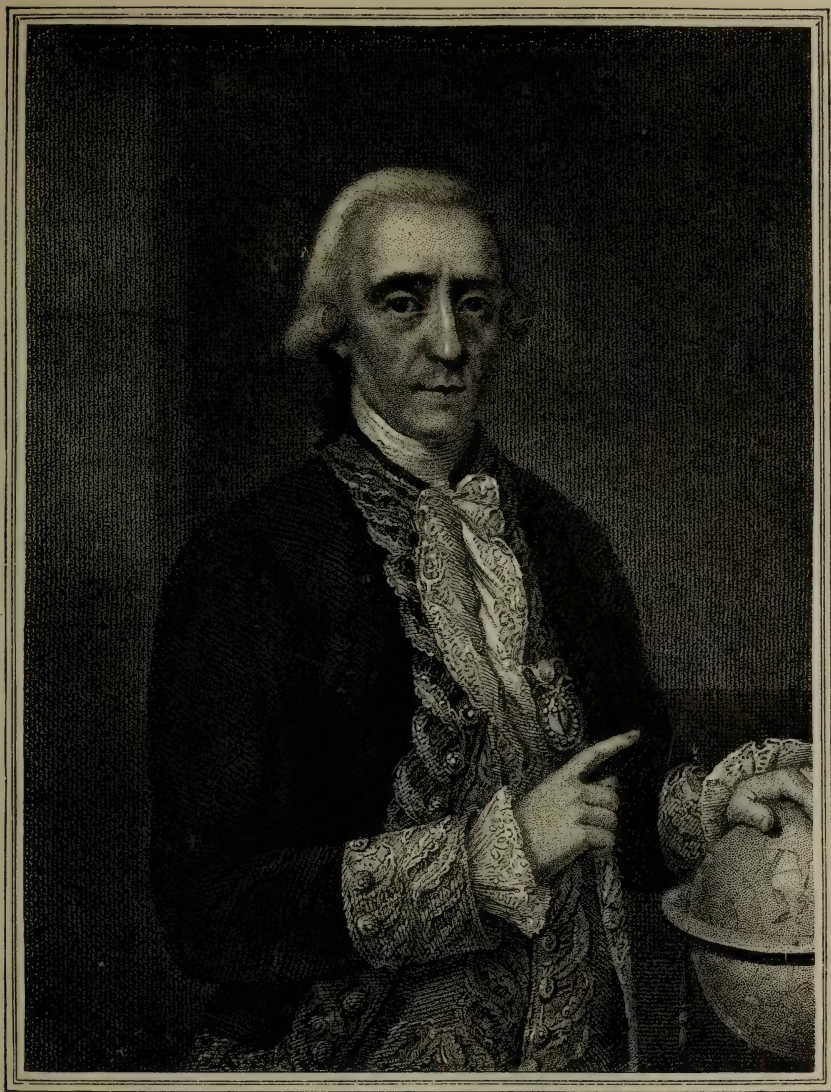
Meanwhile, the public anxiety had been made keener by the receipt of a letter from Havana, July, 1765, from Don Antonio de Ulloa, an-

* Among other provisions of the Secret Treaty was one by which the King of France ceded to that of Great Britain . . . "everything possessed by him on the left side of the River Mississippi, except the town of New Orleans, and the island on which it stands."

**LOUIS XV KING OF FRANCE.***[From a rare print.]*

nouncing to the Superior Council of New Orleans his appointment as Governor of Louisiana. It died away, however, when months had passed and the Spaniard did not come. Straightway the colonists set to dreaming that Spain had drawn back from her compact. But theirs were

the Homeric dreams which creep through gates of ivory, not of horn. One day in the following spring—March 5, 1766—Don Antonio himself reached New Orleans, “with two companies of infantry under Captain Piernas.” The excitement passed from house to house. With it, however, there was no thought of resistance. The reception showed as little discourtesy as warmth. It was “respectful, but cold and sullen.” Every one felt that much depended on the character of the new governor. Who was he? Rumor had spoken of him as a man of middle age, small in frame; an officer of rank in the Spanish navy; above all, as a scientist, the glory of Spain, held to stand high in his king’s favor. Unfortunately, however, though a man of many rich parts, Don Antonio was a sorry diplomatist. His appointment seems about the worst that the King of Spain, after his royal doze, could have possibly made for his new colony. He had but little experience for such a position, and what little he possessed had come more from the sea than the land. In character he was a bundle of odd contradictions. He was wise where wisdom was study, but foolish where wisdom was action. He was a philosopher among seamen, yet never quite a seaman among philosophers. A learned navigator in theory, he was so poor a sailor that, in an important cruise against the English, he forgot to open his letter of instructions until too late, and so let the Briton escape. By report, and in truth, the most amiable of men, he transformed himself, in New Orleans, into one of Lope de Vega’s magnificos—and sulked. Of course, such a man must go wrong at the outset. His first act in Louisiana was a defiance to the colonial mind, if not to France. The official character of the Superior Council had been indirectly recognized by Ulloa himself in his letter from Havana announcing his appointment. On his arrival, after a proper delay, he was respectfully requested by the Council to show his authority to act. What did not seem logical after his Havana letter was a point blank refusal to do so. He went farther. He denied altogether the right of the Superior Council, “as a civil tribunal,” to call him to account. He had to deal, he declared stiffly, with Gov. Aubry alone—whom, from Havana, he had not condescended to know. The Superior Council bolted this Ulloa pill with a grimace. Unconscious of the storm he had raised, Ulloa placidly visited the Natchitoches and the outlying settlements, to deserve the thanks of a statistical-loving posterity by his census of 1766. On his return he continued to put to the colony, with different faces, that famous mock-riddle with which Socrates once charged Meletus. All this time he was holding great threads of authority between his fingers, which he had neither the skill nor the nerve to use. Of this he became finally conscious. He grew sus-



DON ANTONIO DE ULLOA.

[From a very rare engraving, by Edward Scriven.]

picious, sharp, peremptory. He had not forgotten how Charles III.—the wisest of the later Spanish kings—had instructed him to win, by kindness, Louisiana to the throne. But, as a statesman, he seemed incapable of being other than a fine specimen of a Spanish “Sir Forcible Feeble.”

He professed to think the political coil a fair excuse to defer the execution of his sovereign's order. Meanwhile, after having at first ignored Aubry as the representative of France, he, of a sudden, took that official into high favor. He opened before him, as before a colleague, those papers signed with the great seal, which he had refused to show the Council. He did not say to Aubry: "I have come to relieve you." What he said was: "I am not quite ready to relieve you. Act for me until I am." This was just neither to the King, his master, nor to the King of France, his master's friend. It is due to Ulloa, however, to say that, saving his persistent refusal to exhibit his powers, he strove, in his own way, to be of service to the colony. He tried to resurrect, in the interest of the troops, the wretched corpse of the colonial currency. The French troops, knowing it to be dead, clamored for an improvement on the old ruinous discount. Piernas' Spanish Contingent, having only heard of it, would have none of it. After failing with the currency, Ulloa's next step—under orders from Madrid, but, as he declared, against his will—was to regulate the colonial trade. This brought matters to a point. He issued, always through Acting Governor Aubry, commercial regulations prohibiting the unloading of cargoes from Martinique and St. Domingo, without his written permission. These regulations struck at the root of commercial independence. They were promptly met by protests from merchants who had ventures afloat to and from those ports. The restrictions themselves, bad as they were, were as nothing to the mode in which they were announced. A commercial decree, made public by a file of soldiers with fixed bayonets and a sharp-rolling drum, was a novel sight in the streets of New Orleans. In their extremity the merchants—the sole importers of the town—turned to the Superior Council, of late much in eclipse. They petitioned that body to suspend the execution of the decree—Lafrénère, the attorney-general, himself presenting the petition. Apparently Ulloa, scientist, was not much disturbed; but Aubry, politician, was. The latter hastened to suspend the obnoxious decree—informally. A few days later Ulloa, who had been growing more and more restless under the responsibilities of an office which he had declined to fill, flitted to the Belize. A thrill, as of deliverance, passed through the town. Days turned into weeks, weeks into months. Ulloa still lingered by the sea-side. After hopes arose fears. What could he mean by turning his back on the colony? Was he waiting for those who should place a sword in his hand? Perhaps he was expecting a Spanish army from Havana! Soon a whisper came which gave zest to gossip. A certain lovely Peruvian lady, the Marchioness de Abrado by name, with a retinue of Indian



CHARLES the III.^d *Published as the*

Act directed April 18th 1780

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KING of SPAIN &c.

In the Robes of the New-

Order of Carlos Tercero.

from the Original Picture of Antonio Velasquez.



maidens, had reached the Belize, and had been received with a courtesy that looked like fervor, by the flitting governor. The secret, once given to the winds, was borne along with them. It crept out that what had taken place was the Church's blessing upon a love which, born among the palms of Lima, was to bloom among the sedges of the Belize. When Ulloa and his young bride came up the river they found society in a ferment. The lady was to be punished for her husband's offenses. Society, illogically enough, sought to avenge a political wrong by exercising a social right. In modern words, the governor's bride was to be "cut." Her Peruvian ladyship smiled haughtily at these airs of the French ladies, and made a miniature court for herself, with her Indian maids of honor around her. Within this circle, caring nothing for France, and all for Spain, she reposed in scornful state. There might be a fog outside; but could not one flirt of her Spanish fan lift it?

This feminine triumph was short-lived. It had been stimulated by a considerable show of troops, opportunely landed from Havana. With such a force, Ulloa might safely, by right of his commission, have silenced all complaints by taking formal possession of the country. Never had the grievance of the colony been against Ulloa Governor, but against Ulloa *declining to be Governor*. To the surprise of all he hastened to send the new force to the four points of the compass. This proved conclusively to the people that it was not the lack of troops that had made him keep the royal commission hidden away under his latest scientific essay. While the colonists had been gathering materials for combustion, old Jean Milhet, in the winter of 1767, was coming back to kindle the blaze. He came, Bienville's messenger of a great disappointment. Meetings were held at once in the city and on the Golden Coast. A new call was issued for a general meeting at New Orleans. Lafrénière, supported by his comrades of the first protest, fought for and carried a petition to the Superior Council that Ulloa should be expelled from the colony. Before breaking ground, that body, through its president, had thought proper to inquire of Aubry specifically whether Ulloa had, at any time exhibited to him his powers. Aubry answered vaguely—"Nothing very decisive has ever been shown to me on the subject." This was the signal for the Superior Council, not sorry to wipe off old scores with a bold resumption of official authority, to threaten Ulloa with prosecution as a disturber of the public peace. Ulloa, routed from silence, tried to defend himself. He had met M. Aubry, he declared, at the Belize. On that sand-bar at the mouth of the Mississippi, famous for nothing save sea-gulls and sedges, possession of Louisiana had been privately given to him. To the amazement of the Council, Aubry stepped briskly

forward to make good the story. The subterfuge was vain. The colonists first laughed at this giving away of a world sans drums, sans banners, sans state, sans everything. Then their laughter, gaining sourness, turned to anger. They declared Ulloa to be a trickster. Though not yet rebels, they had taken those preliminary measures that are swift to turn indignation into rebellion. They had already made sure of the *Acadiens* from the Attakapas, and the Germans from the Golden Coast. On October 26th, they waited for the council to act. On the morning of the 27th, the guns at the Tchoupitoulas gate were spiked. On the next day the *Acadiens*, headed by Noyan, and the Germans by Villeré, marched through the dis-



THE BELIZE, MOUTH OF THE MISSISSIPPI, ABOUT 1850.

mantled gate. On the 27th the council had decided on action. Aubry had protested, but its decree had stood. If Ulloa did not produce his powers from the King of Spain to be "recorded on its minutes, and published through the province, he was to leave the colony within one month." Ulloa was wise enough to know that the movement, into the beginning of which he had never taken the trouble to inquire, had gained a strength beyond his power to resist. He did not wait until the expiration of the month to take refuge on board a Spanish vessel, anchored in front of the market-place. It was known that he would sail early the next morning. At dawn a party of merry-makers, fresh from a protracted wedding feast, chose to expedite the departure. Marching noisily to the levee, in high good humor, they secured a boat, rowed to the vessel and cut her cables.

The ship, already prepared for departure, floated down stream. The irony of fate has never been more grotesquely appropriate than this exit of Don Antonio de Ulloa—of him who had been a play-governor—leaving the town in which he had played his part, with the fantastic revelers of a night of orgies, shrieking out to him from the river banks, *Vive le Roi ! Vive Louis, le Bien-Aimé ! Adieu ! Adieu !*

Thus, without force, save a moral one ; without passion, though with that steadiness of purpose which is stronger than passion ; with a town aflame with high feeling, much shouting and rough threats, yet all its excesses never going beyond a possible conflict between the rebels and the Spaniards, and without the loss of a single life, was the revolution against Spain ended. Excitement the days before had turned into calmness the day after. Not less calm was the general meeting of deputies from the country parishes called at New Orleans, which hoped, in good faith, by a second embassy to Louis, to make a dead letter of the treaty of cession. St. Lette, a merchant of Natchitoches, and Lesassier, a member of the Superior Council, were chosen for the mission. Ulloa, in the meantime, had reached Havana. Thence he made a speedy voyage to Spain. On the colonial side, St. Lette and Lesassier were three months in reaching Paris. They had expected to find the French ear of Louis. They were favored, and this only by proxy, with his Spanish ear—his good cousin of Spain having availed himself of the swift crossing of his banished governor to lay a grievous complaint, with items, against Louisiana. The delegates of an abandoned colony had hoped to enlist in her cause the priceless services, the true voice, and the white hairs of Bienville. But Bienville was dead—from a heart broken, it was said, when he had to send Jean Milhet back. De Choiseul was still minister, with the Well-Beloved, as usual, both unseen and dumb. The agents of the inevitable, it is said, are never amiable. M. de Choiseul was an exception. With the odor of his old-time fight for the rights of the Parliament of Paris clinging about him, he could not have been ungracious, if he had tried. He was good enough to save St. Lette and Lesassier from long cooling of colonial heels in his own ante-chamber. He frankly told them that the colony must submit, for Spain would never give up Louisiana. With these words, courteous but sinister, he dismissed them with a smile and a bow.

Through all this, Lafrénière and his fellow-conspirators rested under the shadow of judgment. Each was recognized to be of position and influence in the colony. Lafrénière was doubly a French subject—his father having been a Canadian, he himself a native of New Orleans. Sprung from the people, he was a paradox in a day less leveling than our own ; a man of

plebeian blood, who, from a proud bearing and imperious manner, was nicknamed "Louis Quatorze;" a republican by instinct, who was an aristocrat by taste. By nature strong, ambitious, eloquent, he was possessed of a fever of unrest better suited to a lawless adventurer than to the



ETIENNE FRANCOIS DUC DE CHOISEUL-STAINVILLE.

1719-1785.

[From a very rare print.]

sworn officer of the law. Hating intrigue, he was a believer in audacity, as Danton, thirty years later, was to interpret it; an agitator with a conscience, he was a political iconoclast with a faith; in short, he was a natural leader of men, as reasonably sure to explode a crisis in unsettled times as to meet its triumphs or its penalties with dignity. Next to him came Foucault, the King's Intendant Commissary, a creature of a different

stripe ; of an intellect keen, snaky, insincere ; loving nothing so much as to have his hand in intrigue, yet always trembling as he put it in ; in his heart an egotist, capable of intense though always subtle energy in building a revolutionary wall, so long as the work might be safe, yet equally capable of prompt denial of having built it should he find it toppling. Masan, a wealthy planter, and a Knight of St. Louis, was an ex-captain of infantry. Marquis, captain in the Swiss troops in the service of France, was a dreamer bred in the school from which was to spring the Helvetic Republic ; a brave man, a trifle heady, therefore of large aims beyond his age, preferring rather to look at a public question from its fantastic angle ; hence, a fervent believer in a republic for Louisiana and a free port for New Orleans. Noyan and Bienville, nephews of Bienville, were representatives of the army and navy—both ardent natures with a simple faith in each other, and loyal to the colony their uncle had founded. A useful man was Doucet, a distinguished lawyer, a Frenchman even in his law, patriotically inclined to judicial bigotry, and making light of that boast of Spanish colonial jurisprudence, *Las Recopilaciones de las Leyes*. Jean Milhet was an honored relic of the first embassy—destined, in the hurly-burly of an unexpected insurrection, to have his name stand for posterity on a pedestal wholly uncommercial. The mercantile interest itself was more directly represented by Joseph Milhet (Jean's brother), by Caresse, Poupet, and Petit. From outside of New Orleans came Joseph Villéré, highly respected throughout the colony, Lafrénière's brother-in-law, and captain of the German militia on the Golden Coast ; and Hardy de Boisbalne, then a planter, but formerly a member of the Superior Council.

After Ulloa's departure, the position of these men became perilous. They could not doubt that the community was in full accord with them. Of its sympathy, the proofs came to them from day to day. But mere accord is not co-responsibility. Leaders living on a hill must suffer for their elevation. When Governor D'Abbadie read that sorrowful letter which announced the cession, Lafrénière and his friends believed in it, and were prepared to accept it. But when Ulloa, after nearly three years of loitering, came to represent the new authority, and failed to do so, they lost all faith in the reality of the cession. In the November following the expulsion, one memorial and two letters left New Orleans. All were addressed to the Minister Duke de Praslin. The memorial was from the Superior Council, affirming its position, and begging for its action the support of the minister. One letter was from Foucault to the duke, in which he strove, as was his way, to carry water on both shoulders. The other was from Aubry, giving posterity a clearer light into the private thoughts

of this political eunuch, than the colonists themselves ever had. Referring to his report of March 30, 1767, he "recalls three different passages" in which he had foreseen "the unfortunate event which has occurred." He is quite clear that "M. de Ulloa was not the proper person to give this colony;" that "he does not possess the necessary qualifications to command Frenchmen;" that "instead of endeavoring to gain the hearts . . . he has done all that could tend to alienate them;" that "he seemed to despise the first men of the colony, and particularly the members of the Superior Council;" that "by threats . . . he caused the Spanish domination to be dreaded;" that "he has alarmed everybody, and . . . not a little contributed to draw down upon himself and his nation the storm which has swept him away." Ulloa's total unfitness shows rather worse under Aubry's phrases than in the council's revolutionary portrait. If the latter's memorial was the vindication of the revolution, Aubry's report was its justification. Foucault had, by this time, taken to cover. His was its apology.

Letters just then opportunely came from Bordeaux, assuring those who received them that the "province was to continue a colony of France." Forthwith the town entered into a fool's paradise. Its paradise was filled with angel-voices; Spain would do nothing; Ulloa would have no successor; France had taken back her gift. Little account, in fact none, had been made of a certain high Council of Ministers, otherwise fateful, at

Madrid, which, beginning as early as February 17, and ending March 31, 1769, had finally declared in favor of taking "possession of the colony of New Orleans with all its limits." Yet this same report of his council had decided Charles III. to avenge Ulloa. On the 23d of July, the gates of the paradise were stormed. Without warning, a message crept in on that day that a Spanish frigate and twenty-eight transports, with 4,500 soldiers on board, were at the Belize.



AN OLD SPANISH BUILDING.



THE CATHEDRAL.

[Founded in 1792.]

This arrival was, in itself, a threat which, throwing the town into new fright, provoked a passing spirit of resistance. Messengers rode post haste with the news along the coast. These were but the dead ashes of a fire that had been kindled on the delusion that France had relented and that Spain had grown weary.

The next day set all doubt at rest. A Spanish officer, Don Francisco Bouligny, landed on the levee. He brought a message from Don Alexander O'Reilly, the commander of the forces of Spain, to Aubry. The contrast between the first messenger of Ulloa and O'Reilly could not be more sharply emphasized. Ulloa, who had not come to stay, first ignored Aubry and favored the council: O'Reilly, who had come to stay, ignored the council and favored Aubry. Shortly after the receipt of the news, Lafrénière and the more sober of his colleagues were closeted with Aubry. The noisier spirits were abroad on the public square. Marquis, with dreams full of Morgarten, was there, parading with a white cockade, at the head of a hundred men as wild as himself. There too was Petit flaunting a pair of pistols, and threatening to blow out the brains of every coward who would not join him. This defiance by Marquis and Petit, if pathetic, was useless. The townsmen had turned as wise as those who were consulting with Aubry. Having given up the fight, they took to mourning their disappointment within doors; and before midnight, the last white cockade, as a living symbol, was put by forever in Louisiana. This was a rare opportunity for the display of Aubry's versatility. On the next day, he summoned the people to meet him on the *Place d'Armes*. Surrounded by a Spanish guard, composed of the new envoy and the old Spanish officers who had remained after Ulloa's departure, this ex-French governor was in a high state of Franco-Spanish exaltation. He lauded the union between their Majesties of France and Spain, dwelling tenderly on the known clemency which marked the latter. He praised the new Chief O'Reilly, and referred to his great military qualities. He exhorted, in the name of the King—presumably Louis—prompt submission to the new authority; and dismissed the assembly filled with sorrow for the France which, through her representative, had forsaken them. With Lafrénière and the other leaders, he was full of advice. He counseled them to be quiet and to join their influence with his to allay the popular excitement. He still kept on his French mask. Later on was to be the time to take it off, when the lives of Frenchmen were on the Spanish weights.

All this time, the citizens, ceasing to stir themselves, had formed a heroic resolve. They would no longer stay in the country. All they asked would be two years within which to remove themselves, their children

and their effects, from the colony which had ceased to be a home. They chose, as delegates to make known this self-expatriation to the Spanish General, Lafrénière, Marquis and the younger Milhet. Armed with a letter from Aubry, at whose house they had on the eve of departure dined with the Spanish officials, and mightily cheered by this social meeting which, in the clink of friendly glasses, breathed of peace, the delegates left for the Belize. On reaching there, all signs were auspicious. It was Boulligny, the envoy, who, a pleasant companion on the trip, did the honors of introduction. Lafrénière spoke for the delegates with moderation. They were instructed, he said, to assure His Excellency "of their submission to the orders of their Catholic and most Christian Majesties, and of their veneration for the virtues and military talents which had raised him to the eminent powers with which he was clothed." Complimentary here, he was frank enough, in justifying the revolution, to ascribe it alone to "Ulloa's harshness and subversion of the privileges guaranteed by the act of cession." He was still franker when he referred to "the *orders* of which His Excellency was the bearer, as sufficient to put him in possession." He was an advocate whose client was a revolution—a revolution which would never have been begun had Ulloa exhibited his powers. He ended by reminding the general, while begging him "not to consider Louisiana as a conquered country," of the claims of the colonists that those who might choose to emigrate should be allowed to do so. O'Reilly listened to this harangue without interrupting it, "with the gravity and the dignity due to his position." "I shall be the first," he said, "to use all means to tranquilize the people, and you may assure them of the good dispositions which are natural to my own character." He saw "with pleasure the frank submission of the colonists. Had this not been so, he would have made the flag of his king respected "against the clamors of a seditious people, and would have ascended the river as high as the Illinois, if necessary, for punishment." Here Marquis—always rash—jumping to his feet, protested hotly against the word "seditious." Nothing could have been more courtly than the general's "At the proper time, sirs, I shall with pleasure listen to your arguments." Nor could anything be more hospitable than the invitation to dinner which followed, or his graciousness as a host. Thus, twice dined and wined, the delegation believed that Spain had forgiven; and believing, returned light-hearted.

In the eighteenth century, Spain, losing power, found it hard to forgive.

On the morning of August 17, 1769, the whole Spanish fleet lay anchored in front of New Orleans. It was a spectacle of power, not again to visit the town, until a century later, when blue jackets, under a

nobler flag and a higher captain, were to look down from armored deck on burning cotton, and the black smoke into which had been dissolved at once the wealth and the hopes of a proud city left defenseless.

The official entrance had been for five o'clock in the afternoon. At that hour, a single gun was fired from the flag-ship. At the signal, 2,000 men landed on the levee in perfect order and with soldierly precision. Veterans of Spain—many among them grizzled campaigners, whose scars linked them with shining victories in Europe and Africa—with colors streaming, drums beating, and bands playing the airs which found favor in Madrid, poured out, an imposing line of heavy infantry, light infantry, of artillerymen with their guns, mounted dragoons, and the Havanese militia. The crowded ships, with gay flags lending a glow of color to the yellow river sweeping beneath them, filled the air with the thunder of their triumphant salvos. On shore, the French troops and the colonial militia, headed by Aubry, were deployed in a thin line near the cathedral. Startling in their suddenness, came "five long and loud shouts of *Viva el Rey*" from the ships. Caught up by the troops on shore, *Viva el Rey* was again given five times. Meanwhile, the bells of the town clanged joyfully, while the vessels roared out a message to the land, returned by the artillerymen on the square and the Spanish infantry on the river-bank. At this moment—all this clamor and stir and excitement, open and suppressed, and the red glow cast by the setting sun, forming a veritable *coup de théâtre*—General O'Reilly, walking with a slight limp, appeared on the square. The ceremonies were brief but potent. No Belize secrecy was here, no furtive transfer of a jewel that honored both giver and receiver; but a formal possession peremptorily demanded and as formal a submission made. Preceded by all the pomp of the proudest European monarchy of the day, O'Reilly approached Aubry, who, surrounded by the council and the principal citizens, awaited him near a staff above which waved the flag of France. O'Reilly's address, in taking possession, was military in its brevity. He had already shown Governor Aubry the credentials by which he was empowered "to take possession of the colony in the name of his Catholic Majesty, as well as the instructions of his most Christian Majesty that it be delivered to me." He begged his French ex-colleague to read these orders to the people. Then, with the ships, their guns and their sailors silent; with the army of occupation resting in serried ranks, neither hearing or understanding; with the people beyond, straining their ears to listen but hearing little, Aubry, addressing those who surrounded him, declared that by the "sacred orders just heard, the Province of Louisiana is irrevocably ceded to the crown of Spain." Absolving them with the

next breath from their oath of fidelity to the King of France, Aubry, "turning to O'Reilly, handed to him the keys of the gates of the town." Then the flag of France, still waving at the head of the staff, fluttered down. In another moment, the Spanish colors, rising to catch the breeze, proclaimed that Frenchmen had been robbed by their king of the nationality their fathers had brought with them. At a sign from Aubry, the French troops shouted five times: "*Viva el Rey*"—the Spanish troops and the flag-ship responding. A visit to the cathedral, an address by the curate, the singing of a Te Deum, while the troops and the fleet outside were rejoicing noisily, and a general review by the two governors, closed the ceremonies.

Next day O'Reilly gave a state dinner. This *Agapæ* sort of business, by the way, seemed much the fashion before, during, and immediately after the Spanish Captain-General's entrance into New Orleans. Among the guests thus repeatedly honored were "the French authorities and all the persons of distinction in the colony." Before leaving the Belize, however, O'Reilly had already privately secured depositions of witnesses to the events that had occurred. What he needed besides these was documentary attestation that could come only from some official source. It needed no effort to find the man; the man was waiting to be found. Ex-Governor Aubry, through all this changing time, had been verily an official "By-Ends of Fair-Speech." He had never striven "against wind and tide;" he had dearly loved the power which went in "silver slippers," and had walked even with it only "when the sun shone." When called on, Aubry had responded with the eager willingness of a lackey. On the very day of the dinner O'Reilly had written him a letter. In itself, it differs little from an ordinary instruction directed by a judge to an officer of court. "Sir," wrote O'Reilly, "as you witnessed all that occurred in this colony . . . I beg you to enlighten me on the subject, to make me acquainted with all these events . . . and to furnish me with the names of the persons who induced the people to commit the offense of presenting themselves with arms in their hands." The state dinner of the 19th had turned out to be a private spotting of the patriots. Aubry hastened to pay the price for his "silver slippers" and for his bright sunshine. The next day, his paper—a report in form, but an arraignment in matter, with names and facts given with official precision—was handed to O'Reilly. "No attorney-general," says Gayarré, frankly, "could have drawn a more precise and more fatal indictment."*

* Aubry thought it due to himself, in justification, to say, in one of his dispatches, that he 'had never suspected before that O'Reilly had been invested with any such powers.'

O'Reilly showed his appreciation of this report by acting at once. As early as eight o'clock, orders had been issued to arrest and bring to trial the implicated chiefs. For the same day, in the forenoon, a levée had been announced. Among the prominent citizens who attended it were the principal leaders of the revolution. These, as they arrived, were invited, each one believing it to be a special mark of gracious recognition, into the governor's cabinet. Looking around, they found themselves the only guests, and alone with him. Such a meeting, under the shadow which rested on them, looked ominous. They saw at once the mousetrap in which they had been caught. Nor was it a new one. The temptations of Spanish history are of one broad pattern, and singularly alike. Two centuries before, the Duke of Alva had set the self-same trap for the patriot Counts Egmont and Horn. For potent beguilement, O'Reilly's fine dinners had matched Alva's choice presents of Italian fruit. The leaders arrested on this day were Nicholas Chauvin de Lafrénière, Jean Baptiste de Noyan, Joseph Villeré, Pierre Caresse, Pierre Marquis, Joseph Milhet, Jean Milhet, Joseph Petit, Balthasar de Masan, Julien Jérôme Doucet, Pierre Poupet, and Hardy de Boisblanc. O'Reilly, with Aubry, who had now joined him, addressed them, without even taking pains to keep the hand of iron under the glove of silk. His address was not a long one. In its curtness and hauteur, it smacked of royalty. After reading the orders by which "they were to be arrested and tried according to the law of the kingdom," he assured them with a gravity as formal as it was insincere, of his "earnest wish that they might prove their innocence." While this was being said the room had gradually filled with officers. "Now gentlemen," O'Reilly added shortly, "please deliver your swords." One of his aids received them from the patriots. Each left the cabinet escorted between two officers of grenadiers. As the prisoners left the house for the street they found it circled by troops, gathered together since they had entered it. Placed between two companies of grenadiers, they were marched to prison. They had not even the satisfaction of being together. Most of them were taken to vessels of the fleet and kept apart. At this time Aubry, writing to the French Ministry, is seized with a sudden burst of admiration for O'Reilly. He professes himself touched to the heart "by the small number of those whom the general was indispensably obliged to have arrested . . . while considering the number of those whose bad conduct would have merited for them equal treatment."

The townsmen, hearing of these arrests and not knowing what to expect for themselves, shut their doors and left the streets at night in darkness, to the Spanish patrol. Alarmed at the disturbance, which threatened

a general exodus to the English at Manchac—a subject much talked of in those days—O'Reilly hastened to issue a general proclamation of amnesty for all save “some seditious, fanatic, evil-minded men, who had the temerity to make a criminal use of the ignorance and excessive credulity of their fellow-citizens.” On August 26, the inhabitants were summoned to take the oath of allegiance to the King of Spain. Relieved of their fears, obedience to the summons was general. When the sun set on the 26th, neither the Germans nor the *Acadiens* had come. With the sun of the next day, however, the Germans came marching in, and shortly after the *Acadiens*, both claiming unavoidable delay. O'Reilly—although a possible Alva—seems to have had about him none of the temper of the Master of Stair. The tardy comers escaped, therefore, the fate of the Lochabers and the Glencoes. He accepted their excuse at once, and graciously. On the 27th, they took the oath and left for home.

Governor-General O'Reilly had found time, meanwhile, to read, with much cynical care, a certain “*Memorial of the planters, merchants, and other inhabitants of Louisiana on the event of the 29th of October, 1768.*” While doing so, he chanced to discover, at the end, an order addressed to the king's printer, Braud, authorizing the publication, and signed by Commissary Foucault. Foucault and Braud must, of course, be arrested. He



GOVERNOR-GENERAL O'REILLY.

begged Aubry to see that this was done. Aubry responded promptly, although protesting that “it caused him much grief.” On October 5th Foucault was called on to plead. In his plea, the arch-trimmer declared that he had done nothing save in his official character of Commissary and Ordonnateur of the King of France, and in his Majesty's name. To the King of France alone, therefore, he was accountable. He claimed to stand his trial in France. His plea was accepted with a haste far from friendly. On the 14th, he was shipped to Bordeaux. O'Reilly has drawn his portrait deftly. Writing to Grimaldi, the Spanish Minister, he declares him to be “a conceited and narrow-minded man, who has cheated a host of people here.”

Braud hastened to put in a defense of agency. As the king's printer, he was bound by his office to print whatever bore the Ordonnateur's sig-

nature. The plea was held to be good, and he was set free. Nothing was lost here. Braud was only a small fish that had slipped through the net.

A few days later, the trial opened. Never had prisoners, standing before their judges, so freely acknowledged, by confession made in response to interrogatories conducted privately, the offenses charged. These offenses had been of public talk. They had directly lent themselves to the prosecution. In their defense, the accused stood on rights asserted by themselves, though assailed by the Spanish attorney-general. All were present save Joseph Villéré, who had died suddenly on the day of arrest. Lafrénère, for his associates, at the outset, denied the jurisdiction of the tribunal. He claimed that the king of Spain had never formally assumed authority over Louisiana. While disbelieving outright Ulloa's exhibition of powers at the Belize, he insisted that the cession of Louisiana, even if consummated there—of which there was no proof on record—had been made no more valid than a marriage without witnesses. The flag of France—the visible emblem of its sovereignty as a nation—had waved alongside that of Spain, during the entire Ulloa residence, from the Belize to the Illinois. Had Spain absorbed Louisiana under the act of cession, there would have been no flag of France. Her flag being there, all the rights of France had consequently not been absorbed. But such of the rights given up by her as had been transferred could be proved only by Ulloa's formal attestation to the fact. One single act of independent authority from Ulloa, therefore, as the representative of Spain, would have changed the territory from French to Spanish, without a whisper of protest. But that act, asked for repeatedly, first as a favor, then by threats, was never made. Such, in substance, was Lafrénère's defense of himself and his fellows. Don Felix del Rey, the Spanish attorney, was compelled to bring out the old Ulloa protests, nearly thread-worn by this time. He cited the private act at Fontainebleau; the death-statute of Alonzo XI.; the letter of Louis to Governor D'Abbadie; and the arrival of Don Antonio de Ulloa as the accredited representative of the king of Spain. Like Tennyson's wise old Chancellor, Don Felix "put the question by" of Ulloa's failure to make as public an exhibition of his powers as O'Reilly had just done, while he thundered out the financial fact—one not to be denied or put down—that the same Ulloa had, through Aubry, paid from the Spanish treasury the entire expenses of the colony from March, 1766, to 1768. No man, he urged, pays money for what is not his own. Don Felix well knew that this was the weak point in the statement of France's improvident child; but it had had no direct connection with the Ulloa revolt. The court, however, being prejudged, readily placed the question of

finance above the ethics of patriotism. The prisoners were found guilty. O'Reilly, as president, pronounced sentence. Five of the prisoners—Lafrénière, Noyan, Caresse, Marquis, and Joseph Milhet—as the chiefs, were condemned “to the ordinary pain of the gallows, which they had deserved by the infamy of their conduct.” Petit was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment; Masan and Doucet to ten years' imprisonment; Hardy de Boisblanc, Jean Milhet, and Poupet to six years' imprisonment. The memory of Joseph Villeré was condemned “to be held and reputed forever infamous;” and all the printed copies of that famous memorial of October 29, 1768, were ordered to be “gathered up together and burnt by the hand of the common hangman.”

The court of 1768 had been as summary in its findings as a modern drum-head court-martial. Convicted one day, the chiefs were condemned to be hanged the next. But little time had been given either for prayers or protestations; yet there had been time to show that no man in New Orleans was base enough to act as hangman of her patriots. The colonial hangman—by law, a negro—refused the work with honest heat. The bloody office, in turn, was tendered to white and black. One after the other they spurned it. This unconscious heroism of the people was without effect. Vengeance, not justice, had been decided on. The mode of death was only changed from hanging to shooting. This was not from mercy, but from necessity—an improvement on that famous “Murderation Edict,” which, conceding to the Netherlanders the privilege of being hanged instead of burned, had not been from necessity, but in mockery.

On the morning of the 25th of October, the guards at the city gates were doubled. Large bodies of troops under arms paraded the streets, or were drawn out in battle-line along the levee, and on the public square. The authority of Spain rode the town like a bad dream. It bristled from every Spanish helmet; it menaced from every Spanish bayonet. Stringent orders had been given to the guards at the gates to allow no one to enter. None had been issued, however, forbidding citizens to go out. Long before noon they were pouring, a sorrowful stream, into the open country. By three o'clock, the streets were empty—the houses nearly so. At that hour, Lafrénière and his four associates were “led under a strong guard to the small square in front of the barracks.” Standing erect at the stakes before which they were placed, they fell before the fire of a platoon of grenadiers. The few who had stayed behind told the tale of an undaunted courage to those who came back, in tears, as the night fell.

There are those who see in misfortunes following, whether soon or later, wrong-doing, the vengeful law of the pagan goddess of helm and

wheel. For such, the subsequent events in the lives of O'Reilly and Aubry might stand for fate. O'Reilly, after little more than a year, returned to Spain. He went back to find old enemies venomous about the Louisiana matter; to be raised, nevertheless, in honor, from post to post, by Charles III., who could never forget that wild day of his slaughtered Walloons, on which the brave Irishman had saved his life; to fall with the death of his king into shame; to take his forced rest in Catalonia, there to fret while his sword rusted; to be brought out in 1794, already an old man, because, with the fiery Frenchman in front, there was in all Spain no captain like to him; and to die, while on his way to the army, with his newborn hopes falling like ashes on his soldier-coffin. Aubry's end was simpler. He left Louisiana for Bordeaux, sure of his king's approbation, on the brigantine *Père de Famille*. At the very entrance to the Garonne, near the Cordovan Tower, within sight of home and safety, the vessel foundered. Aubry was not among the few survivors.

Fin Dimitry.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN AND COLONIZATION

The business which threw me into personal relations with President Lincoln in 1863 was connected with a public measure much discussed at the time, and now a part of the history of that exciting presidential term.

After the President's famous proclamation declaring the abolition of slavery, the Northern States were threatened with a deluge of refugee freedmen and their families, for whose protection and employment in the country no possible provision could be made, and the alarming cry arose, and was echoed all over the North, "What shall be done with the negro?" President Lincoln strongly recommended colonization; and Congress voted \$600,000 to be employed by him, according to his judgment, for this object. The government invited proposals, and experiments were made; one in Central America, and another at the Island of A'Vache, within the Republic of Hayti. The applicant for the latter was an individual highly recommended to the government, who had obtained a lease of the island from the Haytian government for the cultivation of cotton by the freedmen. President Lincoln favored this enterprise. A contract was accordingly drawn up and the contractor went to New York to form a company and obtain the necessary capital. It was proposed to ship five thousand freedmen, including families, the future of the enterprise to depend upon the successful founding of a permanent colony under white superintendents for the cultivation of cotton and cereals.

The affair had advanced to the charter of the first vessel, its fitting out and supplies for five hundred negroes, then gathered at Fortress Monroe under the supervision of Major-General Dix, when an unforeseen difficulty intervened. A rumor, presumed to have originated with a party opposed to negro colonization, reached the government and greatly disturbed the President. It was to the effect that the contractor was in league with Semmes, the notorious Confederate privateer, to hand over the negroes to him on the high seas as "runaway captured slaves." Absurd, and utterly without foundation in fact, as was this mischievous story, Lincoln and his Cabinet withdrew the contract, on the ground that no scheme of the kind should be undertaken which, in case of failure from any cause, might subject the government to the after charge of having neglected proper precautions.

Such decision not only subjected the gentlemen in New York, who had

already incurred a large expenditure and larger liabilities, to great inconvenience and prospective loss, but it promised to inflict much misery upon the destitute freedmen who were anxiously awaiting the arrival of the vessel to take them to the "Land of Promise." As one of the subscribers to the Colonization Company, I visited Washington to ascertain the wishes of the government in this dilemma. Mr. Lincoln clearly laid before me the embarrassment in which he found himself, notwithstanding he was fully convinced of the baseless character of the aspersions cast upon the party with whom he had contracted. He assured me that he had the enterprise greatly at heart, and that it "should go on." He did not feel justified under the circumstances in contracting with the original party, but would contract with those known to him and in whom he had confidence. "Would Mr. Paul S. Forbes—one of the gentlemen who had come forward to assist the President's measure, and myself, accept the contract?"

Now the name of "contractor," after the experiences of the war, was more to be avoided than a pestilence. This I said to Mr. Lincoln, and added that if any other party acceptable to himself would relieve us of the expenses incurred and carry on the enterprise we would relinquish it. But the President had put his foot down on the subject, and his foot was a very large one. The matter had been fully discussed by the Cabinet, and this was the conclusion. Communicating with Mr. Forbes, I found him equally disinclined to contract for the deportation of the number of freedmen it was intended to cover; but, after further consultation with Mr. Lincoln—who pressed the matter as a personal favor—we agreed to accept the contract so far as the shipment of the first five hundred freedmen were concerned, and for whose deportation provision had already been made. The negroes at Fortress Monroe, including their families, were accordingly shipped for the Island of A'Vache, the poor refugees flocking on board, shouting hallelujahs, and in some instances falling on their knees in thanksgiving for the promised blessings in store for them.

Alas! both they and those interested in their welfare soon had cause to regret the undertaking. No phantom or real Confederate cruiser bore down upon the emigrant ship to capture the negroes and return them into slavery, but a series of disasters occurred, which, under the circumstances, no one could well have anticipated or averted, that first checked and finally brought failure upon the enterprise.

To make a long—a very long and very painful—story short, small-pox broke out on board the vessel, and in spite of medical care and the separation of the sick, decimated their number. No sooner were the survivors landed and the necessity for manual labor on their part apparent, than the

lowest characteristics of the negro—indolence, discontent, insubordination, and finally open revolt prevailed. Mistaking liberty for license, they refused to work, and raised preposterous demands for luxuries to which they were wholly unaccustomed during servitude.

History repeats itself. The conduct of the freedmen at A'Vache closely resembled that which is recorded as having occurred in the early part of the century in the colony of liberated slaves at Sierra Leone. "A company had been organized in London with a charter from the English Crown, and a board which included the names of Granville Sharpe and Wilberforce. In spite of the large capital subscribed by the merchants of London and the ability of the men who promoted and carried on the noble undertaking as a pure humanitarian measure, things went smoothly enough so long as the business of the colony was mainly confined to eating the provisions that had been brought in the ships; but as soon as the work became real and the commons short, the whole community smoldered down into chronic mutiny."

But in A'Vache natural and wholly unlooked for causes, for which the negroes were not responsible, assisted the spirit of insubordination. The virgin and entangled soil of the island proved to be in most parts incapable of cultivation except by unusual processes of patient labor. Even potatoes and corn failed, which gave those who were willing to work a plea for accusing the white overseers of having deceived them by bringing them to a desert island, instead of to a land of plenty. This discontent was actively fostered by black natives on the main island of Hayti, whose object was to induce the colonists to desert A'Vache and become Haytian subjects. Such would have been a satisfactory solution of the difficulty, so far as we ourselves were concerned, but the report of a special agent sent out by us to make a vigorous investigation as to the condition of the colony, did not favor this project, and we refused to allow the freedmen to exchange what was at least an independent condition, for one which under the name of "service" to native employers, would, in all probability, result in a second and hopeless servitude.

Meanwhile, the preservation of the freedmen became our imperative duty. Ship-loads of provisions and other necessities were forwarded, and instructions of the most concise and liberal nature were given for the maintenance and support of the families until they could be returned to the United States under proper protection. All this involved great delay, and it was not until after eight weary months of anxiety and expense on our part that the reduced colony of freedmen were relanded by a government vessel on our shores. By that time the question, "What shall be done

with the negro?" was in process of solution by the natural turn of events. The necessity for the cotton crop and the demand for free labor on the neglected plantations of the Southern States, were gradually inducing the ill-fed and impoverished negro to return to the soil and climate to which he was accustomed, and where, under the impetus of wages, self support would be assured to him.

The experiment at Hayti, and the experiments elsewhere having utterly failed, negro colonization, much to the chagrin of its supporters and to the delight of its opponents, received its death-blow. So far as the pecuniary result of the experiment at Hayti was concerned, the promoters of that project sustained a loss of nearly ninety thousand dollars, not a dollar of which was ever reimbursed by the government or recovered from any other source. No one felt the failure of these enterprises more keenly than President Lincoln, and had he lived but a few months longer it cannot be doubted but that, under his advice to Congress, a large part of the losses incurred, including the cost of deporting the freedmen—for which a fixed sum was appropriated in the contract—would have been repaid to the parties who at his express desire assumed the contract. Unfortunately for them, Abraham Lincoln, who was the sole trustee of the fund voted by Congress, was assassinated before his intentions in the matter were ascertained. An appeal to Congress, and if necessary an appeal to the Court of Claims, were at one time in contemplation, and some preliminary steps were taken in that direction, but they were finally abandoned, as the chief pecuniary sufferer was a millionaire, who preferred to pocket his loss to undertaking the prolonged and unsatisfactory prosecution of a government claim.

The papers relating to the case are still to be found, I dare say, among the archives of the Senate Committee on Claims; and even now, some enterprising lobbyist, possessing a constitution of iron and a faculty for wearing out the patience of committee-men, might succeed in obtaining justice for the claimants or their heirs.


Charles K. Tuckerman.



TERRITORIAL GROWTH OF THE UNITED STATES*

OUR TITLE TO OREGON

The question of our title to Oregon is an interesting one, and has occasioned much difference of opinion. The claim has sometimes been made that we obtained possession of this portion of the Pacific slope by our purchase of the Province of Louisiana. It will be the design of this paper to show that the United States Government has always maintained a consistent course upon this question, and that among a variety of claims, each of which added something to our title, that from the Louisiana purchase was of very little consequence, and should not be considered of such importance as to be named upon a par with the others. The following facts should be borne in mind from the outset—

(1.) It is well known that the Columbia River was first discovered by Captain Robert Gray, of Boston, in 1792.

(2.) If France had any claim to that territory we purchased it in 1803.

(3.) President Jefferson, entirely irrespective of this purchase, sent out an expedition under Captains Lewis and Clarke, in 1804, to explore the country of the upper Missouri and to cross over and follow to the sea any great river they might find running westward from the mountains. In the years 1805 and 1806, they explored the country of the Columbia from the sources of its two great branches to the Pacific. This exploration was planned by Jefferson before the purchase of Louisiana.

(4.) We made the first actual settlement of the country at Astoria in 1810.

(5.) We purchased from Spain, in the Florida treaty, her right to all that country north of 42°.

(6.) We may mention as an additional claim its contiguity to our other possessions.

In order to understand the value of these various claims to this territory and to be able to appreciate correctly their relative importance, it will be well to consider our controversy with Great Britain upon this subject. The careful consideration of the grounds of our title as put forth at different periods by our ministers to the Court of Saint James will probably

* The accompanying map of the territorial growth of the United States exhibits to the eye at a single glance the rapid strides our country has made geographically. This map, which is singularly accurate and admirably executed, is used here by the courtesy of the publishers of Prof. Fisher's *Outlines of Universal History*, Messrs. Ivison, Blakeman, Taylor & Co.

form the surest basis of a correct judgment. Prior to 1818, although Great Britain had laid some claim to the country west of the Rocky Mountains, yet no definite negotiations had been undertaken between the two governments to settle the dispute. During the year 1818, however, our ministers plenipotentiary, Messrs. Gallatin and Rush, carried on extended communications with the British Commissioners, Messrs. Gouldburn and Robinson, upon this subject. It was agreed by these gentlemen, in a convention dated October 20, 1818, and ratified by the governments January 30, 1819, that:—"Any country that may be claimed by either party on the north-west coast of America, westward of the Stoney Mountains, shall be free and open for the term of ten years from this date to the vessels, citizens, and subjects of the two powers, it being well understood that this agreement is not to be considered to prejudice any claim which either of the two high contracting parties may have to any part of the said country, nor shall it be taken to affect the claims of any other power, or State, to any part of the said country; the only object of the high contracting parties in that respect being to prevent disputes and differences among themselves." *

The foregoing is the third article of the convention. It was signed by Albert Gallatin and Richard Rush on the part of the United States, and by Frederick John Robinson and Henry Gouldburn on the part of Great Britain. This agreement was continued in 1827 and lasted till the final settlement of the boundary in 1846. It is worthy of our special attention to observe what were the positions assumed by these two distinguished diplomatists of ours and what counter claims were set up by the British Commissioners, at this early stage of negotiations between the two countries. Messrs. Gallatin and Rush did not assert at this time that the United States had a perfect right to this country, but insisted that our title was at least good against Great Britain. Our commissioners contended that we could hold this territory for the following reasons:—on account of—

- (1.) The discovery of the Columbia River by Captain Gray in 1792.
- (2.) The first exploration from the sources to the mouth of this river by Lewis and Clarke in 1804, 5 and 6.
- (3.) The formation of the first establishment in the country by American citizens; viz., the planting of the colony of Astoria in 1810.

On the other hand the English Commissioners claimed that "former voyagers and principally that of Captain Cook gave to Great Britain the rights derived from discovery, and they alluded to purchases from the

* *United States Treaties and Conventions*, p. 351.

natives south of the Columbia which they alleged to have been made prior to the American Revolution. They did not make any formal proposition for a boundary, but intimated that the river itself was the most convenient which could be adopted, and that they would not agree to any which did not give them the harbor at the mouth of that river, in common with the United States."

In reply to this, we may here remark that Captain Cook saw no part of this coast south of latitude 57° which had not been explored by the Spanish, long before his voyage, and however proper that argument may have been in 1818, when, a little later, we had purchased all the rights of Spain to this country the case stood somewhat differently. No further negotiations took place between our government and that of Great Britain till 1824. At that time Mr. Rush claimed for the United States "in their own right, as their absolute and exclusive sovereignty and dominion, the whole of the country west of the Rocky Mountains from the 42° to at least as far up as the 51° of north latitude." He further said that "in the opinion of my government the title of the United States to the whole of that coast from latitude 42° to as far north as 60° was superior to that of Great Britain or any other power; 1st. Through the proper claim of the United States by discovery and settlement; and 2d, as now standing in the place of Spain, and holding in their hands her title."

It will be observed that even in 1824 Mr. Rush did not base our claim on the Louisiana purchase. It may not be without profit to quote more fully from Mr. Rush's views at that time. He claimed "exclusive possession and sovereignty at least as far north as the 51st degree of latitude," which was then supposed to represent the northern limit of the waters of the Columbia. In support of this claim he cited the following facts:

(1.) "The first exploration of that discovery of the Columbia by Captain Gray."

(2.) "The first exploration of that river, from its sources to the sea, by Lewis and Clarke."

(3.) "The first settlement on its banks by the Pacific Fur Company, a settlement which was reduced by the arms of the British during the late war, but was formally surrendered up to the United States at the return of peace;" and

(4.) From the transfer by Spain to the United States of all her titles to those territories, founded upon the well-known discoveries of her navigators; and he insisted, in obedience to expressed instructions from his government, "that no part of the American continent was thenceforth to be opened to colonization from Europe."

Again he says: "The claims of the United States above the 42d parallel as high up as 60°—claims as well in their own right as by succession to the title of Spain—would henceforth necessarily preclude other nations from forming colonial establishments upon any part of the American continent.*

Let us with equal brevity summarize the arguments for our exclusive jurisdiction, as put forth in 1826.

(1.) "The acquisition by the United States of the title of France through the Louisiana treaty and the title of Spain through the Florida treaty."

(2.) "The discovery of the mouth of the Columbia."

(3.) "The first exploration of the countries through which the river flows."

(4.) "The establishment of the first posts and settlements in those countries by American citizens."

(5.) "The virtual recognition of the title of the United States by the British Government, in the restitution agreeably to the first article of the treaty of Ghent, of the post near the mouth of the Columbia, which had been taken during the war."

(6.) "Upon the ground of contiguity which should give the United States a stronger right to those territories than could be advanced by any other power."†

It has been observed by every thoughtful mind that in pressing our claims to Oregon upon the British Government no one ground was exclusively relied upon, but rather an aggregation of claims was presented and insisted upon. That the country beyond the Rocky Mountains never belonged to France, and hence could not have been ceded to us as a part of the Louisiana purchase, will appear plain from the following considerations:

(1.) France never claimed beyond the Rocky Mountains. In 1712, King Louis XIV. granted to Antoine Crozat the exclusive trade of the territory called Louisiana. This grant gives the earliest exposition of the limits of that province. By the grant to Crozat the territory is "bounded by New Mexico, and by those of the English in Carolina. The river St. Louis, formerly called the Mississippi, from the sea-shore to the Illinois, together with the rivers St. Philip, formerly called the Missouri River, and the St. Jerome, formerly called the Wabash (the Ohio), with all the countries, territories, lakes in the land, and the rivers emptying directly or

* Protocol of the twelfth conference between plenipotentiaries held June 26, 1824, among the documents annexed to President Adams's message to Congress, January 31, 1826.

† Greenhow's *History of Oregon*, pp. 347-8.

indirectly into that part of the river St. Louis.”* This description by no possible construction could include anything beyond the head waters of the Missouri. France never afterward claimed for herself beyond the Rocky Mountains.

(2.) Spain always asserted that Louisiana was limited by the Rocky Mountains. During all our negotiations with Spain in relation to Florida, and which includes a full discussion of our western boundaries, Spain never admitted for a moment that Louisiana extended west of the mountains.

(3.) Neither Great Britain nor any of her writers upon the subject ever allowed that Louisiana extended west of the Rocky Mountains.

(4.) Until after the treaty of Florida in 1819, our government never contended that our title to Oregon was perfect.

Messrs. Gallatin and Rush, in 1818, in reporting to their government, stated: “We did not assert that the United States had a perfect right to that country, but insisted that their claim was at least good against Great Britain.”† But after our purchase of Florida and settlement of the boundary between our territory and the Spanish provinces as latitude 42° north: that is, when we had purchased Florida, given up Texas to Spain, and she had ceded her right and claim to Oregon to the United States, then we set up a complete title to that country. In 1845, Mr. Buchanan asserted that “our own American title to the extent of the valley of the Columbia, resting as it does on discovery, exploration, and possession,—a possession acknowledged by a most solemn act by Great Britain herself,—is a sufficient assurance against all mankind; whilst our superadded title derived from Spain extends our exclusive rights over the whole territory in dispute against Great Britain.”‡ This position expressed by Mr. Secretary Buchanan in his negotiations with the British Government in 1845, had been uniformly held by our government from the time of the Florida treaty.

“In 1824, Mr. Rush commenced his negotiations by claiming for the United States ‘in their own right, and as their absolute and exclusive sovereignty and dominion, the whole of the country west of the Rocky Mountains, from the 42d to at least as far up as the 51st degree of north latitude.’ He further said that ‘in the opinion of my government, the title of the United States to the whole of that coast from latitude 42° to as far north as 60°, was superior to that of Great Britain or any other power;

* See State Papers, 1817-1818, p. 437. Our Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams, says, “the only boundaries ever acknowledged by France before the cession to Spain, in 1762, were those marked out in the grant from Louis XIV. to Crozat.”

† See *Travers Twiss*, p. 202.

‡ Letter from Mr. Buchanan, July 12, 1845.

first, through the proper claim of the United States by discovery and settlement; and *secondly*, as now standing in the place of Spain, and holding in their hands her title.' " *

(5.) The opinion that Louisiana did not extend beyond the Rocky Mountains has been almost, if not quite, uniformly held by the leading statesmen of our government. Mention has already been made of the views of Mr. Rush, Mr. Gallatin, Mr. John Quincy Adams, and Mr. Buchanan; all of whom conducted at different times negotiations with Great Britain upon this subject. Mr. Jefferson, in a letter written in August, 1803, immediately after the ratification of the treaty of purchase of Louisiana, says: "The boundaries (of Louisiana) which I deem not admitting question, are the highlands on the western side of the Mississippi, inclosing all its waters (the Missouri, of course), and terminating in a line drawn from the north-western point of the Lake of the Woods to the nearest source of the Mississippi."

John J. Anderson, Ph.D., the author of a series of school histories of the United States, in reviewing this subject used the following language: "In March, 1844, Mr. A. V. Brown, from the Committee on the Territories, made a report to Congress, covering twenty-four closely printed pages, in which this whole question is thoroughly discussed. In this long report there is not the first attempt to prove that our right to Oregon came to us through the Louisiana purchase." Dr. Anderson also says: "Mr. Clay says not a word of the Louisiana purchase, and Mr. Gallatin, in his able and exhaustive discussion on the subject, as manifested in his letters, and in his celebrated pamphlet of seventy-five pages, published in 1846, makes but the briefest allusion to the Louisiana purchase. The whole bent of his argument is to show that our title to Oregon came to us through discoveries, exploration and occupation. Mr. Cushing's report, made to Congress in 1839, the books written from the English standpoint by the English authors, Thomas Falconer, Travers Twiss and John Dunn, besides numerous pamphlets, an able article in the *North American Review* for 1845, p. 214, as well as Presidents' messages and reports of debates in Congress—all reviewing and discussing the Oregon question—have been read by me with care; but nowhere have I seen any attempt whatever to prove that any part of the region west of the Rocky Mountains ever belonged to France, or that France made any pretense of conveying it to the United States." †

* *Travers Twiss*, p. 269.

† From a pamphlet by Dr. Anderson entitled "Did the Louisiana Purchase Extend to the Pacific Ocean?" 1880.

In 1839 Hon. Caleb Cushing, from the Committee on Foreign Affairs, submitted to Congress an able and exhaustive report, in which he expresses substantially the views given above. In this report Mr. Cushing says: "The United States, then, claim title to the exclusive dominion, as against any foreign power, of the country extending east and west from the Rocky Mountains, and north and south from the limits of the Mexican Republic in latitude 42° north to those of Russia in $54^{\circ} 40'$, with an offer to relinquish to Great Britain all north of latitude 49° . They claim this on three grounds—

- (1.) In their own right.
- (2.) As the successor of France. And
- (3.) Of Spain."

He then elaborates the first and third points, and slides over the second. He shows that after our purchase of Louisiana, Spain was the only power that could contest our claim to the Pacific territory. He says: "The Louisiana treaty cedes to the United States the Colony or Province of Louisiana with the same extent it had in the hands of Spain in 1800, and that it had when previously possessed by France, with all its rights and appurtenances. This description is, to be sure, sufficiently loose. But Napoleon, having made the cession at the moment of going to war with Great Britain, and having made it to prevent the country from falling into the hands of the latter, and having ceded it to the United States out of friendly feelings towards us and in order to augment our power as against that of Britain—being actuated by these motives, he, of course, chose to execute a quit-claim rather than a warranty of boundaries; and the United States, placed in the position of acquiring at a cheap price a territory almost invaluable to her, had no disposition to be hypercritical on this point, and thus hazard the loss of such a favorable contingency. And though much controversy sprang up in regard to the south-western or south-eastern limits of Louisiana, yet *all this resolved itself at length into a question with Spain, as did also the doubts as to the WESTERN limits of Louisiana.*" *

These statements indicate that there was a doubt in the mind of Mr. Cushing in reference to the western boundaries of Louisiana, but that no government except that of Spain could show any claim to this country. When, therefore, we had purchased her right, our title to Oregon was absolutely indisputable throughout its widest extent. In an article of great value exhibiting careful thought, wide research, rare good judgment and statesmanlike views, by Mr. Cushing in the *North American Review* for January, 1840, the author uses the following language: "This event"—the

* Document No. 101, House of Representatives, 25th Congress, 3d Session, p. 7.

purchase of Louisiana—"gave us *great*, though *undefined*, rights on the side of the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific.*

During the preliminary negotiations for the sale of Louisiana by Napoleon, when the obscurity of the western boundary was mentioned to him by Marbois, Napoleon is reported to have said: "If an obscurity did not already exist, perhaps it would be good policy to put one there."†

When Canada was granted to Great Britain in 1763, the French certainly ceded only what they possessed. "It is," says Marbois, "*as a consequence* of that treaty that England has occupied territory to the west as far as the great Northern Ocean."‡ As against England, then, on the same principle, we might claim, by virtue of this cession, to the Pacific with equal force and justice. But Marbois plainly says, in speaking upon this point: "The shores of the Western Ocean were certainly *not* included in the cession."§ And again he says: "The treaty of cession to the United States meant to convey nothing beyond the Rocky Mountains."||

"It is well known that the Spanish Government protested against the transfer of Louisiana by France to the United States, but their opposition was abandoned, and the next year (1804) a negotiation was commenced at Madrid between that government and the United States, looking to the adjustment of the lines which separated their respective territories. In this negotiation our country claimed the whole coast upon the Gulf of Mexico as far west as the Bravo Del Norte, now the Rio Grande, which the United States then claimed was the north-east boundary of Mexico, with all the intermediate rivers, *and all the countries drained by them.*"¶

Thus early did our government establish itself upon the general ground that the Louisiana purchase extended only to the Rocky Mountains. It is clear also that it claimed Texas as a proper portion of the purchase. But in the Florida treaty it was stipulated that, in addition to buying the Floridas of Spain, we should waive our claim to Texas, and she should yield her claim to Oregon. This claim was considered of such importance that from that moment, as we have seen, our government ever maintained that she had an absolute and perfect right to Oregon.

From all the foregoing considerations we therefore conclude that our claims to Oregon consisted:

- (1.) In our own right, coming from discovery, exploration, settlement and contiguity;
- (2.) From purchase of whatever right France had in it, which, however,

* *N. A. Review*, vol. 1., p. 95.

† Marbois, p. 286.

‡ Marbois, p. 285.

§ Marbois, p. 286.

|| Marbois, p. 290.

¶ Greenhow's History of Oregon, p. 280.

is the smallest, least important and most questionable of all our claims; and

(3.) From our succeeding to the right which Spain might have set up to all that coast north of latitude 42° .

It is possible that, had we not purchased this right of Spain, we might have maintained successfully our exclusive jurisdiction, especially as against Great Britain, but after the Florida treaty our statesmen never entertained any doubt but that our title was perfect and that we could maintain it against the world.

At this day it is difficult to overestimate the value and importance to the United States of that great country, and while the party alliterative cry in 1844 of "Fifty-four-forty-or-fight" only aided in the defeat of one candidate and the election of another to the presidency, and did not prevent that same President from negotiating the treaty on 49° , thus yielding to Great Britain a valuable country of no mean magnitude and importance, because the American people would not approve of a third war with the mother country for the possession of a territory so little known and so far away, yet it did settle amicably with Great Britain a controversy of great moment and long standing, and gave us undisputed possession of what is now Oregon, Washington and Idaho—one of the most healthful, fertile and altogether delightful countries on the globe, extending through seven degrees of latitude and ten degrees of longitude, and containing in round numbers 300,000 square miles, a country larger than France or Germany or Italy.

William A. Mowry

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.

AN EARTHQUAKE IN KENTUCKY

The celebrated naturalist, John James Audubon, has left a most graphic and picturesque description of an earthquake in Kentucky, followed by a succession of shocks, which occurred while he was there prosecuting his researches in ornithology in 1825. The sketch is little known, having been printed in 1831 in his *Ornithological Biography*, and we quote it entire for the benefit of our reading public of to-day. He says:

“Traveling through the Barrens of Kentucky in the month of November, 1825, I was jogging on one afternoon, when I remarked a sudden and strange darkness rising from the western horizon. Accustomed to our heavy storms of thunder and rain, I took no more notice of it, as I thought the speed of my horse might enable me to get under shelter of the roof of an acquaintance who lived not far distant, before it should come up. I had proceeded about a mile when I heard what I imagined to be the distant rumbling of a violent tornado, on which I spurred on my steed, with a wish to gallop as fast as possible to the place of shelter; but it would not do, the animal knew better than I what was forthcoming, and, instead of going faster, so nearly stopped, that I remarked he placed one foot after another on the ground with as much precaution as if walking on a smooth sheet of ice. I thought he had suddenly foundered, and, speaking to him, was on the point of dismounting and leading him, when all of a sudden he fell a-groaning piteously, hung his head, spread out his four legs, as if to save himself from falling, and stood stock-still, continuing to groan. I thought my horse was about to die, and would have sprung from his back had a minute more elapsed, but at that instant all the shrubs and trees began to move from their very roots, the ground rose and fell in successive furrows, like the ruffled waters of a lake, and I became bewildered in my ideas, as I too plainly discovered that all this awful commotion in nature was the result of an earthquake.

I had never witnessed anything of the kind before, although, like every other person, I knew of earthquakes by description. But what is description compared with the reality? Who can tell of the sensations I experienced when I found myself rocking as it were on my horse, and with him moved to and fro like a child in a cradle, with the most imminent danger around, and expecting the ground every moment to open, and present to my eyes such an abyss as might engulf myself and all around

me? The fearful convulsion, however, lasted only a few minutes, and the heavens again brightened as quickly as they had become obscured; my horse brought his feet to the natural position, raised his head, and galloped off as if loose and frolicking without a rider.

I was not, however, without great apprehension respecting my family, from which I was yet many miles distant, fearful that where they were the shock might have caused greater havock than I had witnessed. I found, with much pleasure, that hardly any greater harm had taken place than the apprehensions excited for my own safety.

Shock succeeded shock almost every day and night for several weeks, diminishing, however, so gradually as to dwindle away into mere vibrations of the earth. Strange to say, I for one became so accustomed to the feeling as rather to enjoy the fears manifested by others. I never can forget the effects of one of the slighter shocks which took place when I was at a friend's house where I had gone to enjoy the merriment that in our western country attends a wedding. The ceremony being performed, supper over, and the fiddles tuned, dancing became the order of the moment. This was merrily followed up to a late hour, when the party retired to rest. We were in what was called, with great propriety, a *log-house*, one of large dimensions, and solidly constructed. The owner was a physician, and in one corner were not only his lancets, tourniquets, amputating knives, and other sanguinary apparatus, but all the drugs which he employed for the relief of his patients, arranged in jars and phials of different sizes. These had some days before made a narrow escape from destruction, but had been fortunately preserved by closing the doors of the cases in which they were contained.

As I have said, we had all retired to rest, some to dream of sighs and smiles, and others to sink into oblivion. Morning was fast approaching, when the rumbling noise that precedes the earthquake began so loudly as to waken and alarm the whole party, and drive them out of bed in the greatest consternation. The scare which ensued it is impossible for me to describe—it would require the humorous pencil of Cruikshank to do it justice. Fear knows no restraints. Every person, old and young, filled with alarm at the creaking of the *log-house*, and apprehending instant destruction, rushed wildly out to the grass enclosure fronting the building. The full moon was slowly descending from her throne, covered at times by clouds that rolled heavily along as if to conceal from her view the scenes of terror which prevailed on the earth below. On the grass-plot we all met, in such condition as rendered it next to impossible to discriminate any of the party, all huddled together in their night-garments. The earth waved like

a field of corn before the breeze; the birds left their perches, and flew about not knowing whither; and the doctor, recollecting the danger of his gallipots, ran to his shop-room, to prevent their dancing off the shelves to the floor. Never for a moment did he think of closing the doors, but spreading his arms, jumped about the front of the cases, pushing back here and there the falling jars, with so little success, however, that before the shock was over, he had lost nearly all he possessed.

The shock at length ceased, and the frightened people fled to their several apartments. These earthquakes produced more serious consequences in other places. Near New Madrid, and for some distance on the Mississippi, the earth was rent asunder in several places, one or two islands sunk forever, and the inhabitants fled in dismay towards the eastern shore."

John L. Audubon

A RELIC OF ONE OF THE "REGICIDE" JUDGES

I have before me a well preserved copy of Sir Walter Raleigh's History of the World. It is a quarto volume of over thirteen hundred pages. The edition is that of 1621. The title-page alone—which bears a medallion likeness of Raleigh—is somewhat mutilated, the lower corner of the leaf being torn. But near the center of the page, beginning above the medallion, and running along the side, I read the following inscription, in faded ink:

"James Pierpont's Book 1689 | ex dono dom Johā Dixwel | in Testamento suo | Novissimo."

These few words give me an easy clue to the remarkable history of a volume which on more than one account will be regarded with singular interest by American and English bibliophiles.

The Rev. James Pierpont was minister of the First Church in New Haven from 1685 until his death in 1714. Among the first persons admitted into church fellowship under his ministry, was an aged man who passed by the name of James Davids. It was known to certain individuals that this man, who had come to New Haven as early as the year 1672, was none other than Colonel John Dixwell, one of the judges appointed by the Commons for the trial of Charles the First, and one of those who signed the warrant for his execution. But the secret of his identity was well kept during Davids' lifetime, and he spent the seventeen years or more of his retirement in Connecticut in quiet obscurity. Mr. Pierpont was one of the initiated few, and from the time of his coming to New Haven until his parishioner's death, he maintained very intimate relations with him. "Their house-lots being contiguous and cornering upon each other, they had beaten a path," says President Stiles, "in walking across their lots to meet together and converse together at the fence. Colonel Dixwell often spent his evenings at Mr. Pierpont's, and when they were by themselves retired together in his study, they indulged themselves with great familiarity and humour, respect and honor, and free and unrestrained conversation upon all matters, whether of religion or politics." *A History of three of the Judges of King Charles I.*, Major-General Whalley, Major-General Goffe, and Colonel Dixwell. . . . By President Stiles. Hartford: 1794. Pp. 129, 131.

Dixwell died of dropsy, on the eighteenth day of March, 1689, in the eighty-second year of his age. His last will contains the following bequest :

"I give my honored friend, Mr. Pierpont, pastor of the church of Christ in New Haven, Sir Walter Raleigh's History of the World."

This volume is in the possession of a family residing in Rye, New York. The owners inform me that some fifty years ago their father received it from a person who owed him a large sum of money. The domestic tradition is that this person placed an extraordinary value upon the book: and they remember that as children they frequently heard their father refer, humorously, to the musty quarto, of fabulous price, which was all that he obtained in payment of a considerable debt.

This volume, which now comes to light after a long eclipse, was known to exist at the time when Dr. Stiles wrote his account of the three judges. Speaking of Dixwell, he says, "The Colonel spent much of his retirement in reading history. As a token and memorial of his friendship for Mr. Pierpont, he, in his last will, presented him with Raleigh's History of the World. This book is now before me, and in it I find inscribed by Mr. Pierpont, in his own handwriting, with which I am well acquainted in the church records, "James Pierpont's book, 1689. *Ex Dono dom. John Dixwell, in testamento suo novissimo.*" "What Raleigh wrote, adds Dr. Stiles, "for the use of the learned world, as well as for his own amusement, during a fourteen years' imprisonment, under condemnation for treason, became the entertainment of Dixwell, during his twenty-eight years' exile, under the same high accusation and condemnation."

I am confident that many will join me in the hope that this literary treasure may be secured for some one of our great libraries. Certainly there are few books in those collections that possess greater interest by reason of association with the colonial period of our country's history.

Charles W. Baird

ANDREW ATKINSON HUMPHREYS

[PROMINENT MEN OF THE CIVIL WAR PERIOD]

Among those who by their services in our Civil War deserved well of their country is Andrew Atkinson Humphreys, by whose recent death the Republic lost one of her greatest sons, yet whose noble career is but imperfectly known to his countrymen. As a scientific and practical engineer, as a division commander and chief of staff of the most important army of the nation, and as the head of a splendid corps, he showed himself equally great. Each part which he necessarily filled seemed the one for which he was best fitted.

The family from which General Humphreys sprung was one of marked ability generation after generation. His grandfather was a man of very exceptional talent, as was also his father. Joshua Humphreys, the first in order of birth, was the founder of the material efficiency of the American navy. As the architect whose brain furnished the magnificent frigates which won for that navy its world-wide glorious reputation, he was the author of its success. The grandson and son had all the scientific capacity and force derived from and through a capable ancestry, allied to other potential qualities commingling from other sources. In manliness to perfection, the race was exemplary, as was shown by one son of the general, a mere youth, at Fredericksburg, and by another and younger son on many other occasions. Limited space precludes the possibility of more than a mere allusion to Humphreys' earlier services. Born in 1809, he was graduated at West Point in 1831, served in the Second Artillery at the South, in the war with the Seminole Indians, was engaged in two notable actions against these savages, and resigned in 1836. During nearly half of this period of five years and three months he was detached from his command in the performance of topographical duty, on surveys, and in similar employments. It was in these labors that he laid the basis of his subsequent celebrity as an engineer. For nearly two years he was attached to the Coast Survey, and in 1838 the Government became so thoroughly convinced of his *special* value, that he was re-appointed in the army as first lieutenant of the corps of Topographical Engineers.

Thus he did much better for himself by resigning than if he had remained continuously in the discharge of regular professional routine. During the ensuing twenty-two years, his *Statement of Services* is a continuous

record of scientific triumphs. "Man's history," says Alexander Winchell, in his *Sketches of Creation*, "is not written on rocks and river shores." This man's (Humphreys) is written *both* "on rocks and river shores." In the former case "on rocks," through his explorations and surveys for railroads from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean and geographical explorations west of the Mississippi from 1854 to 1861; and on "river shores," through his topographic and hydrographic survey of the delta of the Mississippi River and voluminous report of world-wide celebrity, translated

and retranslated abroad in 1848-51, and his examination of the Mississippi levees, 1865 and 1866.

Humphreys was opposed to the Eades system of jetties to insure the unobstructed navigation of the mouth of the Mississippi. The system of jetties had nothing new in it, and the experience of the world and of all time has shown that it is only a temporary, although a most expensive remedy, or rather a palliative. This system, however successful for the time being, inevitably involves, according to scientific experts, cumulative disbursements and labors, which are augmented and aggravated by the natural difficulties



GENERAL A. A. HUMPHREYS.

From a photograph taken in 1863.

encountered, as at the mouth of the Mississippi. Like every other measure adopted by Congress, this plan had some slighter or stronger resemblance to Hadji Baba's measure mentioned in a story in the *Arabian Nights*. Humphreys was in favor of a ship-canal, because he felt that it would be a permanent work worthy of a great nation. He esteemed the expedient which was adopted as temporary and fallacious, healing over the sore but leaving the deeper wound beneath uncured. As it turned out, Humphreys insisted his own dredges and other appliances had to be used to effect a result without which even immediate success would have been doubtful. In his opinion jetties are for the present, a canal not only for the present but for the future; that the outlay upon the canal would have been greater at first, but eventually the country will find that its adoption would have been a very wise economy.

When the war broke out in 1861, Humphreys had long been on intimate terms with Jefferson Davis, the acquaintance between the two dating back to associations at the Military Academy. In the bitter and suspicious state of feeling at the time this intimacy was injurious to the advancement of Humphreys, although he had never sympathized in the least with the political views of Davis. While men of far inferior ability were promoted or appointed to the highest positions, Humphreys continued to be simply, as late as the 5th of March, 1862, a major of Topographical Engineers on the staff of the General-in-chief; and until the end of April, 1862, simply as colonel and additional aid-de-camp. As chief of the Topographical Engineers of the Army of the Potomac, he accompanied that magnificent force to the Peninsula. He was opposed to the plans of his superior, and preferred what is known as the "Urbanna Route," which was certainly better if a roundabout movement was to be adopted. A vigorous, direct campaign was more in accordance with his character. He was indefatigable in the discharge of every duty connected with his position in the advance upon Richmond, but it was not until our army made a stand at Malvern Hill that his acknowledged ability had an opportunity to manifest itself. On that occasion, he discharged the duty of an officer who was known when modern war became developed into a scientific system as Velt-Maréchal [*Campi Magister vel Marechallus*], whose business it was to receive the plans of engagement from the generalissimo and select the ground—or of "Sergeant-Major de Battaglia," who had command over all the colonels (officers then, as a rule, holding higher relative positions than did the majority of our generals of division, and certainly than most brigadiers), and helped to dispose and arrange the troops in day of battle. Humphreys made all the Union dispositions at Malvern Hill and posted all the corps except the Fifth and one division of the Fourth. It would have been better for the Union cause if there had been no exception, for that cost us some unnecessary fighting. After the unfortunate issue of the campaign of the Army of Virginia—an unhappy result, not chargeable to Pope, but to the manipulations at Washington, and the action and inaction of those who ignored the country, and intentionally left its commander to "get out of his scrape the best way he could"—Humphreys, to his great contentment, was transferred from the staff and engineer's duty to the command of a division of new troops, with which he hastened to reinforce the army at Antietam.

His alacrity and energy were equally commendable. He prided himself greatly on this march, and refers to it even eight months later, in his report after Chancellorsville, dated May 10, 1863, as follows: "In making this my

last report of the operations of my division as at present constituted, I trust I may be excused for recurring to the service it has performed. Hastily organized in September last, near Washington, the regiments newly raised, it made a long and painful march of more than twenty-three miles in a dark night to take part in the expected battle of the next day at Antietam." A few weeks subsequent to this march, Humphreys made a reconnoissance—October 16–19, 1862—into Virginia, which was an operation *perfect in its kind*. This report bears the following indorsement of his superior: "General Humphreys accomplished in a most satisfactory manner the object of the expedition, and carried out most judiciously the instructions of the commanding general." It was on this occasion Humphreys first acted in conjunction with Hancock, and it laid the foundation of that mutual esteem and confidence in each other's trustworthiness under every circumstance of peril, which grew stronger and stronger throughout the war.

Although Fortune had hitherto frowned upon his advancement, she afforded him opportunity, about three months afterward, at the first battle of Fredericksburg, December 13, 1862. There Humphreys displayed himself in the full magnificence of his unexceeded and unsurpassable intrepidity and commandership. Very few educated generals stand charged in the "annals of war" with such a wanton waste of the best and bravest of *willing* soldiers as steeped the records of that fatal day in blood poured forth, in vain, like water spilled on sand. Too many such examples occurred in the course of the Civil War, but none was equal to this. It was only excusable, and therefore not positively criminal, on the score of "invincible ignorance," which the others—as for instance, "Cold Harbor"—are not. At all events, excellent troops were coldly and cruelly ordered to dash themselves to pieces to no purpose. In other words, they were ordered into a shambles to be slaughtered, and they were so. The Confederates' charge, on the third day at Gettysburg, courageous as it was, will nevertheless, upon examination, scarcely enter into a close comparison with the Union assaults upon Marye's Heights. The Confederates in July, 1863, had clear ground before them, and there were no works to carry in their front; whereas the Union troops had not only to cross a bridgeless canal, but to assail a wall which was equal to a fortification, under every species of deadly and concentrated fire of sheltered musketry, including Barksdale's unerring riflemen, with heavy reserves in the rear, and of tiers of batteries. Without entering upon any consideration of the inexcusable causes of the frightful consequences of this fatal day, suffice it to state that Burnside ordered Sumner to storm Marye's Heights. The sturdy veteran, while clearly estimating the perils in his front, simply remarked, "An order is an order

and must be obeyed." That he looked upon his obedience as a sacrifice is sufficiently demonstrated by his "Testimony" before "the Committee on the Conduct of the War."

Sumner described "those fortifications" in these pregnant words: "They were tier upon tier for two or three tiers. If we had carried the first tier we could not have held it, because their next tier was a much more formidable row of fortifications, only a mile distant, and in a higher position still; and no doubt large masses of infantry were between the two crests; and having got on the top of one crest, we would have been compelled to contend with large masses of fresh troops, over whom their own batteries could fire [upon us]. I was ordered by the general commanding to select the corps to make the attack. I selected the corps [divisions] of General French and General Hancock, two of the most gallant officers in our army, and two corps [divisions] that had neither of them never turned their backs to the enemy." He appreciated the difficulties and dangers and foresaw what was about to occur, but he obeyed, and he knew that his troops would not flinch.

The experienced French General of Brigade, V. de Chanal, in reporting to the Emperor Napoleon III., remarks as follows of Humphreys at Fredericksburg: "At the battle [of Fredericksburg], a major in the United States Topographical Engineers, whom the war had elevated into a general in the volunteer army, Humphreys, desired to lead back his command, composed of Pennsylvanians—whose three months' term of service was to expire the next day—to the attack of an important position. These poor fellows, disheartened by several checks, and thinking perhaps as well of their liberation so near at hand, had lain down and continued deaf to the threats as well as to the entreaties of their commander. Then Humphreys dismounted, and accompanied by his son, a youth of sixteen, who never left his father's side, advanced slowly toward the enemy. The Pennsylvanians, shamed by this example, started to their feet, and rushed to the attack."

The first surge up the slippery slope was made by French, Third Division, Second corps, with a boldness and backbone that carried his front line to within thirty or forty paces of the never-to-be-forgotten "Ha! Ha! stone wall." The undertow of repulse swept it back, leaving behind 1,200 dead and wounded out of about twice that number. The second surge forward was made by Hancock's First Division, Second corps. It broke within twenty-five paces of the stone wall, when the reflux occurred. In an "evil quarter of an hour," of 5,600 hale men 2,013 lifeless or mutilated forms lay mingled with the mass of victims to the preceding attempt. Burnside was not yet

satisfied! Humphreys was next sent in over the palpitating or stiffening wrecks with his Third Division of the Fifth corps. "Humphreys," says General de Trobriand, "was probably the best officer in the Army of the Potomac that day. He had a quick eye and a clear head. That the fighting which his division did—some of the very best fighting that was done at Fredericksburg—was so good, was due to him. He had only two brigades, and among these were several regiments which had never before been in battle." As ordered, his men divested themselves of their knapsacks, haversacks, and overcoats—in fact, everything not indispensable to service or which could encumber their movements. No smooth, meadowy field rose gently, as at Gettysburg, after the canal was crossed, to the position to be carried. On the contrary, the interval was broken, crossed by fences and sprinkled with buildings, which afforded admirable covers [to the defenders], and just at the foot of the ascent proper to Marye's Heights, a sunken road between deep "Ha! Ha! stone walls" afforded as perfect a defensive work as any engineer could have planned, or any engineer troops could have constructed. Moreover, the Confederates had strengthened these already strong defenses so that their infantry rose, as it were, out of the ground to deliver a concentric fire. The head of Humphreys' column seemed to propel itself into a perfect yawning gulf of flame.

This fiery abyss must have appeared tenfold more terrible, because in the glooming of the deepening twilight, and amid the thick mist arising from the bottom land, every discharge was as intensely brilliant as the trail of a meteor traversing the night [sky]. In the day-time men may hear, but they cannot see the death-stroke. On this occasion, the very earth seemed to belch forth lurid destruction, consuming like ground-lightning, or the sudden vomiting forth of a glowing lava-flood from the crater of a volcano. As the chief actor declared: "A sheet of flame ran along that stone wall, accompanied by a long roll of thunder. It was the most magnificent sight I saw in the war. It seemed to enfold the head of the column in an embrace of fire."

Notwithstanding, Humphreys persevered, and if the energy and valor of a single man could have crossed as conqueror that wall of molten death, he would have carried his column over or through it, on and up to the Heights beyond. Whether he could have maintained himself there successfully, was a question dependent not upon himself, but upon his being properly reinforced and supported. As it was, despite his utmost endeavors, in which two horses were shot under him and another badly wounded, he could not get his men across that stone wall; indeed, not nearer than fifteen or twenty paces to it. Although they reached the

point nearest to it which had been attained, they were compelled to retire after seeing hecatombs butchered in vain. One incident of this fearful scene recalls the parallel of Mollwitz, when the Austrian infantry, after fearful losses, continued to advance, reluctantly moving forward, and man after man edging away, so that each regiment gradually strung out, resembling a swarm of bees clinging to a twig, presenting nothing in front to the enemy but color-sergeants and guards—as Carlisle says, “turning nothing to the enemy but bare poles.” In our own case, this stringing out was from every shelter, however insignificant, especially a small building which afforded some cover to the leading files. That Humphreys escaped is one of those marvels which can only be explained by the doctrine either of “preordained decree” or Special Providence. His charge will yet be blazoned forth in history as one of the noblest efforts of Northern resolution, or, as he remarked of one of Kearny’s exhibitions of valor, “magnificent.” After Humphreys had lost two horses, killed or disabled under him, only one officer of his staff, his son, was in the saddle, and he mounted upon an animal wounded in three places. Toward the close, Humphreys mounted a third horse belonging to a sorely wounded subordinate, and continued to ride about amid the rain of missiles, bearing a charmed life. His clothing was pierced and rent but his person did not receive a scratch. “Audacity,” says the French proverb, “is often the best armor.” His division, like the third breaker upon a beach, left its traces of blood and wrecks a few paces farther on and *nearer* to the enemy than the preceding two, lingered longer, strove harder to maintain itself so far, and to accomplish the impossible. Finally, it withdrew, singing in chorus, to show that although shattered physically, morally its spirit was unshaken. The Rebels with their usual generosity (*sic*) said that our men were “sent, actually howling back, to their beaten comrades in the town.” It is stated that out of 4,000 effectives, 1,700 had been killed, wounded, or were missing. The general’s corrected report returns 1,030—one man out of less than every four. This charge put a period to the catastrophe. It was the last of the fighting. The protest of the hard-hitting and fast-holding veteran Sumner prevented another sacrifice of life which Burnside had commanded.

As Humphreys played a subordinate part in the Chancellorsville campaign (so styled), only a few words must suffice to bridge over the period between the exhibition of his aggressive heroism at Fredericksburg and his tenacious heroism at Gettysburg. At Chancellorsville, Humphreys was posted on the extreme left of the army, on the 2d and 3d of May, to protect the pontoon bridge just below the United States Mine or Bark Mill

Ford. His defenses were on the Mine Run, just above its junction with Mineral Spring Run and where the Mineral Spring Road joins the Old Mine or Mountain Road. During these days of misfortune, scarcely inferior in their sad results, although under a different form, to those of Fredericksburg, he performed his duty, as he ever did, thoroughly.

The march from Chancellorsville to Gettysburg was one of the most tremendous performed by the Army of the Potomac, and circumstances threw it with more peculiar weight upon the Third than upon any other corps. The French military proverb sums up the lot of the soldier as "to fight and to suffer," and very often the "suffering" between notable conflicts is accompanied with more torture, immediate and continuous, and even fatal, than the casualties of the battle-field. General Humphreys' services at Gettysburg rose not only to the superlative on the battle-field, but comparatively so, as well, in the strangeness of the circumstances attending his march to the field. The following, an extract from a letter of July 11, 1869, from General Humphreys, in regard to this march and battle, is both graphic and interesting:

"When about four o'clock, July 2d, 1863. I was moving forward to the Emmettsburg road, my first in line of battle, the second line in battalion in mass, an aid-de-camp of General Meade . . . (tall, gentlemanly, a good officer) rode to me from the direction of Peach Orchard, and gave me an order from General Meade (who, he said, was on the ground in the direction he came from) to move at once toward the Round Top and occupy the ground there, which was vacant . . . I immediately gave the order, by my aids, for the division to move by the left flank—a movement that was made at once, and with the simultaneousness of a single regiment. The order given, I turned to General Meade's aid, and requested him to ride at full speed to General Meade and inform him that the execution of his order, which I was complying with, would leave vacant the position my division was ordered to occupy, pointing out, at the same time, the ground that would then be left vacant, and where the left of the Second Army Corps was, etc. I then turned my attention to guiding my division by the shortest line toward the Round Top, which being done, to expedite matters I rode full speed toward where I supposed General Meade to be, but met Colonel — returning from him, who informed me General Meade recalled his order, and that I should occupy the position General Sickles had directed me to take. In a second the division went about face, retrod the ground by the right flank that they had the moment before gone over by the left flank, and then moved forward to their positions along the Emmettsburg road. The whole thing was done with the precision of a

careful exercise, the enemy's artillery giving effect to its picturesqueness. The division, brigade, and regimental flags were flying.

"My official report is, of course, a lifeless affair—an exact statement of facts, which has a certain value—but that which makes the thrilling interest of a battle is the *personal incident*, and of that I could, if I had some leisure, tell a good deal of what took place at Gettysburg under my own eye. A battle so lifts a man out of himself that he scarcely recognizes his identity when peace returns, and with it the quiet occupations. During my recent visit to Gettysburg, at the dedication of the monument [in July, 1869], I walked quietly over the ground I had occupied, fought over, moved over, slept upon. During the night of the second of July, I lay down on the ground about ten feet to the left of my men, my staff being Captain McClellan, Lieutenant Humphreys (wounded), and Lieutenant Christianity. I drove out on the Fairfield (Millerstown) pike or road to the Black Horse Tavern, then to the road by which my division moved (*advancing from Emmettsburg*), and over the ground it occupied when halted, from the highest part of which I could see back over the greater part of the distance to the bridge across Marsh Creek; then along the road from Black Horse Tavern, which comes out at the School-house (Potzer's), and the road by which I reached the Emmettsburg road at the Peach Orchard. Along that road Longstreet moved the next morning. I saw the keeper of the Black Horse Tavern, Bream and his two sons, recognized them, and had a very interesting talk. I did not make myself known until I had got him to speak of my coming there with my division. He evidently took me and my companion Dr. Chace, of the Engineers, from our dress (gray) and my evident amusement at his narrative, for Southerners, or, at least, sympathizers, and colored his story accordingly; it being also in accord with his own sympathy. Before reaching the tavern that night, I inquired as to the character of the keeper, and learned that his sympathies were not with us, or not very strongly, at least, and I therefore relied on what a young man by the name of Boling (*a wounded Union soldier home on leave*) who was there, told me of the enemy, etc. Bream says my troops made a great noise, coming up talking, etc., but went away so quietly he did not hear them. Now this is not true, and I told him so. I knew I was coming upon the enemy, and gave the caution to be quiet. What he heard was the noise of the horses and artillery and ambulances crossing and wading up Marsh Run (or Creek), which has a rocky bottom, and that unavoidable noise that troops make in crossing a deep, wading stream of irregular depth. Now the ambulances and artillery did the same thing in returning, and so did some of the infantry. The other and greater part

of the infantry did not recross, but kept along the bank. Bream appeared mortified and annoyed when I told him who I was, but I had a long talk afterward with his sons. It must have been Colonel Hayden who threatened them and ordered supper. I did not do either, and indeed the more intelligent of the two sons mentioned to me that the enemy's picket-line was about two hundred feet from us, and would have given the alarm in ample time to the main body had I attempted to surprise. I was right in not attempting it. The sons (indeed, Bream himself) mentioned that I had not been gone ten minutes when a party of twenty or thirty of the enemy came up to the tavern and passed the night there. The chances of war! The day had been rainy and sultry, and the men longed for a few minutes more at each halt. Had I rode up to the Black Horse Tavern fifteen minutes later with my party of five or six, virtually unarmed, what might not have been the result of a deliberate volley from twenty or thirty muskets or rifles at the distance of twenty feet? Myself, Captain McClellan, my son Harry, Colonel Hayden, and Dr. Ana, of Emmettsburg, and my little orderly Dimond were of the party."

Fortuna favente cannot be said ever to have been appropriate to the career of Humphreys. Although he had made his mark—and such a grand mark—at Gettysburg, he found himself in a very unpleasant position after the battle. He had a high respect and regard for Sickles as an intrepid and enterprising corps commander, and now that he was disabled, Humphreys felt that the chances were against his own advancement, and that he would be placed under the command of men, who, within less than six months, proved their entire unfitness for the posts to which they were elevated by Sickles' terrible mutilation. At this juncture, Meade, looking about for a chief-of-staff, and perfectly well aware of the merits of Humphreys, tendered the appointment to him. Humphreys was loath to accept it; he yearned to remain in the command of troops, but he clearly discerned that to do so would be utterly incompatible with the suggestions of common sense and self-respect. A short reflection determined his course, and he joined Meade as chief-of-staff of the Army of the Potomac, a position of which the importance is so utterly miscomprehended among a people so entirely unmilitary, while so grandly warlike, as those of the United States. The affectionate language with which Humphreys took leave of his associates of the Third corps is worthy of record and attention: "At midnight [July 8th], I received directions to join the headquarters of the army at Middletown, having been announced in orders as chief-of-staff of the Army of the Potomac, directions that I complied with at once, turning over the command of the division to Brigadier-General Carr.

In parting from this celebrated division [the White Division, originally under Hooker], after having commanded it for the brief period of fifty days, I trust that I may be excused for expressing my admiration for its high soldierly qualities. It is impossible to pass it in review even without perceiving that its ranks are filled with men that are soldiers in the best meaning of this term; and that it possesses, in the grade of commissioned officers, men whose skill, courage, and accomplishments would grace any service."

Was greater praise ever addressed by a competent judge to the men and officers of the old Third corps? It would be difficult to produce its equivalent. In looking through a correspondence of the most intimate and interesting character, which extended over a period commencing about the close of the war, and ending absolutely and with the very decease of General Humphreys—a correspondence which would fill a large trunk—there are letters of Humphreys which contain the most lively incidents and striking occurrences in connection with the Rebellion which have never appeared in print. These, however, must await a more opportune time for publication.

Swinton, in his *History of the Army of the Potomac*, styles the operations of the fall and early winter of 1863 a "Campaign of Manœuvres." If this title is justified in the light of *Decker's Practical Strategy*, descriptive of the exemplary maneuvering of the Duke of Berwick in Spain in 1706, "the art and science of war" is not exact but illusory. Unquestionably during the campaign, Destiny placed three times the Army of Northern Virginia in a situation to become the prey of the Army of the Potomac if its commander had listened *solely* to the counsels of his chief-of-staff, Humphreys. In one case recalling the advice of this able "Adlatus," it seems as if the reader was taking in the full force of the lines of Schiller, in his Historical Drama, *The Piccolomini*, where Questenberg, the imperial commissioner, is describing the anxiety of the Elector of Bavaria, and the corresponding solicitude of the Emperor Ferdinand in his behalf.

"Then did Bavaria's well deserving prince
Entreat swift aidance in his extreme need;
The Emperor sends seven horsemen to Duke Friedland.
Seven horsemen messengers sends he with the entreaty.
He superadds his own, and supplicates
Where as the sovereign lord he can command.
Vain is his supplication!"

Instead of according full attention to Humphreys, who perfectly comprehended the situation, sufficient heed was not paid to his orders and



MARCHES, OPERATIONS, ENGAGEMENTS, AND POSITIONS OF THE COMBINED SECOND-THIRD CORPS, ARMY OF THE POTOMAC, UNDER GENERAL HUMPHREYS, ON THE 6TH AND 7TH OF APRIL, 1865.

Meade listened to the counsels of others, and thus leaned upon a Pharaoh's reed which broke and wounded him instead of affording him support. . . . Lee escaped the intended stroke of a steam-ram directed against the vulnerable amid-ships—a blow which might have crushed in his army long strung out as a nut is cracked by an artistic instrument. A similar neglect occurred later in the following winter, when Humphreys formed a plan which would have settled the fate of the Army of Northern Virginia then and there. How he felt the loss of the occasion is best expressed in his own words. In a letter from him, dated July 26, 1869, he writes as follows: "I have glanced at Decker but find no mention of '*demonstration*'—nor do I recall any discussion of it—but I do recall some powerful *demonstrations* made by the Army of the Potomac, when I was chief-of-staff, and their complete success, when even the commanders of the highest rank carrying them on did not know their object—nor what the other part of the army was doing—or expected to do; thinking theirs was the true operation. *And there was one of those operations of which I shall tell the story some day*, for I alone can tell it—*General Meade was absent, sick in Philadelphia*, at the time. I had formed a plan for surprising Lee, in mid-winter [1863], which I breathed to no one, and was watching the coming of suitable weather, which I knew would come before the winter was over, when it was all spoilt. *How is the story; and the spoiling proved that the surprise would have been complete and we should have had a brilliant success and my reputation would have been made.*"

The third occasion was intermediate, when the elements of triumph were prepared by Humphreys—the Mine Run campaign. How he felt, in consequence of the failure through the criminal negligence of subordinates, can never be known, because he has seen fit to be silent in his little work, *Gettysburg to the Rapidan*, published by Charles Scribner's Sons, in which the truth might have been triumphantly manifested. If his plan had been carried out in spirit and to the letter, a far different and victorious result might have been chronicled and credited to the Army of the Potomac. His plans were masterly; the result was an exemplification of the fable, the mountain in labor eventuated in the issue of a mouse. Yes, indeed, the Mine Run fiasco would have resulted in a triumph, if the advice and plan of Humphreys had been executed with anything like exactness and an energy akin to his own, whereas a bloody catastrophe nearly rewarded a sagacious inspiration. No wonder that a military genius was perfectly willing to relinquish a thankless task of endeavoring to bring the conclusions of science to bear upon the conceptions of expediency, and take the command of troops where the personal force of the individual could

electrify the mass and convert inertia and incompetency into alacrity and precision. How often have these opinions been repeated, now with indignant emphasis, again with positive sadness.

However important results had shown to be the services rendered by Humphreys as chief-of-staff of the Army of the Potomac, his office was one which, while useful in the extreme to the army and to the nation, could in no event be brilliant for himself. Had he been the very sum and sun of military ability, his rays could scarcely penetrate the dense atmosphere of circumstances and of official fog, to make themselves perceptible to the world. Between him and ordinary comprehension of his influence were almost impassible barriers, impermeable screens or blinds. To whatever extent Meade, within himself, might have acknowledged the immense value of the duties well done by Humphreys, he does not, in orders, concede how much he did owe to such a subordinate. Examine his official documents and decide if he ever does justice to the unqualified devotion and marvelous capacity of his chief-of-staff. Meade himself, it is true, only played a secondary part after Grant came to the East; he was a lower Alp, always in the shadow of Grant, sometimes so completely obscured as to be temporarily invisible.

On the 26th of November, 1864, General Humphreys was relieved from the thankless task of chief-of-staff of the Army of the Potomac, and placed at the head of the Second (properly speaking, the combined Second-Third corps, which comprised a whole division of the latter, in which there were very many of the officers and men of whom he had taken leave so affectionately on the victorious fields of Pennsylvania, in his elegant and complimentary order of the 16th of August, 1863. On placing himself once more at their head, with mingled modesty as to himself and pride in regard to them, he issued another order equally characteristic and pregnant with feeling, as succinct as expressive:

"It is natural that I should feel some diffidence in succeeding to the command of so distinguished a soldier as Major-General Hancock. I can only promise you that I shall try to do my duty and preserve your reputation unsullied, relying upon you to sustain me by that skill and courage which you have so conspicuously displayed on so many fields."

The story of the combined Second-Third corps after Humphreys assumed command of it is a chronicle of successes, the more remarkable since, under his leading, it was simply a series of undoubted triumphs which knew no check nor arrest. This seems like a panegyric of one of the writers of the latter empire striving to convert the asphodels of defeat

into the laurels of victory ; but the assertion is fully borne out by facts. From the date that Humphreys became a corps commander, November 26, 1864, until Lee surrendered at Appomattox Court House, April 9, 1865, there is not the blur of the breath of a check upon the polish of the escutcheon of the general or the badges of the corps that he led to victory. The winter of 1864-65 was one of unusual severity, and the Confederates suffered greatly, particularly from want of proper food. As it was reported that supplies were wagoned from Hicksford, on the Weldon Railroad, forty miles south of Petersburg, to break up this route of supply, Humphreys was ordered to co-operate with Warren, Fifth corps, which, in turn, was to support Gregg's cavalry of the Army of the Potomac. On the 6th of February quite a severe action occurred, which ended in the extension of the Union intrenchments to the left as far as Hatcher's Run at the Vaughan Road Crossing. This was the first time that the army had solidly established itself so far to the left, and Humphreys now held that extremity of our lines. The Fifth corps was massed in his rear in support. This mention is interesting, because it was from this base that the final operations of the investing army started to complete their work. Although there were continual encounters at points, where the confronting works were particularly close to each other, no general conflict took place, although the lists of casualties in the aggregate were considerable. On the 25th of March, the Confederates made their desperate sortie upon Fort Stedman or Hell. It was a bold stroke, well planned and gallantly executed ; had it been adequately supported, and had the Confederates understood the actual condition and relative position of the Union works, it might have inflicted a serious blow which would have greatly protracted the war. The sortie was aimed at the Union base of supplies and magazines at City Point, and had these been captured and utilized, or even destroyed, a serious paralysis must have ensued. It is very curious that the writer of this article, on being asked some few days before it occurred, by the military editor of the *Army and Navy Journal* as to what stroke of daring on the part of Lee held forth the greatest chances of success, this very course, and its consequences, were distinctly indicated in detail. As it was, the ignorance of the Rebels as to the probable difficulties they had to encounter, and the gallantry and good conduct of General Hartranft (afterward Governor of Pennsylvania), frustrated the audacious effort, and it ended in a disaster. It is very curious that, in very many cases in the history of war, a daring sortie in force constitutes the last chance of a successful defense. Sometimes it has been wonderfully triumphant, but whenever such a breaking out has been bloodily repelled it has sounded

the knell of the besieged. The same course often occurs in disease. Even at extremities a plucky rally, properly assisted by heroic remedies, has snatched an invalid from the grave, whereas a relapse in such circumstances is inevitably mortal. The latter result was the case with Lee, and his failure at Fort Stedman may justly be considered the "beginning of the end." Fort Stedman was the Alpha to the Omega of Appomattox Court House, the period to the existence of the war. On this same 25th of March, when Lee made his great break at Fort Stedman, Humphreys took advantage of the opportunity, went in on his front, as Wright—on the right of the combined Second and Third corps—on his front, and by clearing away the principal obstacles accomplished a result which so greatly co-operated in rendering Wright's triumph a sure thing on Sunday, April 2d following. Six days afterward—March 31st—Warren, in advancing upon the White Oak Road to cut Lee's communication with his extreme right, in air, at Five Forks, got a tremendous counter about 11 A. M., which in succession sent his divisions reeling back, in turn, "clubbed," in confusion. It was then that Humphreys flashed out with one of those inspirations of genius which demonstrate the combination of self-possession and quick perception, which take full advantage of the moment—the chance which, if suffered to escape, is gone forever. He launched his First Division, under Miles, against the victorious Rebel front and flank, inflicted severe loss upon them, drove them back into their intrenchments, and thus Humphreys' troops were the first to set their feet on the White Oak Road at this point, whither so many efforts had tended only to end more or less in aggravated failures. As this first occupation of the White Oak Road has given rise to a great deal of acrimonious controversy, not yet entirely quieted, a solution of the problem may prove of interest to the reader. This road does not run due east and west, but curves to the south-west, and Miles's Division, hurled upon the enemy by Humphreys, sweeping them back from south to north, swung its left north-east over the road at a point where it trends to the south-west, to accommodate, as it were, the movement. Afterward Warren (Fifth corps) crossed the road in full front and occupied the Confederate works parallel and to the north of it, but Miles was the first who got across it.

On the 1st of April occurred the battle of Five Forks, so disastrous in its general consequences to Lee—a veritable *Coup de Jarnac* to his holding Petersburg, and equally so in personal result to Warren. The glory of the victory—a perfect *Venit summa dies*—is generally scored for the cavalry, but generosity and individual conviction must accord the credit mark to the infantry. The performance in an action of any command is honestly

measured by its losses and captures. Humphreys observes in his book: "The number of casualties in the cavalry was not large." In the course of 1st and 2d April, the Second corps carried the Confederate works in its front, and Humphreys' gallant Lieutenant (Miles) won another laurel at Sutherland Station. Humphreys was of the opinion that if the whole of his corps had been thrown upon Heth's division, then and there, it would have been captured *in toto*, which would have materially shortened the work of the next five weeks. As it was, he was shuttlecocked to and fro, and finally shot back uselessly toward Petersburg, instead of being shot forward against Lee's line of escape. At 8 P. M., April 2, Lee commenced his final retreat. Very early in the morning of the 3d, Petersburg was taken possession of by General Wilcox, and at 8.15 A. M., Richmond was formally surrendered to General Weitzel, and "the seal put to the termination of the Rebellion" by Lieutenant J. L. de Peyster hoisting the "first real American flag" over the capitol of the Confederate capital. Early on the 3d the pursuit of Lee was commenced in earnest. It is with great diffidence that the writer enters upon the consideration of this pursuit, of which the speedy result has been attributed by the popular voice almost altogether to the cavalry.

If the concrete force of language is estimated, the advance of the infantry was rather delayed than assisted by the cavalry, and the efforts of the cavalry, except to harass or annoy, would have tended to no decisive result, without the positive body-blows of the infantry. If any one would take the trouble to examine a correct plan and trace the route followed by the cavalry, and the roads marched over by Lee, it is impossible not to reach the conclusion that the horsemen did not come in contact with the still organized forces—the three arms combined—of the Confederates until late in the afternoon of the 6th, after Humphreys, with his combined Second-Third corps, unsupported, had caught up with them at Flat Creek, about 8.30 A. M., had partly forded the stream, armpit deep, partly crossed it on an improvised bridge one hundred feet long, built by them, and split off Ewell's Division about 4.30 P. M.—having been engaged in seven stand-up fights, and carried several hastily and partially intrenched positions defended by artillery; winding up the day with a "heavy battle" at night-fall, with Gordon's Division, which alone escaped, through the sudden shutting in of darkness. Ewell's Division, hardly hammered for about eight hours, and split off by Humphreys, slid into the hands of the cavalry and Sixth corps, and surrendered without the shot of a cannon on their part.

General Humphreys, in a document prepared for publication and which

he requests may be published, quotes a statement made at the second annual meeting of the Southern Historical Society, that when Lee left Petersburg in retreat he had but 42,000, and that Grant pursued him with 220,000 men. Humphreys showed that Grant moved in pursuit of Lee with between 85,000 and 90,000. Of these, 13,000, the Ninth corps, actually had nothing to do with the pursuit. An examination of the telegrams, dispatches, etc., their localities, dates, and hours, furnishes the best proof of it. Take 13,000 from 90,000 and it leaves 77,000. As the Fifth corps did not fire a shot in action until the 9th, nor the Sixth corps until the afternoon of the 6th, after Ewell had been split off by Humphreys—neither did the Army of the James, Twenty-fourth corps, with the exception of a small but gallant detachment from it. About noon of the 6th, Lee's whole compact force, with the exception of Longstreet's command, in whole or part, suffered only and altogether from the "tritulating blows," to use Humphreys' expression, of the combined Second and Third corps, during the worst part of the process on the 6th. As to Lee's 42,000, let us look into that. Humphreys' statement that their total loss at his hands on the 6th could not have been less than 2,000; and that Ewell had about 10,000; and he furnishes a tabulated account of the number paroled on the 9th of April, 28,356. These make 40,356. It is conceded that a body of cavalry did not surrender at Appomattox Court House. A large number of stragglers fell out constantly, as the retreat or flight grew more exhaustive. The Fifth corps picked them up all along on their route on the 6th, and the cavalry had gobbled and continued to sweep in a number, day after day, from the 3d to the 9th. Besides this, there was a list of casualties to consider, and the foot-sore and the starving slipped away and got off with every opportunity. If the Confederates would not take so much pains to depreciate their own numbers and to augment those of the Unionists, it would scarcely be worth while, in the view of the result, to give the matter a moment's consideration. Shortly after the war, the matter was investigated by an expert, and the result arrived at, that when Lee had gathered up every available detachment or representative of any "arm" of either service, military or naval, to move on Amelia Court House, he had in hand some 60,000 effectives.

In 1696, the destruction of the French magazines of food and forage by Cœhorn and Obdam paralyzed the operations of the French army for the year. In the same way the failure of Lee to find the supplies he expected at Amelia Court House no doubt had a terrible effect upon the fighting power of his army. With that, however, this article has nothing to do, except to present clearly the potential energy and fight of Humphreys on the



BATTLE OF CUMBERLAND CHURCH, OR THE HEIGHTS OF FARMVILLE.

The combined Second-Third Corps, under General Humphreys, April 7, 1865.

6th and 7th; for he had to do, pretty much all the time, with everything that remained compact and cohesive of the Army of Northern Virginia. This narrative left him still fighting on the 6th, when darkness fell upon the field. He was up with the first light of day, 7th, and it was the combined Second-Third corps, and not the cavalry, that saved High Bridge and continued to drive and fight Lee all day long. If the cavalry in the same way had saved the bridges at Farmville, it would have greatly simplified matters, and ended up Lee the same day. At Cumberland Church, on the afternoon of the 7th, occurred the last stand-up fight, or pitched bat-

tle, between the Army of Northern Virginia under Lee and the Army of the Potomac represented by the combined Second-Third corps under Humphreys. All the Union troops that made any attempt to help him was a division of cavalry, which came to grief so suddenly that it at once voted itself out of the fight, and recrossed the Appomattox at Farmville, fording "belly deep." While Humphreys was holding and pressing Lee's troops, horse and foot were piling up at Farmville, within three miles of the scene of collision. Humphreys struck Lee at 1.20 P.M. and asked for reinforcements. The Sixth corps was at Farmville at 2.20 P.M. The Twenty-fourth corps was moving forward. Grant was there at 4.40 P.M. Remember, the cavalry crossed and recrossed "belly-deep," which is about or less than three feet. This is exactly the measurement given by Mr. W. W. Jackson, of the depth of the ford at his Jackson's Mill, about one and a half miles above Farmville. Mr. Hooper, of Farmville, shortly after the war, gave a maximum depth at any point at that place at four to five feet ordinary water, bottom sandy, and he added that, owing to the dams, the water does not deepen in the spring. The Appomattox may be about the width of a New York avenue from house to house. Had the Sixth corps and Twenty-fourth corps crossed to the assistance of Humphreys, the war in Virginia might have ended elegantly, with a battle and a capture by force of arms forty miles by road and forty-six hours by time, short of the quiet surrender at Appomattox Court House; yes, ended in a blaze of glory for the Army of the Potomac, which deserved such a termination to their labors and sufferings.

Why did not this occur? The problem is insoluble. Troops have forded and bridged broader, more boisterous and deeper rivers successfully, under similar and more difficult circumstances, and under fire, crossing victoriously in the teeth of opposition through water armpit, even cravat deep, on very many occasions. There was no lack of material of every kind—buildings and large trees in abundance near at hand. A cantilever bridge could have been thrown between the piers of the burned railroad bridge in an hour, and any kind of bridge sufficient for artillery and trains in two hours at the farthest; in fact, any sufficient kind of a bridge constructed in about two hours. Meanwhile, if the cavalry and infantry got through, artillery could have been hauled across by hand if the teams could not perform their duty. Every detail that enters into the question has been examined with care. An expert, a military engineer, has given his opinion, corroborating that some sort of a trustworthy viaduct could have been accomplished in two hours at farthest. There were mechanics in superabundance, likewise material; but nothing was done until too late, and Meade tele-



Position of the combined Second-Third Corps, under General Humphreys, April 9, 1865.

graphed toward night-fall to Humphreys: "You must look out for yourself." He had done so, and he continued to do so. Lee fully appreciated his pertinacity, and said so. When the enemy were headed off at Appomattox Court House, and on this occasion the Second-Third were supported by the Sixth corps, a judge of the highest merit and experience recorded his belief that Humphreys would have annihilated the enemy immediately before him if he had not been stopped by orders.

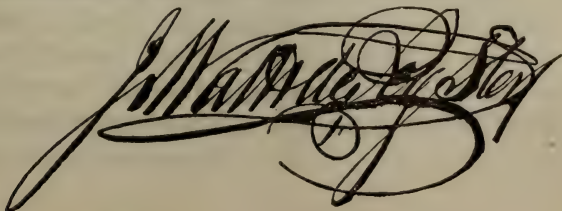
To augment the dissatisfaction felt by Humphreys, one if not more of his most important dispatches (night, April 6, 1865) was suppressed, which was an early and perfect revelation of the truth of what he and his corps had done, whereas everything that the cavalry performed was scattered broadcast throughout the land. Humphreys often alluded to these and other injustices with great feeling, particularly in the following letter:

September 29, 1872—(the italics and capitals are not in the original and are simply used to invite the attention of the reader to certain passages).—"I fully appreciate your labors, which I am conscious have brought into clear relief what was before obscure and ill-defined. . . . Your industry in collecting facts upon any subject you treat of is literally untiring. In a long experience among the working men of the country, I have rarely found your equal, never, I think, your superior; and I may pay the same tribute to your conscientious labor in the task of evolving the truth from the mass of matter collected; much of it is contradictory and apparently irreconcilable with any known truths. Possessing a clear appreciation of the great fundamental principles which should govern military operations and battles, you are quick to perceive adherence to or departure from them, and as the extended study of the great military writers and historians has imbued your mind with just military views, so has it richly stored your memory with a redundant supply of apt illustrative examples for every important event or incident of our war. To all these qualifications as a military critic you have added a ready, rapid, courageous pen, and a power of application. . . . I returned to Washington . . . found a letter for me from General Badeau . . . intending to send you extracts from Badeau's letter, in which he speaks so highly (and justly) of your labors and papers. . . . He says: 'You have accumulated a wonderful amount of original matter, some of it absolutely invaluable, and I expect to avail myself of it.' . . . *You would not think I had lost interest in the subject of your labors had you heard me talk to some Philadelphians about the PURSUIT OF LEE. I learned only this summer of the effect of Stanton's telegram of the 6th or 7th of April, giving the whole credit of overtaking and attacking Lee on the 6th April to Sheridan. 'There,' they said in Philadelphia (I am told), 'the generals of the Army of the Potomac are laggards; it required Sheridan and Grant to overtake and beat Lee.' What an outrage on Wright and myself that telegram was! We laggards! The impression thus made on the public in this movement of success has never been effaced; it remains to this day.* To you I am indebted, my dear General, for the first presentation of the subject to the public that will tend to efface this impression."

Humphreys alone and unsupported fought the *last pitched battle* with his corps, representing the Army of the Potomac, against its four-years' antagonist, the Army of Northern Virginia. What is very curious, the position assumed by Lee at Cumberland Church closely resembled the disposition of the Union Army at Gettysburg on the third day—however *in petto*. Lee's position, near Farmville, had the same defect as that of Meade

at Gettysburg, because most vulnerable if "punched," and altogether open and unprotected in the rear, exactly where the Sixth corps, or, and the Twenty-fourth corps, or, and Fifth corps, or all three should have been crossed over and put in. If Grant had adequately—as he could easily have done—reinforced and supported and assisted Humphreys at Cumberland Church, the glory of crushing Lee would undoubtedly have inured to Humphreys and not to Sheridan.

The war being entirely over, August 18, 1866, Humphreys was made chief-of-engineers, the highest and most honorable scientific position in the nation, and, in 1879, having reached the legal term of active service, he was retired, bearing with him out of office the "respect, admiration, and love" of every one who had had or enjoyed private, civil, or military relations with him. Having performed actions worthy of Cæsar in the field he took up his pen and wrote a volume of commentaries entitled, *The Virginian Campaign of '64 and '65*, published by Charles Scribner's Sons in 1883, worthy to rank in the same class with those of the Cæsar whose executive soldiership he had emulated. Shortly after, a brief supplementary volume was published, also by Charles Scribner's Sons, *supplementary* to their regular series, but *introductory* to the last and twelfth number of it, so as to present as concisely as is consistent with clearness the operations of the Army of the Potomac from Gettysburg to Appomattox Court House. In these volumes those who know the real facts of the case are especially struck with Humphreys' self-restraint. That he felt that injustice had been done him is abundantly shown in the foregoing narrative. Yet no word of complaint or accusation escapes him. He leaves to others the task of vindicating him, and seems to have thought it unworthy of a writer of history to allow his pages to betray his private griefs. But all this is characteristic of the man. It has been well said of him that his "leadership and soldiership were so unobtrusive that the country was not aware of what an able man it possessed in him." With equal truth it has been remarked that "if Humphreys had occupied a more influential position, the Northern people would have enjoyed many more occasions to rejoice." It was while engaged in preparing a revised and enlarged edition of his military treatise, that the light of his life went out, instantly, and without a trace of pain. He simply fell asleep to wake no more.



FROM CEDAR MOUNTAIN TO CHANTILLY*

II

BRISTOE AND GAINESVILLE

On Wednesday morning, August 27, General Pope put his entire army in motion toward Gainesville and Manassas. Sigel and Reynolds, followed by King and Ricketts, all under McDowell, moved, in the order named, directly on Gainesville, and Heintzelman and Reno, instructed to support McDowell, if need be, marched from Catlett's Station toward Greenwich. Porter was directed to remain at Warrenton Junction until relieved by Banks, now coming up from Fayetteville, and then to push forward toward Greenwich and Gainesville to assist in the operations in that quarter. Banks was charged with the duty of covering the march of the railroad and wagon trains, and of reconstructing the railroad bridges destroyed by Jackson, so as to bring the cars and locomotives through, if possible, to Manassas. All the army trains were sent toward Warrenton Junction, with instructions to follow Hooker's division of Heintzelman's corps, advancing along the railroad toward Manassas Junction. Bayard, with three regiments of cavalry, joined Sigel on the evening of the 27th, but did not remain with him, while Buford, with most of Sigel's cavalry and a few pieces of artillery, was sent out to reconnoiter in the direction of Chester Gap. By these movements, if continued, the bulk of Pope's army would be brought directly between Lee and Jackson. Gainesville, near which McDowell and Sigel were expected to be during the evening of the 27th, lies at the intersection of the Warrenton turnpike with the Manassas Gap railroad, and midway between Thoroughfare Gap and Manassas Junction. It was therefore upon the direct line of Lee's approach, and of Jackson's retreat. Lee's army, it will be borne in mind, was yet west of the Bull Run Mountains, and Longstreet's corps, leading it, could not possibly reach Gainesville before the 29th. Until then, Jackson would be obliged to take care of himself, as best he might.

About three o'clock Wednesday afternoon (27th), as Hooker approached Bristoe Station, he encountered Ewell's division, which Jackson had left behind to retard our movement toward Manassas. Hooker attacked at once, and with such vigor that the enemy's lines were broken, and his positions carried. The fighting began about four miles west of the station,

* Copyright, by Alfred E. Lee.

and continued until dark, by which time Ewell had been driven back as far as Bristoe, with a loss of 300 men. Leaving his dead, many of his wounded, and much baggage on the field, Ewell withdrew across Broad Run, first burning the railroad bridge which spanned that stream. Hooker, having only five rounds of ammunition per man left, was unable to prevent this, and during the night Ewell, without further molestation, rejoined Jackson at Manassas.

This encounter with Ewell had a most exhilarating effect upon our army, not only because it was a skillfully managed and successful battle on our part, but especially because, in developing the whereabouts of the enemy, it disclosed a strong probability that the bulk of our forces, coming up from Warrenton, would interpose directly between Jackson and Lee. There was scarcely a soldier in the ranks who did not understand this, and perceive that Jackson was in a perilous predicament, and that his capture, "bag and baggage," which had been one of the standing jests of the camp, was in a fair way to become a reality.

General Pope arrived upon the field at sunset, and concluded at once that he had Jackson's whole force in front of him. He therefore became apprehensive that the enemy would pass around our right and fall upon our immense wagon trains coming up from Warrenton Junction, or turn and crush Hooker, who had but one division, and that nearly out of ammunition. He therefore issued immediately the following order (dated Bristoe Station, Aug. 27, 6.30 P.M.) to General Porter at Warrenton Junction: "The Major-General commanding directs that you *start at one o'clock to-night* and come forward with your whole corps, or such part of it as is with you, *so as to be here by daylight to-morrow morning*. Hooker has had a very severe action with the enemy, with the loss of about 300 killed and wounded. The enemy has been driven back, but is retiring along the railroad. We must drive him from Manassas, and clear the country between that place and Gainesville, where McDowell is. If Morell has not joined you, send him word to push forward immediately; also send word to Banks to move forward with all speed to take your place at Warrenton Junction. *It is necessary, on all accounts, that you should be here by daylight*. I send an officer with this dispatch, who will conduct you to this place. Be sure to send word to Banks, who is on the road from Fayetteville, probably in the direction of Bealton. Say to Banks also that he had best run back the railroad trains to this side of Cedar Run. If he is not with you, write him to that effect."

Two hours and a half later (9 P.M.) Pope sent the following to General Kearny: "At the very earliest dawn of day push forward with your

command with all speed to this place [Bristoe Station]. You cannot be more than three or four miles distant. Jackson, A. P. Hill, and Ewell are in front of us. Hooker had a severe fight with them to-day. McDowell marches upon Manassas Junction from Gainesville to-morrow at day-break; Reno upon the same place at the same hour. I want you here at day-dawn, if possible, and we shall bag the whole crowd. Be prompt and expeditious, and never mind wagon trains or roads until this affair is over. Lieutenant Brooks will deliver you this communication. He has one for General Reno and one for General McDowell. Please have these dispatches sent forward instantly by a trusty staff officer, who will be sure to deliver them without fail, and make him bring back a receipt to you before daylight. Lieutenant Brooks will remain with you, and bring you to this camp. Use the cavalry I send you to escort your staff officer to McDowell and Reno."

The dispatch (dated at the same hour as the foregoing) which General Kearny was requested to forward to McDowell (supposed to be at Gainesville, but really at Buckland Mills) was as follows: "At daylight to-morrow morning march rapidly on Manassas Junction with your whole force, resting your right on the Manassas Gap railroad, throwing your left well to the east. Jackson, Ewell, and A. P. Hill are between Gainesville and Manassas Junction. We had a severe fight with them to-day, driving them back several miles along the railroad. If you will march promptly and rapidly, at the earliest dawn of day, upon Manassas Junction, we shall bag the whole crowd. I have directed Reno to march from Greenwich at the same hour on Manassas Junction, and Kearny, who is in his rear, to march on Bristow at day-break. Be expeditious, and the day is our own."

These orders were based upon the assumption that Jackson, Ewell, and A. P. Hill were between Manassas Junction and Gainesville, and that the next day would find them still in that position. In this General Pope was mistaken. With McDowell, Sigel, and Reynolds at or near Gainesville, and Heintzelman, Porter, and Banks coming up from Greenwich and Catlett's Station, Jackson had no mind to stay at the Junction. He was yet there, it is true, at nine o'clock P.M. on the 27th. He had with him his own and A. P. Hill's divisions, and Ewell's was hastening up from Bristoe to join him. But before daylight his whole force had decamped from Manassas, Ewell's and Hill's divisions going toward Centreville, and Taliaferro's (Jackson's own) toward Sudley Springs.

It was therefore a mistake to call McDowell in the direction of Manassas. His proper course was that toward Haymarket or Centreville.

To call him to Manassas was to take him away from his vital strategic position between Lee and Jackson, and open the way for the Confederate armies to unite. It would have been more discreet for General Pope to reserve his orders for McDowell until he knew more of the enemy's whereabouts and intentions. But the propriety of calling up Porter and Banks was manifest. There was no mistake in that. There was also justification, at least, for summoning Reno and Kearny from Greenwich. All this remains true, no matter in what direction Jackson had gone, or intended to go. General Pope saw the enemy before him, knew that their retreat by the left was intercepted, and apprehended that Jackson would mass his forces and throw them upon our right flank, which was in no condition to withstand such a shock. It seemed, therefore, but the part of prudence to strengthen that flank. At any rate, whatever the enemy might do, Reno at Manassas Junction and Porter and Kearny at Bristoe could not be far out of place. They would be at hand to fight if Jackson should make a stand, or to pursue him toward Gainesville, Centreville, or Sudley Springs, as the case might be, should he run away.

So much for the orders. Let us see how they were executed.

General Pope enjoined haste, as it was proper to do. The crisis of the campaign had arrived, and had brought with it a great opportunity. Minutes were precious, and whatever was done must be done quickly. As for orders, they must be given and changed to suit the varying exigencies of the moment. The all-important thing was to do what the moment seemed to require, and do it energetically.

As for General Kearny, he never needed any second hint to be "prompt and expeditious." He was promptness and expedition itself. Obeying implicitly the order given him, he marched at daylight, and arrived at Bristoe at 8 A.M. Equally prompt, Reno, at dawn, put his command in motion for Manassas. General Porter, we have seen, was explicitly directed to move at one o'clock in the night, so as to reach Bristoe at daylight. This order General Porter failed to comply with: of this there is no question. He did not move at one o'clock, nor did he reach Bristoe at daylight, nor (with his corps) until five or six hours after daylight. And now, as the time at which he actually did move, the importance of his movement, and the impediments alleged to have detained him, have been matters of prolonged dispute, it is proper to refer to them with some particularity.

On the morning when Sigel's corps left Warrenton (August 27), the officer having charge of Milroy's ammunition train moved the train, accord-

ing to usage and instructions, following the troops to which it belonged. A short distance east of Warrenton General Sigel, in person, ordered the train to leave the column, saying there would be a battle that day, and that no wagons of any kind should encumber the column. The officer therefore parked his train beside the road until the troops had passed, and then conducted it back to Warrenton, and thence, under cavalry escort, to Warrenton Junction, where he encountered the mass of wagon and railway trains which were being conducted to Manassas by General Banks. At sundown, he encamped with his teams and infantry train-guard near Catlett's Station. About eight o'clock next morning he arrived at Catlett's, and there encountered the troops and trains of General Fitz John Porter, moving leisurely, and completely filling the road contiguous to the railway. Finding his progress obstructed, and being in haste to overtake his corps, the officer rode out from Catlett's in search of another road. He had not gone more than a mile east of the station when he struck an excellent road leading toward Bristoe, entirely clear of troops or wagons. Moving his train by this route—the teams going much of the time on the trot—he again encountered Porter's column about eleven A. M. at a point where the two roads met, a little south of Bristoe. Porter's troops were then halting, and although the heat was oppressive, they did not have the appearance of men who had marched rapidly. Being unable to go forward, the officer waited until the column started, and then followed one of the brigades. Half an hour later the troops moved out of the road into the fields, saying they were going to encamp. The officer then pursued his way to Bristoe Station, where he gave his men and teams an hour's rest. He then pursued his march to the ford over Broad Run, near the scene of Hooker's encounter with Ewell, and although he was detained for an hour or more by a jam of wagons at the ford, he reached Manassas Junction before sundown, and that same evening encamped within a short distance of Milroy's brigade, some miles west of the Junction.

These simple facts, not important in themselves, yet important in their relations, dispose of all the petty questions about the road and its obstruction. Between Catlett's and Bristoe, there were, as we see, two parallel roads, at least one of which was in excellent condition, and unobstructed. The wagon-trains were not in motion during the night, but were parked, under guard, in the woods and fields, so that the troops were really much less hindered by wagons at night than in day-time. As for the darkness, which is said to have been a hinderance, it did not embarrass Ewell, Hill, or Taliaferro, all of whom were in movement during the night, and in spite of the great fatigue of their troops, were turning both time and darkness

to good account. The distance which General Porter was required to make between one o'clock and daylight was nine miles. During that same four hours Ewell and Hill marched an equal or greater distance without any particular difficulty.

Much has been said to disparage the importance of this march to Bristoe. Kearny and Reno did not stop or assume to judge whether or not the march was important. They marched. It should also be borne in mind that at the time Pope gave the order he feared that Jackson would fall, with all his force, on Hooker, who was nearly out of ammunition. Had Jackson done that, history would have been cleared of any controversy as to whether General Porter should have marched promptly or not. Nor was the obligation to do so lessened by the enemy's disappearance from Bristoe during the night of the 27th, for General Porter should, at any rate, have been on hand at daylight to pursue Jackson, to say nothing of the reënforcement of Hooker. It has been said that our battle with Jackson should have been fought on the 28th instead of the 29th;* but how could this be unless our troops should move up promptly to the encounter? Jackson was moving most of the night of the 27th, and the only way to overtake him was to push after him with energy something like his own.

General Pope seems to have remained at Bristoe, on the morning of the 28th, until about 11 o'clock. He was probably waiting for Porter's corps to arrive. Undoubtedly, he was more or less held back in his advance on Manassas by Porter's delay. Thus nearly half a day was lost when moments were of the utmost value. It may be added, upon Pope's testimony, that General Porter insisted, when his corps arrived at Bristoe, that it should be allowed to stop there and rest. General Pope then rode on to Manassas Junction, and arrived there about noon. He there inferred from what he learned that Jackson personally had just quitted the place, and that his forces had gone off toward Centreville. Appearances certainly indicated that, and it was General Pope's misfortune to be governed in this instance by appearances instead of obtaining more exact information. In justice to him it should be said that he had but little cavalry available for scouting and reconnaissance. What he had was so broken down as to be able to travel but little faster than the infantry, and the bulk of his mounted force which could render any service was at this time absent with Buford and Bayard exploring the country in the direction of Lee's approach.

Two of Jackson's divisions (Hill's and Ewell's) *had* gone toward Centre-

* "Ropes' Army under Pope," page 80.

ville, and this fact led General Pope to believe that Jackson's entire force was retreating in that direction. The truth was that, during the night, Taliaferro's division quitted the Junction, and at day-break arrived upon the old Bull Run battle-field, near Sudley Springs; that Hill's division, marching at one o'clock in the morning (the precise hour at which General Porter was directed to start for Bristoe), crossed Bull Run at Blackburn's Ford, proceeded to Centreville, and at ten A.M. (28th) turned down the Warrenton pike toward the Stone Bridge; that Ewell, going from the Junction toward Centreville, at dawn of the 28th, crossed Bull Run at Blackburn's Ford, recrossed at the Stone Bridge, and during the day halted near the Matthews house, north of the Warrenton pike; and that, by the time General Pope reached the Junction, Jackson had most of his command with him at or near Sudley Springs. These movements, so far as directed toward Centreville, quite misled Pope, and Stuart's cavalry raid down the railroad toward Alexandria augmented his deception. He therefore sent orders to Hooker to push for Centreville, and dispatched Kearny and Reno in the same direction. He also sent a message to Porter to come forward at once to Manassas Junction.* Late in the afternoon Kearny drove the enemy's rear guard—a regiment of cavalry—out of Centreville. Reno and Hooker, following Kearny, encamped, the one on the east and the other on the west side of Bull Run. General Pope made his head-quarters for the night at Blackburn's Ford. Such were the operations of the right wing up to sundown of the 28th. They left Jackson in a position, extending from Sudley Springs westward, north of the Warrenton pike, with his cavalry pickets watching us south of the pike, and one of his brigades—Bradley T. Johnson's—thrown westward on the pike to Groveton.

Let us now turn to the operations of the left wing.

On the 27th, marching from Warrenton, Sigel sent ahead Milroy's brigade to seize the bridge over Broad Run, at Buckland Mills. Milroy found the bridge on fire but saved it, drove off the Confederate detachment which was guarding it, and pushed on to Gainesville, where he captured 150 of Jackson's stragglers, and (at 9 P.M.) encamped for the night. Schurz and Schenck, following Milroy, took positions behind him, in the

* General Pope so testifies, and his testimony is corroborated by Colonel Strother (then serving on Pope's staff), who says in his published diary: "Just as we neared the smoking ruins of the Junction, I was sent back with a message to Generals Porter, Hooker, and Heintzelman, ordering them to move their commands on Manassas without delay. I found Porter at Bristoe, and delivered the message. I afterward found Generals Heintzelman and Hooker, with their officers," etc. From this it appears that General Porter received the order first.

order named. Sigel was thoroughly impressed with the idea that the enemy, in force, was not far distant, and held about one-third of his troops under arms all night. Milroy kept his whole command on the *qui vive*.

Thus the First corps lay, during the night of the 27th, on the Warrenton turnpike, with its head of column at Gainesville, and its reserve (Von Steinwehr's brigade) at Buckland Mills, where General Sigel was joined, in the course of the evening, by McDowell, who, by that time, had learned the result of Buford's reconnoissance made during the day. Buford had marched to Salem, where he discovered Longstreet approaching, and learned that Jackson had passed through Salem the day before and gone on through Thoroughfare Gap. Having resisted Longstreet sufficiently to compel him to form a line of battle, and cause him an hour's detention, Buford moved toward White Plains, and then back to Warrenton, picking up on the way many stragglers from Jackson's command.

Sigel had acquired similar information as to the enemy. From his own scouting parties he had learned during the day that Jackson had passed through Thoroughfare Gap to Manassas, and that Longstreet was following him by way of Salem and White Plains. He had therefore proposed to McDowell, in dispatches sent early in the afternoon from Buckland Mills, that they should rapidly concentrate their joint forces at Gainesville, and press forward against the enemy. General McDowell, when he arrived at Buckland Mills in the evening, suggested a movement to Salem, but Sigel was disinclined to this, believing that it would lead to a division of our forces, and enable Longstreet and Jackson to unite. Whether influenced or not by these suggestions, General McDowell prepared an order (dated 11.30 P.M.), directing that General Sigel's corps should be concentrated near Haymarket and Gainesville; that a division of the Third (McDowell's) corps should be left at Buckland Mills to operate against the flanks of the enemy, or march to Haymarket, as might be expedient; that King's and Ricketts' divisions should march to Gainesville, starting at two o'clock in the morning, "to attack the enemy's position in the direction of Manassas"; and that the attack should be supported on the right by General Heintzelman, then at Greenwich. These dispositions were excellent, and had they been allowed to stand, the campaign would have turned out far differently than it did. At Haymarket and Gainesville, Sigel was just in the right place, and could move eastward against Jackson, or go back and hold Thoroughfare Gap, as occasion might require. He would also have a short road to the Hopewell and Aldie gaps should Longstreet or Jackson try to break through

there.* But General McDowell had scarcely sent out his instructions when he received Pope's 9 P.M. order, directing him to march with his whole force on Manassas Junction. That order, the parent of so much mischief, came just in time to stop the concentration of the left wing between Lee and Jackson, and to re-open their avenues of approach to each other. When it arrived, General McDowell was making arrangements to send Sigel's corps and Ricketts' division up to Thoroughfare Gap, and had he been allowed to execute his plans, he would undoubtedly have held Lee's whole army back for a day, at least. But it was not in calling McDowell eastward that harm was done so much as in giving him the wrong course. Obviously he should have been directed upon Centreville, and not upon Manassas. During the morning of the 28th two of Jackson's divisions were yet east of Bull Run, moving down the Warrenton pike from Centreville. Now Gainesville, Centreville, and Manassas Junction mark the apexes of a triangle, of which the turnpike from Gainesville to Centreville may be considered the base. Moving along this base line, McDowell would strike Jackson full in front, but moving toward Manassas he was inclining too far to the right, and giving Jackson a free road.

Nevertheless, General McDowell applied himself at once to putting Pope's orders into execution. Sigel was directed to move toward Manassas Junction, with "his right resting on the Manassas railroad," Reynolds following by the turnpike, on Sigel's left, King following Reynolds and Ricketts King, all in echelon. Ricketts was enjoined to be constantly on the lookout for an attack from the direction of Thoroughfare Gap, and to turn and resist such an attack, if made. General McDowell complains in his report, that Sigel's movement was too slow, that he took the wrong route, and that his column was too much encumbered with wagons. It is difficult to understand how this last could have been so, for we have seen that, while marching from Warrenton, Sigel ordered even ammunition wagons out of his column. He sent all his baggage-trains to Catlett's, as Pope had instructed, and from Buckland Mills he sent back an officer to conduct his supply train to Manassas. Possibly some wagons not carrying ammunition followed his troops, but if so, it was without the knowledge and against the orders of General Sigel.

There was no detention of the First corps on the morning of the 28th caused by wagons, but there was some detention of it arising from other causes. In the first place, the order to march to Manassas Junction was not delivered to Sigel until 2.45 A.M., the messenger bearing it having roved

* Thoroughfare Gap is five, Buckland Mills four, and Haymarket and Groveton each three and a half miles from Gainesville.

about with it in the dark for two hours. In the next place, Sigel's column extended from Gainesville back to Buckland Mills, a distance of four miles, his divisions having been separated so as to be placed where they could get water, which was very scarce in that region. Now as Sigel believed the enemy to be in front of him, he deemed it prudent to close up his column before calling in the detachments which Milroy had thrown out at Gainesville, or putting his head of column (Milroy's brigade) in motion. Nevertheless, Sigel was at Gainesville by six o'clock, having personally hurried up his divisions as he passed along the road.

McDowell's instructions were that Sigel should "march with his whole corps on Manassas Junction, his right resting on the Manassas railroad." Sigel seems to have understood this to mean that he should march to the Junction, his right *halting* on the Manassas railroad. He therefore sought the shortest route to the Junction, which was a road parallel with and a little south of the railroad. This was a variation from McDowell's instructions, but it was not important, so far as the compliance with orders was concerned. If we were going to Manassas, the shortest route was the best. In the movement now making, King's division extended farthest to the left, and Sigel's corps farthest to the right. Between was Reynolds' division, which before turning southward toward Manassas, found itself confronted by a hostile battery posted on a hill near the pike. This battery, being properly attended to, disappeared, and the march was resumed.* General Sigel halted when he heard the firing, suspecting that Jackson was in the neighborhood, and it would have been well had General McDowell shared that suspicion, as he does not seem to have done. It required a more vigorous blow to wake everybody up to the fact that the enemy—the very one we were seeking—was not far off.

The march continued without interruption for two or three miles farther, when, at two o'clock, Sigel's scouting parties reported that they had seen Confederate infantry, cavalry, and artillery, accompanied by a wagon train. One of the parties had been attacked. Major Franz Kappner, Sigel's chief engineer, observed this hostile force for half an hour, moving on the road from Haymarket to Groveton. Lieutenant Burchard, an assistant engineer, was with Kappner, and reported what he had seen to General McDowell. Major Heintz, also of the First corps staff, reported to Sigel that he had discovered a large wagon train on the Warrenton pike, and believed it might be captured if attacked by a strong force of

* The hostile detachment may have belonged to Stuart's cavalry, or to Johnson's brigade, which Jackson had thrown out toward Groveton, as already mentioned. Its artillery firing killed three and wounded four of our men.

cavalry. Later, Heintz sent word that the enemy had opened fire with four pieces of artillery. "General Von Steinwehr," he added, "intends to attack the enemy's flank with the brigade, and is preparing for the advance. I shall follow with the cavalry on his right." These various reports convinced Sigel that the Confederates had quitted Manassas and were concentrating upon the old Bull Run battle-field. Before him their pickets were scattered through the timber for the distance of a mile. Behind these, near the Warrenton-Centreville pike, was Bradley T. Johnson's brigade, supported, as yet, only by cavalry. The moment was opportune for making an attack, and Sigel began putting his corps in line of battle. At the same time he reported the situation to McDowell, and quick and peremptory the order came back to him to proceed to Manassas. "I reluctantly obeyed this order," says Sigel, "marched off from the right, and was within two and half miles from Manassas when our cavalry reported that Manassas was evacuated by the enemy, and that General Kearny was in possession of that point."

The "phlegmatic German" had been going slow, it is true. Pity that he had not gone slower—pity that he went at all in the direction he was required to take.

In the course of the forenoon stirring news came from Thoroughfare Gap. Colonel Wyndham was there with the First New Jersey Cavalry, accompanied by Captain Leski, of McDowell's staff. "The enemy is advancing through the pass," reported Leski. "Colonel Wyndham will halt them as long as he can, and asks to be reinforced." McDowell acted promptly and wisely. "Send a brigade and a battery to assist Colonel Wyndham, and follow them up by your whole division," was his immediate command to General Ricketts. Being yet on the road between New Baltimore and Gainesville, Ricketts' division moving rapidly by way of Haymarket, where it dropped its knapsacks, reached the Gap about three o'clock P.M., and there met Colonel Wyndham's skirmishers retiring before the enemy, already in possession. Pressing forward, Ricketts met with severe resistance, and was unable to seize the pass, but held his ground until dark, then, finding that the enemy had turned his position by way of the Hopewell Gap, he withdrew and took a position for the night between Haymarket and Gainesville.

At Bethlehem Church, where Sigel learned that Manassas was evacuated, he halted, and being sure that the enemy was somewhere between Centreville and Gainesville, he reported his situation directly to Pope, who ordered him to push on to Centreville. Sigel then asked permission to go by way of New Market, and this being granted, he turned his column up

the Sudley Springs road, and proceeded. Milroy, who had, as usual, rushed ahead, and had arrived within a mile of Manassas, marched across the country and resumed his place in the advance. He was joined by McLean's brigade of Schenck's division, and in connection with that brigade soon struck the enemy's cavalry and pushed through the woods, skirmishing as he advanced and keeping his artillery in action. Learning that Centreville had been abandoned by the enemy, Sigel drew Schurz's division (which had gone toward Bull Run) with the rest of his troops to the support of McLean and Milroy.

Let us now go back to McDowell. Between three and four o'clock in the afternoon he received two dispatches from Pope, in one of which he was directed to move on Gum Springs to intercept Jackson,* and in the other to march on Centreville. Complying with this last command, Reynolds' division, spurred by Sigel's firing, shifted north toward the Centreville pike, which King's division had quitted but a short distance, and at 5.30 P.M. proceeded to follow. In the first of the dispatches just mentioned Pope referred to McDowell's superior knowledge of the country, and asked him for a full expression of his views. McDowell, therefore, most imprudently and unfortunately rode off to Manassas to confer personally with Pope, and thus became separated from his command at a most critical juncture, as we shall now see. Not finding Pope, who had left Manassas for Centreville, McDowell turned back to rejoin his division, but darkness coming on he lost his way, and was obliged to spend the night with troops of Sigel's corps.

Having regained the Warrenton pike, King's division tranquilly took its course toward Centreville. Hatch's brigade led, and the brigades of Doubleday, Gibbon, and Patrick followed in the order named. This movement fell under the eye of Jackson, who had by this time brought his whole force into line between Groveton and Sudley Springs. Seeing our troops at Manassas flying off toward Centreville, he believed, he says, that Pope's army was in full retreat, and he prepared himself to strike it in flank. He was, therefore, lurking near with Ewell's and Taliaferro's divisions, while King was passing along the pike. A soldier of King's division (partly quoting from his diary) thus describes what took place: "About 6 P.M., with unloaded muskets, marching to the charming music of our bands, and unconscious of the bloody reception awaiting us, we started on the turnpike for Centreville. Suddenly, the stillness of the summer even-

* Pope seems to have believed when he wrote this dispatch that Jackson was retreating toward the Aldie Gap. In his next dispatch, however, he said the enemy was reported in force east of Bull Run.

ing was broken by six shots fired in quick succession right into our regiment (Sixth Wisconsin) from a battery not 500 yards away. Surprise is no name for our astonishment. The reverberation had scarcely died away when the old colonel's voice * was heard, 'H-a-l-t! F-r-o-n-t! Load at will, load!' The men fairly jumped to their work, and the ramrods were jingling lively when whack! whack! whack! went the rebel cannon again, almost, it seemed, in our faces. The commander of our brigade was General John Gibbon; let his official report continue the story. He says: 'I had no information of an infantry force in that position. . . . I therefore supposed this was one of the enemy's cavalry batteries, and ordered the Second Wisconsin to face to the left,' etc. There you have it; the Second Wisconsin ordered to attack thirty-two regiments! The writer well remembers the sagacious wag of the head with which General Gibbon informed us that we should be delayed a few minutes 'while the Second captured that squad.' He would doubtless justify his action in ordering that attack by General McDowell's belief that there was 'nothing but cavalry' in our way to Centreville. He says in his report: 'I sent repeated and earnest requests to division head-quarters for assistance. Two of General Doubleday's regiments finally got into line.' Six regiments, and yet Jackson says in his report that 'the enemy maintained his ground with obstinate determination.' Taliaferro describes it as 'one of the most terrific conflicts that can be conceived.' He adds that 'for two hours and a half, without an instant's cessation of the most deadly discharges of musketry, round shot, and shell, both lines stood unmoved, neither advancing, and neither broken nor yielding, until at last, about 9 o'clock at night, the enemy slowly and sullenly fell back and yielded the field to our victorious troops.' If 3,000 men, well handled, could wrest such tributes to their valor, what might not have been accomplished by McDowell's whole command? Gibbon's brigade, having proved itself on this bloody field superior to the famous 'stonewall' men of Jackson, it was forever afterward called the 'Iron Brigade.'

"Says General Rufus King: 'It was near nine o'clock before the firing ceased. Then came the question what next to be done? The enemy in greatly superior force barred the way by which the division was marching'—[as if our only object in life, that night, was to reach Centreville]. 'The only alternative was to deflect to the right to join the bulk of Pope's army at Manassas.' Pope's army was not at Manassas, but 'deflect' we did, stumbling along three miles an hour, after our terrible fight, through the darkness, in which it was impossible for Porter to march to our help."

* Colonel Cutler, who was severely wounded in this action.

The account I am quoting concludes :

"It is impossible to restrain a feeling of indignation when I think of our dead comrades left unburied in the dark shadows of Gibbon's woods. Of the dead heroes who warred against Troy, Homer says :

'Their bones unburied on the bending shore,
Devouring dogs and hungry vultures tore.'

Our tale is sadder than that, for the hogs were found to have mutilated the bodies of these brave men thus left in our midnight retreat."

This sanguinary conflict took place about a mile west of Groveton. Our losses attest its fury. Only Gibbon's brigade and two regiments of Doubleday's were engaged. Gibbon had 2,300 men, of whom he lost 782 in killed, wounded, and missing. Our total loss was about 1,000. On the Confederate side, Generals Taliaferro and Ewell were severely wounded, the latter losing a leg. Taliaferro and Jackson represent that our troops were obliged to quit the field. This is a mistake. They held their ground until one o'clock in the morning, and then withdrew voluntarily.

Observing King's battle from the Robinson House, Sigel pushed forward Schenck and Reynolds on the left to support him. This closed the operations of the First corps for the day. Its lines rested on the heights fronting Young's Branch, and covered the turnpike back to the Stone Bridge. The officer conducting Milroy's ammunition train, to whom reference has been made, saw the smoke of King's conflict from one of the forts at Manassas Junction. He also heard the sound of the cannon calling with mighty voice to our forces far and near. The sights that met the eye added to the impressiveness of this sonorous summons. All around the Junction was a scene of appalling wreck. Upon the railway track locomotives battered with cannon-shot were standing, and the smoky remnants of hundreds of freight-cars were strewn. In every direction boxes, barrels, cans, hard bread, sabres, muskets, blankets, tents, and ammunition were scattered over the ground. Great piles of bacon and cured beef were still burning, and solitary blackened chimneys and heaps of ashes were all that remained of our well-stored magazines. This, while 30,000 troops had been detained at Alexandria, ostensibly for supplies, and Pope's army, marching and fighting day and night, was obliged to go hungry!

About nine o'clock in the evening information of King's engagement reached Pope at his head-quarters near the Bull Run crossing, north of Manassas. The news was a revelation to his mind, and believing Jackson to be now entrapped, he sent orders repeatedly during the night to

Generals McDowell and King* to hold their ground and prevent the retreat of the enemy west. To General Kearny, near Centreville, he sent (at 9.50 P.M.) the following: "General McDowell has intercepted the retreat of the enemy and is now in his front, Sigel on the right of McDowell. Unless he can escape by by-paths leading to the north to-night, he must be captured. I desire you to move forward at one o'clock to-night, even if you have to carry with you no more than 2,000 men, though I trust you will carry the larger part of your division. Pursue the turn-pike from Centreville to Warrenton. The enemy is not more than three and one-half miles from you. Seize any of the people of the town to guide you. Advance cautiously and drive the enemy's pickets to-night, and at early dawn attack him vigorously. Hooker shall be close behind you. Extend your right well toward the north, and push forward your right wing well in the attack. Be sure to march not later than one, with all the men you can take."

With the same emphasis Pope ordered Heintzelman to push forward Hooker's division at three o'clock A.M., following Kearny. To General Porter he sent the following, dated 3 A.M., August 29: "General: McDowell has intercepted the retreat of Jackson. Sigel is immediately on the right of McDowell. Kearny and Hooker march to attack the enemy's rear at early dawn. Major-General Pope directs you to move upon Centreville at the first dawn of day, with your whole command, leaving your trains to follow. It is very important that you should be here at a very early hour in the morning. A severe engagement is likely to take place, and your presence is necessary."

It was expected that this order would find Porter at Manassas. Colonel Strother, who was the bearer of it, says: "I found no troops here (at Manassas), and it was broad daylight when I reached Porter's quarters at Bristoe. Entering his tent, I found the handsome general lying on his cot, covered with a blanket of imitation leopard-skin. At his request I lit a candle and read the message, then handed it to him. While he coolly read it over I noted the time, which marked 5.20 precisely. He then proceeded to dress himself, and continued to question me in regard to the location of the different commands and the general situation. . . . Meanwhile, the head-quarters breakfast had been served, and I sat down with staff officers to partake. The General, who was busy writing dispatches on the corner of the same table, looked up and asked, 'How do you spell *chaos*?' I spelled the word, letter by letter, c-h-a-o-s. . . . Completing his dispatch he folded it, and asked if any of us had letters we

* For reasons disclosed in the narrative, these orders failed to reach either King or McDowell.

wished to send to Washington. . . . The General remarked that he had daily communication with Washington," etc.*

We have seen that at one o'clock in the morning King's division relinquished the position it had so bravely held, and marched off toward Manassas. Ricketts, learning that King would withdraw, put his division in motion for Bristoe Station. Reynolds, although aware of King's movement, kept firmly to his place. Toward daylight Pope learned with consternation of King's retreat. He was greatly disappointed, but addressed himself with energy and decision to the new situation of affairs. Jackson had taken his position on rolling ground in the neighborhood of Groveton, a hamlet on the Warrenton turnpike, six miles west of Centreville. With his left near Sudley Springs and his right a little south of the pike, his front was covered by an unfinished railroad grade—part excavation and part embankment—extending from Gainesville toward Leesburg. In front of him was Sigel, who was ordered to attack him vigorously at day-break, supported by Reynolds. Porter, who had come up at last to Manassas, and was proceeding toward Centreville, was directed by Pope as follows: "Push forward with your corps and King's division, which you will take with you, upon Gainesville. I am following the enemy down the Warrenton turnpike. Be expeditious, or we will lose much."

Heintzelman and Reno, already instructed to move forward rapidly from the neighborhood of Centreville, were not the men to need any additional spur. It was expected that, in the early forenoon, they would establish connection with Sigel on the left and join in the general assault.

Soon after issuing these orders General Pope received from McDowell a note, dated at Manassas Junction, requesting that King's division should not be taken from him. Thereupon Pope issued, from Centreville (about 9 A.M. Aug. 29) the following joint order to McDowell and Porter: "You will please move forward with your joint commands towards Gainesville.

* General Porter's animus toward Pope at this time is further disclosed by the following :

Porter to Burnside, Warrenton, Aug. 27.—"Everything here is at sixes and sevens, and I find I am to take care of myself in every respect. Our line of communication has taken care of itself in compliance with orders."

Porter to Burnside, Warrenton Junction, 27th.—"We are working now to get behind Bull Run, and I presume will be there in a few days, if strategy don't use us up. The strategy is magnificent, and tactics in inverse proportion. . . . I wish Sumner was at Washington, and up near the Monocacy, with good batteries. I do not doubt the enemy have large amounts of supplies provided for them, and I believe they have a contempt for this Army of Virginia. I wish myself away from it, with all our old Army of the Potomac, and so do our companions."

Porter to Burnside, 28th.—"All that talk about bagging Jackson was bosh. That enormous Gap, Manassas, was left open, and the enemy jumped through."

Porter to McClellan, Sept. 1st.—"This week is the crisis of our fate."

I sent General Porter written orders to that effect an hour and a half ago. Heintzelman, Sigel, and Reno are moving on the Warrenton turnpike, and must now be not far from Gainesville. I desire that, as soon as communication is established between this force and your own, the whole command shall halt. It may be necessary to fall back behind Bull Run, at Centreville, to-night. I presume it will be so on account of supplies. I have sent no orders of any description to Ricketts, and none to interfere in any way with the movements of McDowell's troops, except what I sent by his aide-de-camp last night, which were, to hold his position on the Warrenton pike until the troops from here should fall upon the enemy's flank and rear. I do not even know Ricketts' position, as I had not been able to find out where General McDowell was until a late hour this morning. General McDowell will take immediate steps to communicate with General Ricketts, and instruct him to rejoin the other divisions of the corps as soon as practicable. If any considerable advantages are to be gained by departing from this order, it will not be strictly carried out. One thing must be had in view—that the troops must occupy a position from which they can reach Bull Run to-night or by morning. The indications are that the whole force of the enemy is moving in this direction, at a pace that will bring them here by to-morrow night or next day. My own head-quarters will be for the present with Heintzelman's corps or at this place."

Such were the orders. Let us next attend to their execution.

Alfred E. Lu

A CONFEDERACY WITHIN A CONFEDERACY

It is not generally known, or remembered, if ever known, that in the second year of the late civil war a county in Mississippi formally seceded from its parent State and the Southern Confederacy, and organized a distinct government of its own. Jefferson Davis was much mortified when the news reached him of such rebellious proceedings in his own commonwealth, therefore as little publicity was given to the affairs at the time as possible.

It was in the latter part of 1862 that a convention assembled at the court-house in Ellisville, the seat of justice of Jones County, and passed an ordinance of secession severing the county from the Southern government altogether, declaring that as a part of a State which had established a precedent by its recent action, the county had a perfect right to exercise similar power. It called itself the "Jones County Confederacy." Its ordinance of secession was a weighty document, and read as follows: "Whereas the State of Mississippi has seen fit to withdraw from the Federal Union, for reasons which appear justifiable, and whereas we, the citizens of Jones County, claim the same right, thinking our grievances are sufficient by reason of an unjust law passed by the Congress of the Confederate States of America, forcing us to go to distant parts, etc., etc., Therefore be it Resolved, that we sever the union heretofore existing between Jones County and the State of Mississippi and proclaim our Independence of the said State, and of the Confederate States of America—and we solemnly call upon Almighty God to witness and bless this act."

A resolution was offered in the convention to join "the United States of America—for offensive and defensive measures," but almost immediately voted down—many members of the convention declaring that "such an act would be extremely inconsistent, as the United States" were "now pursuing a coercive measure towards the Confederate States." The President chosen was Nathan Knight—"Nate" Knight, as he was familiarly known, a man of intense force of character, bold, defiant, and without fear, but one of the most illiterate citizens of Jones County. As is generally the case with such characters, his honesty was doubtful; yet he would have made an able commander in the field had the opportunity offered in a legitimate way, and he was exceedingly popular with the people of his little confederacy. The new government had its congress—both branches

—and Knight chose his cabinet from among the most ardent secessionists in the county; and the numerous small offices in his gift were taken in groups; in many instances one man performed the duties of several. A code of laws was prepared to meet the requirements of the miniature confederacy. Conscription and confiscation acts were passed, and then written out on common paper, and nailed to the trees in the vicinity, as not a newspaper existed in the entire county at that time.

The community was a mixture of all sorts of people. Many were opposed to the war, at least so far as taking a gun or hand in it was concerned. Its vast and almost impenetrable swamps made the county a kind of forbidden ground for recruiting agents; and deserters from the Confederate armies in the field found a haven of retreat from the storm of conflict, and there was plenty of work for willing hands in the saw-mills and among the sheep farms. In 1860, the total population of this county was 3,323—the white male portion being 1,492. In a little more than a year it had increased to more than 20,000. Gamblers, laborers, preachers, dudes, deserters, and desperate men and determined women—refugees from the “Davis government,” who had been forced by the pressure of the war and conscription act to leave their homes—formed a large portion of this motley population. The Southern Confederacy had met with severe losses about this time. New Orleans had fallen, the *Merrimac* was gone, Lee had retreated from Maryland, and the Union victories in the South-west had a depressing effect. The Richmond fathers in passing a conscription act displeased many. The people protested against such arbitrary proceedings, and held frequent and heated indignation meetings; finally, they met, as we have seen, in solemn conclave, resolving to set up a confederacy of their own.

Then followed what was styled “the reign of terror” in Jones County. President Knight issued an order requiring all aliens—enemies—to leave the county. A refusal to comply with this order gave excuse for bloody butchery and the burning of dwellings. An act of conscription was passed in 1863 by Knight’s government, calling into service all able-bodied citizens of Jones County between the ages of eighteen and forty-five years, and ordering them to report at once to Knight; this order was strictly enforced, and the torch freely applied to the houses of absent Confederates. Confiscations of horses, mules, and cattle were unceremoniously executed. On several occasions, Knight’s cavalry raided into the hostile country and safely returned with captured cattle and forage—on one occasion, an expedition sent out captured and brought in a Confederate wagon train—which greatly emboldened the participants to other and like deeds.

General Lowery, the present Governor of Mississippi, commanded the Confederate forces sent to crush out the Jones County rebellion, and met with stubborn and well-planned resistance. But for the timely arrival of his artillery he would have had much more serious work. Knight and his men took to the swamps and carried on their warfare from these fastnesses until after the surrender of General Lee. Strong defensive earth-works were thrown up, and rifle-pits were made; into these, men, women, and children—old enough to hold a gun—took their turns at keeping at bay the real Confederates. It has been estimated that an army of 10,000 people were under Knight's command, in armed resistance to the Davis government. The Knight government was not without its enemies within itself, and many households were divided in feeling; families were broken up and those members who would not espouse the cause of the Jones County secessionists were driven beyond the county lines with threats and bitter denunciations. At the close of the war, a number of these exiles returned to the county to find their homes gone, and meet with a reception from those who had remained steadfast to Knight's policy more bitter than the scenes at their expulsion. The old wounds of the Knight confiscation and exile acts were opened afresh, and those who had fled before the fire, sword, or halter, would not be admitted to the hearth-stones of their former homes and families; old animosities were rekindled at the sight of some father or brother who had served the real Confederacy as a volunteer, and had now returned at the close of the war. A sort of Ku-Klux was organized in the county and mysterious disappearances were frequent; the torch was freely applied and quarrels between the Knight loyalists and the Davis loyalists were settled by the pistol and knife only. Ex-President Knight at this late day is never seen outside his house without his trusty revolver and rifle, and though he seeks no quarrel with any one, he would be a bad man with whom to debate. His home is some distance from Ellisville, where he has lived in retirement since his dethronement, working industriously on his farm. Like his more illustrious exemplar Davis, he, too refuses to be reconstructed. He has lived in the midst of his enemies in defiance of their threats, almost under the shadow of the revolver. His past is as a sealed book with him, and nothing will induce him to talk of the war, or of the attempt of the people of Jones County to establish a government for themselves. Many of the names of those most prominent in the Jones County rebellion are withheld for prudent reasons, as the feud and vendetta system still exist in some parts of the county. A few years ago, a sanguinary affair took place which might rank with any Colorado romance of the present day. Two brothers, one

who had served the Davis government, the other the Knight confederacy, met after an absence of years to renew the bitter animosities engendered by this double confederacy; a deadly encounter with short sharp knives at once ensued, blood-curdling in the extreme, the brothers being allowed to continue in the murderous work until both fell to the ground in a semi-lifeless condition, and were lifted to their feet midst the plaudits of brutes in the forms of men, and allowed to hack at each other in a death-grapple sickening to relate. Both men fell, dying almost simultaneously with their knives in each other's bosoms. And this is only one of a series of annihilations which would furnish food for the dime novelist for a generation or two. Since the war, many families have moved out of the county to escape having their property burned or being put to death, and in some instances have been pursued to the death. Knight and his ex-confederates, fully realizing their position, have kept aloof from their old associates.

Jones County is low and flat, the soil being generally unproductive. Turpentine, lumber, rosin, and wool are the staples, There is fine grazing in some parts, and since the war many fine large sheep ranches have been established; several large lumber-mills are owned and worked by the citizens, and a portion of the land has been bought by Northern capitalists, who work the forests and raise stock. Near Ellisville there is a settlement of thrifty Germans engaged in the lumber business.

In politics, Jones County is Democratic to a man. It is also a strong prohibition county. The county building in Ellisville is an unpretentious, barn-like structure, seeming perfectly unconscious of having ever played the part of a capitol, in an affair which now reads like a chapter of the imagination.

*E. Norton Hallaway,
Historian to Amy Camp*

MINOR TOPICS

MRS. HUTCHINSON'S COTTAGE

Letter from Hon. Luther R. Marsh

Editor of Magazine of American History :

I desire to ascertain the site of the cottage of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, in the town of Pelham, Westchester County, a cottage that was destroyed by the Indians in or about 1642. As it was within the area of the present Pelham Bay Park, as adopted by the State, it would seem appropriate and just that the location should be commemorated by a monument or other testimonial. Such a historic site, if it can be found, should not be neglected. I would therefore invoke from the memories, traditions and records in the possession of your readers, any fact, clew, or reference, which may put me on track. This much seems to be known : that the cottage stood either on Pelham Neck (on the Rapalye, now Ward estate), or on the border of the Hutchinson river. Bolton tells us that tradition fixes the location of the cottage on the property of Mr. George A. Prevost, near the road leading to the Neck, on the old Indian Path, and that there are ruins of a house on that estate, near Hutchinson's river, yet visible, a little southwest of the "Split Rock," and some ancient apple trees and shrubs, with a fresh spring near, and that these have been claimed to be associated with Mrs. Hutchinson. Other historians seem to speak of her abode, inferentially at least, as having been on the Neck known at different times as Ann Hook's Neck, later as Radman's Neck, and now as Pelham Neck. These are both within the park. As an instance, it is stated in Mrs. Martha J. Lamb's "History of New York," that, in 1642, Mrs. Hutchinson "selected for her residence the point now known as Pelham Neck, then Annie's Hoeck." Vol. I., p. 104. It has been assumed that Hutchinson's river derived its name from Mrs. Hutchinson ; this would lend probability to the idea that the house which stood on its border—all record of which is lost in antiquity—was her home.

The circumstances of Mrs. Hutchinson's death lend a peculiar romance to her life. No name is mentioned in our early history with more respect, and no history is complete which does not give the general facts of her career. In brief, she was the daughter of an English clergyman named Marbury, born at Alford, near Boston, England, and was collaterally related to Dryden and Swift. She married an estimable man of standing and wealth. They sought freedom from religious intolerance by emigration to New England. The envy of the clergy thence drove her to Rhode Island, and, again, to the shores of Long Island Sound. It was at an unfortunate time, for just then animosities arose between the Dutch and the Indians,

and in the indiscriminate slaughter she and her household of sixteen persons—all but a son and daughter remaining in Boston—perished by the tomahawk and the flames. The universal testimony in her favor is a bright spot on the historic page. "She was a woman of superior intelligence, bright, witty, good at a fencing-match of tongues, versed in Scripture and theological literature, never so happy as when descanting on her views," says Bryant's *History*, Vol. I., p. 45. "She was called a master-piece of wit and wisdom," says Mrs. Lamb. Perhaps no more eloquent tribute has been paid to her memory than by Eugene Lawrence, who says, in *Dawson's Historical Mag.*, N. S., Vol. I., p. 151: "Anne Hutchinson had so delicate a spiritual organization that the future world was ever more real to her than the present. A constant sense of the presence of the Deity made her indifferent to the praise or blame of man. Wealth, luxury and ease had for her no charm. She lived in the universe rather than in the world. She associated through life with the immortal spirits more than with the coarse and cruel tenants of the earth. The common joys of life, domestic ease, refined society, and material splendor, she cast aside with disdain. Truth was fairer to her than diamonds, and liberty of speech and thought than luxurious chambers and downy rest. So long as she was near heaven she cared little upon what portion of the earth she was forced to dwell. A wilderness, with freedom to worship God, was sweeter to her than the fairest landscapes of England, and the lonely hut by Hutchinson's river was her palace and her temple rather than the comfortable dwelling she possessed in Massachusetts Bay. I confess I have never passed the little stream at Pelham without dropping a tear over the fate of Anne Hutchinson, and sometimes striving to form a faint conception of that unbending spirit which there left forever the companionship of its unworthy race on earth." Again (p. 153): "To these exhortations Mrs. Hutchinson joined extensive charities and unceasing benefactions. She watched with the sick, aided the poor, breathed hope to the dying, and cheered the bed of pain. Her life was as spotless as her doctrines—she was an example of the purity she taught. The faithful looked upon her with wonder, delight, and love. An angel seemed to have descended among them—a spotless spirit was once more found upon the earth."

The massacre of this lovely woman and her family was one of the saddest events in the annals of Indian warfare, and the site of the cottage where it occurred should, if possible, be in some way memorialized. The region where it stood is especially attractive for historical associations. The coast of Pelham was the scene of many thrilling events. Here the alternate populations of the red men, the Dutch, and the English, strove for mastery. The Indian sepulchres on Pelham Neck prove that it was the favorite resort of the aborigines. Here, either at Locust Point or at the Steer's Landing, the British army came after the Battle of Long Island, but were held at bay by Colonel Glover and his little band for a whole day (October 18, 1776) by an heroic opposition which should make the name of that old Marblehead fisherman immortal. It is understood that justice will be done to this event

in Mr. Dawson's contribution to the forthcoming "History of Westchester County."

How little could Anne Hutchinson have imagined, on that dreadful night, while, amid the war-whoops of painted savages the tomahawks were sinking into the heads of her children, and the flames enveloping her house, that that night's horrors would consecrate the very spot where her log cottage stood, and that, some two hundred and fifty years thereafter, anxious search would be made for the place of her abode, that thenceforth the spot might be set apart and commemorated by some public memorial, and held sacred forever.

LUTHER R. MARSH

NEW YORK, *September 14*, 1886.

SHEPARD KOLLOCK

PRINTER OF THE FIRST NEW YORK DIRECTORY

This year (1886) being the centennial of our City Directory, a publication not only of commercial and social, but also of no small historical value, a brief sketch of its first printer will be acceptable to the reading public. We give it as received in part from one of his daughters, the late Mrs. Lydia Holdich, the wife of Rev. Joseph Holdich, D.D., of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and as found in Dr. Hatfield's *History of Elizabeth*, New Jersey. In that place Mr. Kollock lived from about 1785, until he died on July 28, 1839, aged 89 years. He was born in Lewes, Delaware, and learned the art of printing in the office of the *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, Philadelphia, under the eye of William Goddard. At twenty he spent a short time in the island of St. Christophers, West Indies, where he practiced his art, and also espoused the principle of total abstinence from intoxicants, to which he adhered through life. At the commencement of the Revolution, Mr. Kollock served with Colonel Neill of the Continental Artillery, as first lieutenant, until the close of the campaign of 1778, when by the advice of his friend, General Knox, he resigned his commission to establish his *Journal*, a paper that did great service to the patriot cause. It was first issued at Chatham, New Jersey. The first number bears date February 10, 1779. Immediately after the evacuation of the city by the British, the editor removed his press to New York, and opened a book store at 22 Hanover Square, where, December 3, he commenced the publication of the *New York Gazetteer and County Journal*, and subsequently under the name of the *New York Gazetteer or Daily Evening Post*. In December, 1786, it was discontinued for want of support. The first New York directory, issued by Mr. Frank, was printed by Kollock, in May of that year. He had previously, August 13, 1784, removed his establishment to "the corner house in Water Street, opposite the Coffee House," in Wall Street. During a part of this time, he also conducted a weekly paper at

New Brunswick, New Jersey, whence in 1785 it was transferred to Elizabeth Town, New Jersey, under the name of the *New Jersey Journal and Political Intelligencer*. The latter part of the name was dropped in 1792, and under the former, that paper is still continued with great success and ability, in Elizabeth, being, with the exception of that in Trenton, the oldest in the State. Mr. Kollock was, through life, a zealous patriot, strongly supporting Jefferson, defending the administration in the war of 1812-15, and was a warm advocate of John Quincy Adams for President. He retired from the printing business, in 1818, held the position of postmaster until 1829, and for thirty-five years was a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas for the County of Essex, New Jersey. Two of his sons became clergymen of the Presbyterian Church, and two of his daughters married distinguished clergymen of that Church, the Rev. Doctors John and William McDowell, who were brothers. His eldest son, the Rev. Henry Knox Kollock D.D., named for General Knox, was regarded as the most eloquent American preacher of his day. When a mere youth, the trustees of the College of New Jersey appointed him Professor of Theology, and the Church of Princeton called him to be their pastor. In 1806 he was honored by both Union and Harvard Colleges, with the degree of D.D., and, at or about that time, he accepted a call from the Presbyterian Church of Savannah, Georgia, where he died in 1819, at the early age of forty-one years. Dr. Kollock was an intimate friend of the eminent Bishop Hobart, by whom, in 1804, he was married to Mrs. Campbell of Richmond, Virginia. Early in his business career in Elizabeth, his father became an extensive publisher, and chiefly of religious works.

It is the privilege of the writer of this record to remember often seeing the venerable Kollock, about sixty years ago, in Elizabeth, New Jersey, when he was the postmaster of that town.

WILLIAM HALL

NEW YORK, *September*, 1886.

SKETCH OF HON. ROBERT L. Y. PEYTON OF MISSOURI

1825-1863

Classical attainments are by many persons believed to unfit a man for the bustling scenes of every-day life. Those who have distinguished themselves in college are supposed to be so entirely devoted to letters, their minds so wrought up with the elevated tone which learning imparts, as to be incapable of treating with anything short of contempt the commonplace matters of business. We cannot undertake to discuss what degree of truth there may be in such dicta. It requires no oracle to remind us that among the most distinguished of our statesmen and men of business may be enumerated many, very many, eminent scholars

and men of the highest degree of learning, who at the same time possessed the requisite acquirements for business transactions. In this category was the late Robert L. Y. Peyton of Missouri—a distinguished scholar and a practical business man of the first order. It was, indeed, to the supremacy of his talents, the strength of his intellectual attainments, his financial knowledge and decisive judgment, that he was indebted for the high positions conferred upon him by the people of his adopted State, and the great influence he wielded among his constituents; an influence so extensive and powerful that it recalls the words of one who said, "Man was born to have dominion over the earth and to subdue it, but it is by the intellect alone that he can do so."

Robert Ludwell Yates Peyton was born in Frederick County, Virginia, about the year 1825; he was a descendant of Henry Peyton of Acquia, in the County of Westmoreland, Colony of Virginia.* Shortly after his birth his father and family removed to Ohio and settled in Butler County, where he died in 1839—a man of unexceptionable morals, clear head, sound judgment, and political energy, a Whig of the old school, the friend of such party leaders as Henry Clay, John J. Crittenden, Thomas Corwin, Daniel Webster, Robt. C. Winthrop, and William C. Rives; but the Whig principles of the father were not transmitted to the son. The latter was educated in the schools of Ohio, and early displayed such qualities that his teachers formed the highest hopes of his future. After a successful academic career he was entered as a law student in the University of Virginia in 1842, and at the end of his first session, a somewhat unusually short period, was graduated as a Bachelor of Law. In the university, where the writer was intimately acquainted with him, he occupied a high position as a scholar and gentleman, was noted for the modesty, dignity, courtesy, and kindness of his demeanor, for his delicate sense of honor, his firmness and the influence he acquired and never lost over his fellow students. Shortly after leaving the university he went to reside at Harrisonville, Cass County, Missouri, where he was admitted to the bar, and within a year, says John H. Peck, one of his early pioneer friends, secured a lucrative practice. For more than fifteen years he rode the circuit, acquiring an enviable reputation in the courts of the State as a sound and learned lawyer and eloquent advocate, and secured, as the fruits of his industry, a handsome addition to his estate. In Western Missouri and Eastern Kansas—his practice came from both States—he was regarded as a legal luminary of the highest order, in those days of border troubles was the man who, by firmness of character and an undeviating perseverance, advanced a comprehensive and successful policy of dealing with the political questions which then agitated the people of Missouri and Kansas on the slavery and other exciting questions. It may, indeed, be truly said that by his unbending

* Henry Peyton, *gent*, executed his will 17th day of May, 1658, died shortly afterwards, and it was admitted to record in Westmoreland County, Virginia, October 20, 1659. A copy of this will, with other interesting documents connected with the Peyton family, was published in the April, 1881, number of the *New England Historical Register* of Boston, Massachusetts

course at that time he obtained results of the utmost practical importance—results which largely contributed to prevent a civil war on the border. The Rev. I. T. Leonard, of the Southern Presbyterian Church, a resident in 1885 of Mount Sterling, Kentucky, but who was long a citizen of Cass County, Missouri, and an intimate friend of our subject, writes: “Mr. Peyton greatly distinguished himself in the border troubles of 1854–5–6. It is but just to all parties in Missouri to state that the attempts to colonize Kansas by forced emigration from the Northern States was resisted by Missourians as a menace to the peace and security of institutions guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States. . . . At a Democratic convention assembled in the court house in Harrisonville, in July, 1855, Mr. Peyton delivered a speech of great power and eloquence. Few men could sustain themselves as he did on the occasion.” At one point he waved a paper over his head and broke into an impassioned outburst of eloquence somewhat in these words: “*My countrymen, the immortal patriots of the Revolution are looking down from their abodes above upon you. The eyes of the world are upon you. Yet you do not comprehend the gravity of the situation. You have eyes and see not, ears and hear not. Men cry peace, peace, and you believe in peace because no sound of war is yet heard—no plundering army yet tramples these fields, no ruthless soldiery yet disturbs the fond mother or the tender infant, no hireling robbers have yet violated your homes or applied the incendiary torch at midnight to your dwellings. False and delusive belief! Mark my words! Unless we take in the situation at once and become united—unless the South presents a solid front to her enemies—is united, knit together in a solid phalanx, we are lost. The invader will come like the barbarians of old from the North, and before another harvest sweep over these peaceful fields, tramping you down with the iron heel of war, and finally delivering you and your posterity over to the soul-piercing agonies of tyranny and oppression.*” The reporter’s note-taking pencil was here laid aside, for his speech from this point to its conclusion was so eloquent, so fascinating, that the audience could do nothing more than gaze with rapt attention upon his beaming countenance and listen to the “thoughts that breathe and the words that burn,” as they fell from his lips. “His words were prophetic and worthy of Patrick Henry. As an impassioned declamation, well sustained with a Demosthenic fire, his speech was,” says Mr. Leonard, “worthy of an enduring record.” Although Robert Peyton was a high-bred man, upon whom Providence had conferred the advantages of birth and fortune, and from his studious habits reserved in his manners, at times almost arctic in his demeanor, he had such sympathy with his fellow-men that he became extremely popular with the people, and acted as a kind of medium for bringing the two extremes of society together, the zenith and nadir of life. It may well be said that the strong hold he secured upon the masses was due to the great powers he possessed as a man and particularly an orator. He was a magnetic orator, gifted with a glowing vocabulary which opened for him an easy and direct way to the heart and imagination. His eloquence was classic. He ranged over all fields of learning and into all realms of illustration. He was scholarly. He read,

he wrote, he spoke, with a prodigality of will and *vim* that was marvelous. His integrity was above suspicion. He was transparently honest. His political opponents knew this. His mind might be erratic, but his conscience was concentric. His conscience never had a by-play. His conscience never knew any of the charms and delights of coquetry and stolen kisses, and never knew any of their pains or penalties. Those who were most intimate with him bear testimony to these truths. In 1858 he was nominated for the State senate by acclamation in the Democratic convention for the Cass County Senatorial District, and was elected without opposition. At the ensuing session of the General Assembly of Missouri he took his seat in the Upper House. Thus commenced the parliamentary career of this remarkable man. Few members of the senate possessed such qualifications as the young member for Cass, whether they be tested by the influence of position or caste, in the strength and soundness of his judgment, his experiences of the varied phases of national and State politics, or in promptitude and decision of character. This soon became patent to all Missourians. His speeches in the senate, and he spoke upon all questions of general interest and real importance, were delivered with ease and modesty, in a plain, sensible, and business-like manner. He used no needless or polished ornament nor indulged in declamation unless on political subjects which stirred men's souls. His utterances were terse and vigorous, with an acuteness and appropriate tact belonging to an experienced debater divested of all the heat and virulence so often displayed by many good speakers in the conflict of a formidable debate. Aided by his profound judgment and self-possession, he rarely failed to gain an advantage over his opponents in debate.

The power of oratory is wonderful. The speaker, whether from the platform or the pulpit, is the only worker who gets his reward at once. You may invent what will enrich a nation, and may die a beggar. You may write, but your hair will be gray before the world is familiar with your name; you may be a poet, and fame may not own your genius till the turf is green on your grave, but possess the magic power with the living voice to reach the living heart of multitudes, and immediately you are a king among men—not only among a rude, unlettered mass, or inflammable youth prone to claptrap, but among educated gentlemen and polished scholars, among men who have long mastered emotion, and to whom most oratory is as “sounding brass, or as a tinkling cymbal.”

The Rev. I. T. Leonard further says that “when the great crisis of 1860-1861 came, all eyes were instinctively turned to Robert Peyton as the person to represent Missouri in the Confederate Senate at Richmond, Virginia,” and to this high and responsible position he was elected by the legislature which assembled in September, 1861, at Neosho, Newton County, Missouri. It was this body which ratified on the 31st of October, 1861, an arrangement between the Missouri State Commissioners and the Commissioners of the Confederate Government by which Missouri was to become a member of the Confederacy. It was provided in this agreement that the State of Missouri should be admitted into said Confederacy on

an equal footing with the other States composing the same, on the fulfillment of certain conditions, among which was one that the State should turn over to the said Confederate States all public property, naval stores and munitions of war, of which she might then be in possession. It was signed on part of Missouri by Ed' C. Cabell and Thomas L. Snead, and on the part of the Confederacy by R. M. T. Hunter, Secretary of State. Robert Peyton's colleague in the Confederate Senate was I. B. Clark, and the members elected to represent the State in the Confederate House of Representatives were Thomas A. Harris, Casper W. Bell, A. H. Conad, Thomas Freeman, George Vest (now in 1885 Senator for Missouri), Dr. Hyer, and William M. Cooke. "Mr. Peyton was," says Mr. Leonard, "a sincere admirer and disciple of the John C. Calhoun school of politics, was high-toned, with nothing of intrigue in his character and free from the arts of the demagogue. His untimely death in 1863 was deeply mourned by all Missourians."

It may be further premised in explanation of his political opinions, that he was a strenuous defender of slavery, and subscribed to the doctrines of the "South Carolina exposition." He also defended the right of veto which belongs to the President, advocated a low tariff on the general policy of free trade; urged the annexation of Texas and a war with Mexico; he opposed entangling alliances with foreign nations, and favored a war with England on the Oregon question. After the formation of the Confederate Government at Montgomery, Alabama, and the election February 4, 1861, of Jefferson Davis as President, he was commissioned a colonel in the army, and co-operated under General Sterling Price in the defense of Missouri and the Southwestern States.

He proceeded to Richmond, Virginia, to take his seat in the Confederate Congress, which met there July 20, 1861, but he was so deeply affected by the devastation of Missouri and the suffering of her people that he returned to that State, to the neglect of his legislative duties, in order to take command of his regiment, with which he participated in many of the battles and skirmishes between the Federal and Confederate troops, of which there were about sixty during the autumn and winter of 1861-62. He served in April, 1862, and afterwards in Mississippi in defense of Vicksburg, which it will be remembered was fortified by the Confederates in 1861, was attacked by the Federal forces and fleet in 1862, and surrendered to General Grant in 1863. It was during this period of exposure and hardships in an unhealthy region of malaria that he contracted the disease which terminated his life in 1863. Such was the end, at once glorious and sadly premature, of the career of Robert L. Y. Peyton, at the age of thirty-eight. His life was short, but long enough to afford many striking illustrations of his rare moral and intellectual endowments, and of his fervid patriotism and dauntless valor.

J. LEWIS PEYTON

STEEPHILL-BY-STAUNTON, VIRGINIA.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

INTERESTING LETTER FROM ANDREW JACKSON

[Never before published.]

Communicated by Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden

Hermitage July 24." 1817

D^r Glossell

On yesterday, M^r I. Jackson obtained a promise from me, to detain the publication of my letter untill he could, write Gen^l Adair and enclose him a copy—as we rode up, and on reflection, that there would be a great impropriety in M^r Jackson doing this, as base minds are always apt to put the worst construction on the most magnanimous acts, and Adair might construe it as begging an apology through our friend, I have his written absolvment—and enclosed it to Doctor Bronaugh. I thought it my duty as soon as I heard Gen^l Adair was in town to notify him, that I was preparing a letter for him, and request that he would not leave town until he rec^d it, he precipitated himself off—after receiving this information, of course, I am entitled, when I think proper to publish the letter, and will give this fact to the world with it. I have to request that you will copy and correct the letter, transposing any of the sentences, that may be necessary, giving the facts clear and distinct—and on that point, which again asks him the question why if he had the 400 or 500 arms borrowed as he has alledged from a corps of exempts, he did not place them in the hands of Davises Detachment, or report them to me? and point out his unmilitary conduct in this particularly clearly and have it strongly (sic) commented on. I have stated, that by this unmilitary act, which he cannot Justify the country might have been lost. I wish you to place this when you copy it in the strongest point of view, and the strongest language. I wish you with the Doctor to give it your best consideration, and cloath it with your best genius, stating the facts, clearly, so that they will be clearly understood—and placing the references, & spreading them where they most, properly apply. I shall expect you up with the Doctor on tomorrow, with the letter. If you cannot finish it before you come up, it can be done here—

Please send me some wafers by Dunwoody who will hand you this. Accept assurances of my respect

Andrew Jackson

Lt Glossell, Nashville

NOTES

DOCTOR FRANKLIN'S RE-PLY—*Editor of Magazine of American History*: During my journeyings in July of the present summer, I came across an old almanac diary of 1791, which belonged to Shubel Worth, Collector of Customs at Hudson, New York. On one of its fly leaves was the following curious record:

"Doctor Franklin being asked by a nobleman in London, in the year 1775, what would satisfy the Americans answered it may easily be compromised in a few Resolutions—viz:

Re-call your forces

Re-store Castle Williams

Re-pair the damages done at Boston

Re-peal your unconstitutional Acts

Re-move your pretenses to taxes

Re-fund the duties you have extorted

Re-quire and Receive pay for all the tea destroyed

Re-ceive the voluntary grants of the colonies

And then——

Re-joice in a Happy

Re-conciliation

But they remained and passed many acts

Re-pugnant to Good sense and sound Policy, and

Re-publican Principles which brought about a

Re-volution and a separation of the

colonies from Britain and that they may never be

Re-united——*God Grant."*

J. W. H.

34 GRAMERCY PARK, *September, 1886*

ROBERT FULTON'S SCHOOL-DAYS—"On one occasion his teacher reproved him for neglecting his books, and the reproof was administered after the manner of 'the old masters'—with a ferule on the knuckle. Robert straightened himself, folded his arms, and then said to Mr. Johnson: 'Sir, I came here to have something beat into my head and not into my hand.'

On another occasion he came late, and when the teacher asked the reason, Robert answered that he had been at Mr. Miller's shop pounding out lead to make a pencil. In proof of this statement he exhibited the pencil and said it was the best he ever had in his life; Mr. Johnson approved it and gave the youth some words of encouragement, and in a few days nearly all the other pupils were supplied with pencils of the same kind. It is said that when Mr. Johnson once urged him to give more attention to his studies, the boy answered that his head was 'so full of original notions that there was no room to store away the contents of dusty books.'"—*Knox's Life of Robert Fulton.*

QUERIES

MONOGRAMS—*Editor Magazine of American History*: Did the buttons of the Continental soldiers' uniforms bear the monogram of U. S. A?

B. B.

RIDGEFIELD, CONNECTICUT

DOMINE, OR DOMINIE?—Will not the *Magazine of American History* aid in doing justice to accuracy and historic fact? A pastor in a Dutch Reformed church in Holland, Africa, or America is a domine, not a dominie. A Scotch

schoolmaster is a dominie; or a dominie may be a parson in Scotland. 'Domine,' as applied to a pastor in the Dutch Reformed churches is the unaltered Latin—the vocative of dominus.

W. E. G.

THE FIRST PRINTING PRESS IN THE BRITISH COLONIES IN AMERICA—The editor of *Catholic Historical Researches*, in a notice of the Rev. Andrew White, the Jesuit missionary to Maryland, makes the following quotation from *Scharf's History of Maryland*: "One fact of interest connected with the work of the Jesuit missionaries in Maryland, deserves to be placed conspicuously on record. The *first printing press* ever worked in any British colony, was set up in Maryland by the Jesuit Fathers. Father White, after he had acquired sufficient of the Indian tongues, composed a catechism in several dialects, and the press was, no doubt, ordered for the purpose of printing it. Copies of this work are excessively rare, but Mr. McSherry found one in the archives of the Society at Rome. . . . The press was prob-

ably destroyed when the missionaries were attacked and their property plundered in 1655; but the fact remains that Maryland, first of all the colonies, introduced this great agent for the diffusion of knowledge." Is it true that "the first printing press ever worked in any British colony was set up in Maryland?" The fact, if it is one, is not mentioned in any other history of Maryland I have ever seen, and is in conflict with all other authorities. *McSherry's History of Maryland*, in noticing the *Maryland Gazette*, the first number of which was issued on the 27th of January, 1745, by Jonas Green, says: "A printing press, however, had been established in the colony as early as 1726, for the purpose of printing the laws and public documents." *Holmes' Annals* and *Thomas' History of Printing* both state that: "The first printing press in Maryland was set up in Annapolis in 1726." All authorities agree that the first printing press in the colonies was set up at Cambridge, Massachusetts, by Stephen Day, in 1638-9. I. C.

ALLEGHANY, PENNSYLVANIA, August 14, 1886

REPLIES

MARGARET CORBIN (xvi. 299)—*Editor Magazine of American History*: I send the result of an investigation made in the year 1876 in regard to Margaret Corbin. Your correspondent I. C. will find in the first volume of your Magazine (I. 90) a glowing tribute to the heroine of Fort Washington. W. K.

Department of State

Washington Nov 16. 1876

Sir: Your letter of the 11th inst has been received, and, in reply thereto, I

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have to inform you that a letter of the Board of War, dated July 3. 1779, in regard to the services of Margaret Corbin, referred to in the Journal of Congress, July 6. 1779, is on file in this Department.

I am, Sir Your obt Sert

Hamilton Fish

William Kelby Esq

Department of State

Washington Nov 20 1876

Sir: Your letter of the 18th inst. has been received, and, in compliance with

your request, I take pleasure in transmitting herewith, a copy of the letter of the Board of War, July 3, 1779, in relation to the services of Margaret Corbin. I transmit, also, the further action of the Board of War, July 24, 1780, in relation to the same case.

I am sir, your obt sert.

John L. Cadwalader

Assistant Secretary

War Office 3^d July 1779.

Sir :

The inclosed recommendation of the Council of Pennsylvania in favour of Margaret Corbin, added to many circumstances which appear to support her petition for relief, induce the board to offer a resolution, which they think her peculiar situation merits.—As she had fortitude and virtue enough to supply the place of her husband after his fall in the service of his country, and in the execution of that task received the dangerous wound under which she now labors, the board can but consider her as entitled to the same grateful return which would be made to a soldier in circumstances equally unfortunate : They therefore beg leave to report :

That Margaret Corbin, who was wounded and disabled in the attack on Fort Washington whilst she heroically filled the post of her husband who was killed by her side serving a piece of artillery ; do receive during her natural life, or the continuance of such disability, the one half of the monthly pay drawn by a soldier in the service of these states : and that she now receive out of the public stores one complete

suit of soldiers cloathing, or the value thereof in money.

I am with the utmost respect

Your Excellencys

most obed. Servant

P. Scull

Sec'y.

His Excellency John Jay, Esquire

President of Congress

[*Recommendation mentioned in the foregoing.*]

In Council

Philadelphia June 29, 1779

Ordered,

That the case of Margaret Corbin who was wounded and utterly disabled at Fort Washington while she heroically filled the post of her husband who was killed by her side serving a piece of artillery, be recommended to a further consideration of the Board of War. This Council being of opinion that notwithstanding the rations which have been allowed her, she is not provided for as her helpless situation really requires

Extract from the minutes

T. Matlack

Sec'y

Note. The Council have given her thirty dollars to relieve her present necessities, until her case can be provided for in a more effectual manner

Hnble Board of War

[*Further action of the Board*]

At a Board of War, July 24. 1780

Present Col. Pickering, Gen. Scott,

Mr. Peters, Gen. Ward.

Col. Grayson

The board having rec^d information that Margaret Corbin (for whom Congress made provision in their Act of July 6,

1779, for her Gallant Conduct in serving a piece of artillery when her husband was killed by her side) still remains in a deplorable situation in consequence of her wound, by which she is deprived of the use of one arm—and is in other respects much disabled—and probably will continue a Cripple during her Life—Beg leave to report :

That Margaret Corbin receive annually during her natural Life, one compleat suit of cloaths out of the Public Stores—or the value thereof in money in addition to the provision made for her by the Act of Congress of July 3, 1779.

Extract from the minutes

Ben. Stodert

Sec'y

His Excellency

The President of Congress.

State of Pennsylvania
Office of the Secretary
of the Commonwealth
Harrisburg Nov. 28 1876

Dear Sir :

I have been unable to find the originals of Margaret Corbin papers after careful search. But they may turn up yet.

At present we know nothing further than the papers as printed in Col. Records vol xii page 34. I have spent

some time looking and will pitch in again after Thanksgiving

Very truly yours

John B. Linn

The story of "Captain Molly" is told in *Barber & Howe's Hist. Coll. of N. J.*, page 270 ; *Lossing's Field Book of the Revolution*, II., 164, 361 ; *Recollections of Washington, by Custis*, 224, 286 ; and in *Major Boynton's History of West Point*, page 167, where part of the correspondence with General Knox is modestly suppressed. Captain Molly appears before the public two years after Margaret Corbin was disabled at Fort Washington. Lossing, in a note to Custis, page 226, states that "Art and Romance have confounded her [Captain Molly] with another character, Moll Pitcher."

SOUL OF SOLDIERY [xvi., 299]—A military association of this name was organized at Boston, in March, 1805. It was disbanded about 1852. The members were non-commissioned officers of the Massachusetts militia. Joshua Simonds was the first captain. A copy of "Constitution of the Soul of Soldiery," printed in 1826, can be found in the library of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, Faneuil Hall.

A. A. FOLSOM

BOSTON, September 1, 1886.

SOCIETIES

THE SARATOGA MONUMENT ASSOCIATION held its sixteenth annual session in the United States Hotel at Saratoga, on the 12th of July. The following officers were chosen: President, John H. Starin; Vice-Presidents, J. M. Marvin and General John Watts De Peyster; Secretary, William M. Stone; Treasurer, D. S. Potter. Mr. Stone presented a full, detailed report from the Committee on Design, in which he said: "At present, of the three statues, that of Morgan, by O'Donovan, is ready to be placed in its niche; and those of Gates by Bissell, and Schuyler by Doyle, are in process of casting. Of the *bas-relievs*, the following are ready to be enshrined in the interior of the monument, viz.: "The Women of the Revolution;" "Ladies of the British Court;" "The Rally;" "The Town Meeting;" "George III. and his Ministers in Council;" "The Murder of Jane McCrea;" "Burgoyne Reprimanding his Indian Allies for their Barbarities;" "The Passage, in a Boat, of Lady Acland, under a Flag of Truce, to the American Camp;" "Schuyler Felling Trees to Obstruct the Enemy's March;" "Mrs. Schuyler Firing her Wheat Fields to Save them from the Enemy;" "The Wives of the British Officers Traveling through the Wilderness;" "Schuyler Turning Over his Command to Gates;" "The Wounding of Arnold;" "The Death of Fraser;" "The Burial of Fraser;" "Burgoyne Surrendering his Sword to Gates."

All of the likenesses are from the best authorities; for example, Lord Carnarvon had his great-grandmother, Lady Acland's portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds, photo-

graphed and sent to me. The spinning-wheel in the "Women of the Revolution" is modeled after the one used by my grandmother; the broad-ax seen in the "March through the Forest" is from one in my collection, used by Burgoyne's axmen; the silver buckle on Burgoyne's shoe, in "Burgoyne Reprimanding the Indians," is modeled from an English officer's silver buckle found by me on the battle-ground near where Fraser was shot; the charm on Lady Acland's watch-guard is modeled from the identical one which she wore on her person during the campaign, and which was sent me as a souvenir by her great-grandson, Lord Carnarvon; the musket so nervously grasped by the old farmer in "The Town Meeting," is taken from one carried by a minute-man in the Battle of Lexington; the tomahawk held by the Indian in the "Death of Jane McCrea," is made from one found a few rods from where that unfortunate maiden was killed, and is also in my cabinet; while the lap-dog in the arms of one of the British officers in "The March through the Forest," is modeled from life after the one owned by Mrs. General Meredith Read, the ancestress of which belonged to Queen Charlotte, the wife of George III.

Mrs. E. H. Walworth made an interesting report, and on motion of General De Peyster a committee consisting of J. H. Starin, Mrs. Walworth and Mr. Ford, was appointed to arrange the surroundings of the monument. Architect Markham exhibited to the association several representations in bronze of the monumental bronzes.

BOOK NOTICES

THE DIARY AND LETTERS OF HIS EXCELLENCY THOMAS HUTCHINSON, ESQ., B. A. (Harvard), LL.D. (Oxon.), Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief, of His late Majesty's Province of Massachusetts Bay in North America; With an Account of His Administration when he was Member and Speaker of the House of Representatives, and His Government of the Colony during the difficult period that preceded the War of Independence. Compiled from the Original Documents still remaining in the possession of his Descendants. By PETER ORLANDO HUTCHINSON, one of his great-grandsons. Volume II., 8vo, pp. 488. Boston, 1886: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

The above is the too long title of the second and final volume of Governor Hutchinson's Diary. The letters in it are very few indeed, and are interjected in the Diary itself, as are many notes and sketches by the editor, some of them of no value. This method makes this volume, as it did the first issue about a year or more ago, unpleasant reading. The continuity of the Diary is ruthlessly broken, and the reader's attention distracted by totally irrelevant matter. Except this faulty method, the book is of great interest and importance to the true understanding of the era of the American Revolution. Hutchinson died suddenly on the 3d of June, 1780, though he had been failing for a short time previously. The Diary ends on the 22d of May, eleven days before his death. The portion in this volume begins on January 1, 1776. It thus covers the first four years of the Revolutionary War. It contains brief notes of conversations and interviews with almost every prominent man in England from the King down, during those eventful years. It gives the contemporary incidents and effect of the arrival in London of the news of every American event, political, civil, and military. All told with feeling and without heat or passion. Indeed there could not be a stronger proof of the fair, judicial, kindly disposition of the man, than these honest entries of Hutchinson in his own private diary, a diary never intended for publication, and therefore of the more value. It is in fact an almost perfect view behind the scenes in London of the drama of the American War. Space will not permit of quotations, but the effect of the view is to show conclusively, that the American troubles first, and then the war itself, were but the foot-balls of the British politics of the day. And also that the actors in

the drama, both civil and military, had no other interests in view than their own and those of their respective parties. Never was England governed so badly, and never were her military leaders so inferior in capacity and sordid in purpose. Ignorance, irresolution, party pride, and personal aggrandizement, rode supreme as well in the cabinet in England as in the camp in America. These two volumes of Hutchinson's Diaries should stand beside the three volumes of his *History of Massachusetts* in every well chosen library in the land. And notwithstanding his unfortunate method, the thanks of every student and every seeker into the truth of American history are due to Mr. Peter Orlando Hutchinson for giving them to the world. Messrs. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. have left nothing to be desired in the mechanical execution of the volumes.

WOODSTOCK. An Historical Sketch. By CLARENCE WINTHROP BOWEN, Ph.D. 8vo, pp. 62. New York and London, 1886: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The historical sketch which forms this handsome little volume was read by Mr. Bowen at Roseland Park, Woodstock, Connecticut, at the Bi-centennial Celebration of the Town, on Tuesday, September 7, 1886. It contains much valuable information, well expressed and admirably condensed, as also most agreeably presented. The settlement of Woodstock was intimately connected with the first organized settlement on Massachusetts Bay. It was a portion of the Nipmuck Country, so-called because it contained fresh ponds or lakes in contrast to other sections that bordered upon the sea or along running rivers. Among the names of the first thirteen men who took possession of the place as actual planters, two hundred years ago, is that of Henry Bowen, the ancestor of the author of the book, who says: "After the home lots were laid out, a grist-mill and saw-mill built, bridges constructed, new inhabitants brought in, and everything possible done to make the settlement permanent, a church was duly organized and an able, orthodox, godly minister secured." Woodstock was settled under Massachusetts, but afterwards became a part of Connecticut. The sons of Woodstock participated in many wars—King Phillip's, the French and Indian war, the Revolution, the War of 1812, and the late Civil war. The grandfather of General George B. McClellan was a native of Woodstock. The author says: "In thought, in plan, in ideal, this town has been almost a perfect organization; but only those whose high vision is willing to pierce

through all encrusting imperfections shall be the artists whose toil and sacrifices shall make this dear, noble, historic town of Woodstock an honor to the State and a blessing to its citizens." The volume is a credit to its author, and a welcome contribution to local history.

LIFE OF SCHUYLER COLFAX. By O. J.

HOLLISTER. Octavo, pp. 535. New York, 1886: Funk & Wagnalls.

On the morning of January 13, 1885, a pleasant-faced man walked into the railway station at Mankato, Minnesota, laid aside his valise and overcoat and sat down to wait for his train. He leaned easily back, and in a moment was dead. Such was the end of Schuyler Colfax, once the most popular, and among the most influential statesmen in America. To write the life of such a man involves an immense amount of labor. To examine and classify letters, to compare voluminous files of public documents, to verify dates, are but incidents in the sum total of the demands upon an author's industry. The work appears to have been well and thoroughly done. The first chapters are chiefly devoted to Mr. Colfax's boyhood and early life, moving forward naturally to his gradual induction to a public career, and his rise to power and fame. These chapters cover the most eventful period of our history; the growth of the anti-slavery party, the rise of the Republicans, the civil war and the period of reconstruction. To the civil war comparatively little space is set apart, though, of course, its accompaniments afford the motives for many of Mr. Colfax's public acts, and are inseparably connected with the passing events of State. Most readers will turn regretfully to those portions that treat of the Credit Mobilier affair, which *for a time* left such a stain upon the record of many brilliant reputations. In his review of this painful episode the author has aimed to present a fair statement of the case. It is thus summarized: "Men whose pockets were full of Credit Mobilier stock, in whose interests Congress had been corrupted—if indeed Congress had been corrupted—were not visited with a breath of criticism, because they had bought the stock some months or years before it began to earn dividends. Men who should have said: 'I was promised a hundred shares of it. I could only get ten, so I declined to take any;' but who did say, 'I was asked to take some, but declined,' were dismissed without a question, though the facts were well known. Men who said: 'I bought the stock and received all the dividends—I wish I could have had more of it,' were permitted to depart in peace. . . . The lot of scape-goat fell upon the retiring Vice-President." Mr. Hollister reaches the conclusion, and at this date many of his readers will probably agree with him, that Mr. Colfax was to a large extent the victim of cir-

cumstances. His retirement to private life immediately after the harassing investigations, was so complete that for a time he dropped out of public recollection. We cannot here attempt to review the case. The verdict of his own friends and neighbors seems to have been almost unanimously in his favor, and when he died the whole country seemed for the time to forget that it had ever heard anything to his discredit. The book is handsomely printed, and contains several excellent engravings, including a portrait, and views of the Colfax homestead.

WON BY WAITING. A Novel by EDNA

LYALL. 12mo, pp. 398. New York, 1886: D. Appleton & Co.

The story opens in a delightful old French chateau, and takes the reader through the heart-rending scenes of the Franco-Prussian war, including the siege of Paris. This, however, is merely introductory. The heroine, a beautiful and intelligent French girl, loses her father in battle, and takes refuge with some English relatives—the family of a wealthy dean of the Established Church. The contrast between French and English manners, customs, and character is admirably rendered, and the charming way in which the little French stranger at last wins all the hearts that are worth winning, is the pleasantest feature of the book. We will not rob the reader of the satisfaction of finding out what it is that is won by waiting or who it is that wins it. Suffice it that the story is a wholesome and enjoyable one from beginning to end.

INDIAN GAMES. An Historical Research.

By ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS. 8vo, pamphlet, pp. 58. Salem Press, Salem, Mass., 1886.

Of exceptional interest to scholars, whether antiquarian or historical, is this description of the amusements and games of the American Indian. To many it will be a revelation to learn that as early as 1636 a favorite game of ball formed a part of stately ceremonials intended for the entertainment of distinguished guests; and that it was also used as a stratagem of war, by means of which to lull the suspicions of the enemy and gain access to their forts. The author tells us that the same game is played at the present time, and is known as "Lacrosse." The ball itself was originally of wood, and about the size of a tennis ball. Later on it was replaced by one made of deer-skin, stuffed hard with deer's hair. Another game was called "Platter," on which there was much betting. Charlevoix said: "The Indians stake all they are worth, and several of them have been known to continue at it till they have stripped them-

selves stark naked and lost all movables in their cabin. Some have been known to stake their liberty for a certain time." The necessary implements for this play were a bowl and a number of dice fashioned somewhat like apricot seeds, and colored differently upon the upper and lower sides. The number of dice was generally six. The excitement which attended it was intense. Still another game described was called "Straw," and usually played in the cabins of the chiefs. This was based upon arbitrary rules and not upon any calculations of the laws of chance, and it was an excuse for indulgence in the passion for gambling, which everywhere prevailed.

SULLIVAN'S EXPEDITION AGAINST THE INDIANS OF NEW YORK. A Letter from ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS to JUSTIN WINSOR, with the Journal of WILLIAM MCKENDRY. 8vo, pamphlet, pp. 45. Printed by John Nelson & Son, Cambridge, 1886.

This journal of William McKendry was kept in large part during the expedition conducted by General Sullivan in 1779, and forms a valuable contribution to the history of that period. The letter of Mr. Davis gives a full and accurate account of all other existing journals of that notable expedition. He says he has examined twenty-three published diaries, journals or narratives of the same, and he gives a list of the names of the writers, the periods covered by the journals, and the titles of the publications which contain them. Of the journal of McKendry he says: "I have glanced over this manuscript and find that it throws new light upon some points. The writer of it was at Cherry Valley at the time of the massacre. He was with Clinton's column, and he states positively that Colonel Pauling did not join Clinton at Oquaga—a statement in which other journals concur, but which directly contradicts Stone."

THE CENTENNIAL HAMPSHIRE GAZETTE—1786–1886. Northampton, Mass. Folio form, pp. 38. Issued September 6, 1886.

This interesting record of a century's growth contains one hundred and two articles of a historical and biographical character. There is a sketch of the town when the *Gazette* was founded, a hundred years ago, and the history of its progress since that time. There are sketches of Governor Caleb Strong, so famous for his independent action during the war of 1812; of Major Joseph Hawley, who, with the exception of

ter Western Massachusetts ever produced; of Dr. Levi Shephard, Senator Isaac C. Bates, Judge Joseph Lyman, Oliver Warner, Isaac Gere, Captain Isaac Damon, Sylvester Judd, and a host of others. The *Hampshire Gazette* is one of the very few newspapers in America that has lived to see its one hundredth birthday.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE WRITINGS OF FRANKLIN BENJAMIN HOUGH, Ph.D., M.D. By John Hickcox, Washington, D. C. 8vo, pamphlet, pp. 347.

It seems almost incredible that so much could have been accomplished in one man's life as we find admirably arranged and recorded in this pamphlet, between the years 1846 and 1885. Among these valuable productions of Mr. Hough are "The History of Lewis County;" "Diary of the Siege of Detroit in the War with Pontiac;" "Gazetteer of the State of New York," which he edited and mostly wrote; "The Siege of Savannah, in 1779;" "History of the Census of New York;" "American Constitution," etc., together with works, essays and addresses on a great variety of subjects, and of the most valuable character.

CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION OF THE GENERAL SOCIETY OF MECHANICS AND TRADESMEN OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK. 8vo, pamphlet, pp. 45.

This, as its name indicates, is a published account of the proceedings at the centennial of one of the oldest and most useful societies in the metropolis, a society that has done its allotted work so unobtrusively during the century just past, that it is probably one of the least known institutions in our midst. Judge Charles P. Daly, who presided at the banquet on the occasion, said: "When it was founded, in 1785, there were in New York thirty-one different trades, or handicrafts, nearly all of whom had organizations of their own that combined with certain social and benevolent features the protection of the common interests of the particular handicraft; regular meetings being held, at which the affairs of the craft were discussed and fixed dues paid, or collections taken up for the support of indigent members. To create a community of feeling and bring about co-operative action among the different trades in the city in the interest of the mechanic arts and the trade and manufactures of the country generally, appears to have been the object that led to the formation of this society, which, as originally organized, was a representative body, composed of delegates from the different trades, under the name of The General Committee of Mechanics."

HISTORY OF OXFORD. Part I., Church Records, Births, Marriages, Deaths, etc. By W. C. SHARPE. 12mo, pamphlet, pp. 88. Seymour, Conn. Record Print., 1885.

The town of Oxford, Connecticut, was incorporated in 1798, but it was clothed with the powers of an independent parish in 1741. Thus the history of the church is, to a great extent, the history of the people of the parish, and in many cases the parish record is about the only available means of securing data concerning the early inhabitants of the town. This work is deserving of cordial commendation, as old documents are perishing by accident, or becoming scattered far and wide, and there is no time like the present for bringing them into convenient form for reference and preservation.

THE COLONIAL CHURCH OF VIRGINIA. An Address by Rev. P. SLAUGHTER, D.D., at Richmond, May 21, 1885. 8vo, pamphlet, pp. 43. Boston, 1885: Rand, Avery & Company, 1885.

This able and comprehensive discourse should have wide circulation. It embodies the results of careful study in a mine of precious information. The author says: "I cannot think it was a mere coincidence, that the revival of letters and of the arts, the discovery of printing and of the polarity of the needle, just succeeded the reformation of religion, and just preceded the discovery of America. It looks as if the new ideas and the new instruments of that era demanded a new world for their development, and as a fulcrum for the new levers, which were to lift the old world out of the old routine, and bring it under the influence of serenest heavens, and of an awakening spring. There is a God in history. The discovery of America overturned the geographical systems of the ancients; the opening of her mines produced a revolution in commerce; and the plantation of her colonies gave land to the landless, a home to the adventurer, and an asylum to the exile from all lands, where each might find a freer life and a fresher nature." The author uses some very impressive figures of speech, as, for instance, in referring to the history of Virginia, he says: "I seemed to see it rise before me in the form of a grand old Druidical oak, with its original Celtic root in the caves of the old Britons, grafted in succession by Gothic, Anglo-Saxon, and Norman shoots, fertilized by a stream of culture whose spring was Athens, and by another stream whose fountain was in Jerusalem, both conveyed in Roman aqueducts. By a marvelous power of assimilation, it incorporated all these heterogeneous elements into one ho-

mogeneous growth. It gradually and grandly rose through the centuries, stretching forth its weather-beaten arms to the peltings of the pitiless ravages of time, war, flood, and fires of persecution; and yet it survived, and brought forth fruit—good fruit and evil fruit. Civil excrescences disfigured it, superstitious mistletoes fastened and fed upon its vitals; and yet it grew great men and great measures—Magna Charta, Bill of Rights, Trial by Jury, Habeas Corpus, and the like—every bud a book, every leaf a literature, every bough a biography."

THE LIFE OF ROBERT FULTON AND A HISTORY OF STEAM-NAVIGATION. By THOMAS W. KNOX. Illustrated. 12mo, pp. 498. New York and London, 1886. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Colonel Knox has written a great many charming and valuable works for the young, but he has never hit upon a more popular or important theme than the history of steam-navigation, combined with a biography of the man who designed and built the first successful steamboat in the world. This delightful book is destined to find readers in all climes; and although manifestly prepared for the rising generation, it cannot fail to entertain intelligent readers of all ages. The author is gifted with a graphic and pleasing style in narrative, and having avoided wisely the use of technical terms as far as possible, he has produced a work as readable as it is informing, and one that is destined to live in all the future. The illustrations are pertinent to the text, and very helpful to the student. Many amusing anecdotes are related about early steamboating on the Hudson. Colonel Knox, in speaking of the competition between the boats in olden times on the great river, says: "The walls in the terminal cities, as well as those along the route, were covered with placards, in which the advantages of the boats were described in glowing terms, and along the streets and wharves in the vicinity of the landing-places there were leather-lunged runners, who made the air resound with their appeals for patronage. A hesitating stranger ran the risk of being torn in twain by rival runners, and sometimes a traveler was dragged on board one boat while his satchel was triumphantly transported to another."

The facts given by Colonel Knox in his volume are from the most trustworthy sources, and every page bears evidence of careful study and painstaking research and verification. The work, as a whole, is one of such historic merit that we commend it unhesitatingly and warmly to the schools and libraries of the country—and it ought to find its way to every fireside. We esteem it the best work of its character ever issued by an American publisher.



THOMAS POWNALL Esq.
late Governor Captain General and
 of His Majesty's Province of Massachusetts Bay
 MEMBER of PARLIAMENT.
 Commander in Chief and Vice Admiral
 of South Carolina & Lieut. GOVERNOR of New Jersey
 as the Act directs 3rd June 1777.
 LONDON Printed for R. Sayer & J. Bennet No 53 Fleet Street

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GOVERNOR THOMAS POWNALL

COLONIAL STATESMAN

THE subject of this paper is fairly entitled, by his life, character and attainments, to be numbered among the few English officials who rose to the dignity of a colonial statesman. He was not, perhaps, a great man, for the accepted definition of a great man is a man of power over a triumphant idea, and Pownall's idea was a failure; but he was a man of great purpose, foresight and scholarship, and his life and works ought not to be unknown to those who are profoundly interested in the constitution and corporate life of this nation.

Thomas Pownall, or Governor Pownall, as he was invariably called in his later years, was born in 1720 at the cathedral town of Lincoln, but he came of a respectable Cheshire family. His mother's father had been Governor of Bombay, and his eldest brother, John, was Secretary to the Lords of Trade and Plantations, so that our subject may be said to have sprung from a family whose profession connected them with that colonial administration to which he himself devoted the best years of his life. Of the details of his education but little can be learned, and it is possible that he may never have taken a degree from either of the great universities. Yet that he was a scholar of more than ordinary attainment, his abundant literary remains conclusively show. When about the age of twenty-five he had a berth in the London office of the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, then an excellent school for a young politician, and while in this employment he cemented a friendship with that Lord Halifax who was then the senior member of the board.

Mr. Pownall came first to America in October, 1753, as private secretary to the brother-in-law of Lord Halifax, the unfortunate Sir Danvers Osborne, who was for a few days only the Governor of the Province of New York. At this time Pownall was already something of an author and a student of political institutions, in which department of philosophy he preceded the illustrious Bentham. In the year before he came to America he had published a work entitled, *Principles of Polity, being the Grounds and Reasons of Civil Liberty*, an abstract study well adapted to fit him

for the more concrete work of his later years. His advent in America was not auspicious, for on the fourth day after his landing his private secretaryship came to an abrupt termination by the suicide of Sir Danvers, in the gardens of Counselor Joseph Murray's house in Broadway, near the Battery. Even on what must have been a trying occasion to the young stranger, we perceive the first exhibition of that fidelity to the public interest which subsequently characterized his entire official life. Immediately after Sir Danvers' death the Council of the Province directed Mr. Pownall to produce the late governor's papers. He refused, until the governor's *ad interim* successor, Lieutenant-Governor De Lanc y, had qualified. Pownall at once wrote to the Lords of Trade that in case he found any secret instructions they might depend on him not to deliver them up, for he was a "private secretary"—a distinction not always observed. For this prudence he was subsequently commended, and it no doubt assisted in his speedy preferment.

Although for the moment his vocation was gone, Mr. Pownall seems to have determined to continue in America for a space, in order to acquaint himself, by personal observation, with colonial affairs, and, as some have thought, to await the result of his brother's influence, in procuring for him some other colonial appointment. The time was not inopportune: America, with its increasing population—then upward of a million and a quarter—had already recovered that material prosperity which had been seriously retarded by the devastating wars, ending in 1748 with the peace, or truce more properly, of Aix-la-Chapelle. By the year 1753 it was evident, and indeed avowed, that the final conflict between the French and the English for supremacy over the outlying territories of the world was near at hand—so that America offered a better stage than Europe for the efforts of an ambitious young English civilian.

Between the years 1754 and 1757 Pownall made several voyages to England, always in some manner promoting his own as well as public affairs. In June following Sir Danvers Osborne's death, we find him at Albany a spectator of the Congress of Colonial Commissioners, held by British permission for the purpose of adopting some colonial common measure against French aggression. This important Congress of 1754 is sometimes regarded as the direct result of a British proposal to the colonies to form a united, and, to some extent, autonomous colonial government. Such a misconception of England's real intention is, perhaps, founded on a political stratagem. When the colonial leaders had already determined on this congress, the advisers of the crown resolved, if possible, to so



THE PROVINCE HOUSE, BOSTON.

Residence of Thomas Pownall while Governor of Massachusetts.

[The Province House, a three story brick structure, stood nearly opposite the head of Milk Street, with a handsome lawn in front shaded by stately oaks. The interior was on a scale of princely magnificence; the reception room on first floor was paneled with rich wood and hung with tapestry. It was the great audience hall of the governors. Twenty massive red freestone steps led to the spacious entrance under the grand portico.]

mould its action as to insure its enuring to a continued British supremacy, and thus they pretended to assent to a colonial union. For the first time in American history the English authorities now made a proposal to tax the colonies, through the medium of the colonial plan of union, realizing full well that the proposal to tax must prove the annihilation of the union. There is little doubt but that Mr. Pownall while at Albany was acting under some understanding with the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, and that his attendance at Albany was not a purely voluntary service. It is unnecessary to dwell on the plans of union, or to more than refer to Franklin's plan of a decentralized union, founded on the New England principle of 1643, for all came to nothing. But the importance of this congress should be emphasized in connection with Pownall's political theory and career. His foresight had shown him the influence which this congress would have on the future of public opinion. He, in-

deed, always dated the beginning of the Revolution from this congress, and his contemporaneous writings prove that this was no after-thought.

The report of his considerations which he voluntarily laid before the congress evinced that mastery which he had already achieved over the intricacies of frontier topography and the Indian question; he limited all his outward considerations to the military and economic purposes of the congress, and did not enter the dubious arena of colonial union. But in his "private report" to Lord Halifax he admitted the necessity of some closer colonial union, and then it was that he conceived for the first time a plan, which exclusively dominated his entire political life—a plan for a great English-speaking union, of which the center and seat of government should be in the New World and not in England.

After the adjournment of the congress at Albany he directed his attention to a plan for an Indian colony, so disposed as to constitute a barrier against the French, and next to humane considerations for conforming the Indian combatants to the *iura belli*, the laws of war. These were not the ordinary employments of a colonial official, and it is evident from them that Pownall already contemplated the public part which he filled in the ensuing thirty years of English history.

In February, 1755, Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts—a friend of Lord Halifax—appointed Pownall Commissioner for Massachusetts, in negotiations with New York, concerning a plan of operations at Crown Point, an important strategical point on the Lake, called by the Indians, the "Gate of Canada." This same year the Lords of Trade and Plantations secured his appointment as lieutenant-governor of New Jersey—Governor Belcher of that province being both old and infirm.

At the outset of the "French and Indian War" (as the "seven years" war of Europe is called in American history because much longer here), Pownall was very active, representing New Jersey at any distant meeting of colonial governors, and Massachusetts in efforts to unite the colonies against the French. He was present at the memorable meeting of the colonial governors with the unfortunate General Braddock at Alexandria, though denied admission to their councils because of the non-arrival of his credentials as lieutenant-governor of New Jersey. In January, 1756, he again went to England, having already achieved some distinction. Sir William Johnson, the most eminent authority on Indian affairs, wrote that Pownall fully understood the Indian relations, and Shirley, of Massachusetts, who was supposed to perfectly understand Franco-American politics, had intrusted Pownall with the most delicate negotiations. These were the results of but three years' colonial labors.

After a brief stay in England, Pownall returned here with Lord Loudon, the new commander-in-chief of the military forces. But in a few weeks he was again in England soliciting re-enforcements for the American army. He returned to America the following year with young Lord Howe, who fell on the march to Ticonderoga. On this visit Pownall bore with him a commission as governor of Massachusetts, in the place of Shirley. The new governor's reception was unusually cordial, because of some liberal sentiments which he had happily expressed to the Massachusetts agents in London concerning a high regard for the Massachusetts charter, and because of the really wide knowledge he was already reputed to have of American affairs. He arrived in Boston at a gloomy period of the summer of 1757, for in a few days Fort William Henry capitulated to the French under Montcalm.

Although newly arrived, Pownall quickly appreciated the situation. He, no doubt, had heard of Pitt's having taken office in the July preceding, and that the former peace policy was over. The new governor at once named Pepperell, lieutenant-general of the Massachusetts troops—a new office—and finding the discipline of the colonial forces inadequate, Pownall himself drew up an elaborate system of field-tactics and minute regulations for their drill. In addition to this, he issued an order to lay waste an immense territory on the approach of the French, and to destroy all means of transport and the provisions in the line of their march. At the latter end of August, Governor Belcher of New Jersey died, and Lord Loudon wrote from New York to Pownall to come on, "for affairs were going badly in New Jersey." Pownall's own report to the Lords of Trade shows that promptness which he usually exhibited. He heard the news on Sunday. "On Monday," he says, "I called a council and set out on Tuesday, arrived in New York on Saturday, continued Saturday and Monday with Lord Loudon, and proceeded for the Jerseys. . . . I went forthwith to Trenton. I issued out summonses to the council to attend me. . . . I called myself upon all that lay in my way and took them on with me, that I might be sure of a council." In other words, having ridden over from Boston, the governor himself rapped up the council without any of that fuss and etiquette, ordinarily so alluring to colonial officials. After a stay of three weeks in New Jersey, he returned to Boston.

In November following, Lord Loudon again wrote to Pownall; this time demanding recruiting quarters in Boston, but the governor, entertaining doubts as to the validity of the demand, referred the matter to the magistrates, who declined doing anything. In order to adjust the matter in dispute, the governor suggested a colonial act of the legislature to give



"A VIEW OF THE GREAT COHOES FALLS: SKETCHED ON THE SPOT BY HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR POWNALL."
From a rare print in the Collection of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.

effect to the British act of Parliament regulating quartering and billeting of troops. Upon information of this, Lord Loudon sent a peremptory dispatch, threatening to march five regular regiments to Boston, unless quarters were instantly provided, and he insisted that no colonial act could be necessary to give effect to a British act of Parliament. But Governor Pownall's act was passed, the general-in-chief barely but technically accommodated, and the legislative rights of the province saved. We may appreciate the importance of this incident if we recall the fact that the extra-territorial operation of the acts of the English Parliament was then a moot point in colonial jurisprudence. The colonial judges differed on it, and Smith, the historian of New York, about this time, appealed to Parliament to settle the question by a declaratory act of their own. The conflict with Lord Loudon was therefore, in some measure, one affecting the dignity of the colonial assemblies, and in view of the unsettled state of the law, might have afforded an excuse to a crown-governor to yield to the demands of the commander-in-chief. Not so with Pownall. His idea on this, as on all other questions of the colonial constitutions, was clear that no British acts affected the colonies unless the colonies were expressly named, and this proved ultimately a view that never should have been doubted.

Under his brief administration, and largely owing to his efforts—though he himself disclaimed the fact in a generous letter to the minister, Pitt—Massachusetts furnished at one time the excessive quota of 7,000 fighting men for the "French and Indian" war. In the first year of his magistracy, Governor Pownall himself took the field and marched to the Penobscot River, where he built and established a fort to close this passage to the sea against the French. All this was done with such rapidity and such strict economy as to induce the Massachusetts legislature to pass a vote of thanks to the governor for his conduct of the undertaking. Such was the general character of his administration, and it earned for him the name of the most constitutional governor Massachusetts had yet had.

But the three brief years of his government at Boston were not to him altogether pleasant years. On his arrival there he had assiduously cultivated the friends of liberal government, with the effect of alienating the Tory faction and the "pork-patriots," as they were called, who ate the king's fare. The defection of this well-disciplined party left him without supporters when it became necessary to pass some measure affecting the royal instructions. But still he persisted in his course, and from his many utterances there is reason to believe that he was guided solely by the dictates of his conscience. At this very time he was engaged on a Sys-

London Nov 1. - 60

Sir.

I am just come out of 4 County & upon
my arrival here the other day I was honored with your
letter dated Aug^r 22 You do me great honor in supposing
that my friendship can be of any use ^{to} you & I should do myself
great happiness in being so - but however you personally
may not be known to 4 Kings Ministers your services are
& you are in your Public Character & I dare say you
will find so by experiencing every mark of confidence
& Honor & Friendship from them - If I could have vanity
enough to think that any thing I could say or do might
contribute to such I would smelt so opportunely not occasion
of doing it -

As to my undertaking Administration of the Gov^t
 of York it is a thing that I ~~understand~~ weigh'd some
 years ago & I must acknowledge non valent ~~reser-~~
 & have absolutely declined it — & nothing but the
 King's positive Commands can ever drive me to any such
 arduous task — I am much obliged to you for your very
 kind Tendres of your Friendship & assistance & shall
 always think my self honor'd by it — with the greatest Esteem
 I am for your Honor's most Obedient
 & most Humble Servant *Thos Pownall*

TO CADWALLADER COLDEN, PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL AT NEW YORK.

[From the original letter in possession of the New York Historical Society.]

tematic Treatise concerning the Constitution of the Colonies, a work which for vigor of analysis, for broad and comprehensive views of constitutional polity, and for boldness of prediction, had no precedent in the literature of the time.

His experience had already taught him the importance which the colonists were beginning to attach to self-government, and in 1758 he wrote to the Lords of Trade, "that unless speedy changes were made, the independence of the colonies was certain and the season near at hand"

—a prophecy ridiculed by his successor in office some six years later. If we remember that this prophecy was made before the Treaty of Paris and before the conquest of Canada, we may readily perceive that he had not in view the effect which the removal of the French power would have on the colonies, the basis of the more celebrated and subsequent predictions of a French minister. Imbued with the spirit of his prophecy, Pownall exerted all his powers to avert the disruption he foresaw, and his future political course bears ample evidence of this effort.

Notwithstanding that his Massachusetts administration was beyond reproach, he did not wholly escape vilification. One anonymous pamphleteer accused him of stealing the political capital of his confidants. It was said, "he gave a scholastic turn to conversation in order to show his erudition." It was even said that he had stolen a map from a New York lawyer, in order to palm it off in England as his own. To these attacks he of course did not condescend to reply, and his character was their best refutation. In order to demonstrate the groundless nature of these attacks, we have only to remember that Pownall possessed all the requisites of a skillful cartographer; he was a thorough mathematician for his time, and understood practical surveying, whilst his skill with the pencil is shown by many drawings of American scenery—two of which, through the courtesy of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet, we are able to reproduce for the entertainment of the reader—and also by a sketch of the old Town of Boston, during his sojourn there, now published among the ancient views of that place. It is not probable that so capable a man as Pownall would have erased the name of a New York lawyer from a frontier map, not difficult of execution.

Having no taste for such undeserved censure, Pownall expressed to his acquaintances in Boston a desire to return to his books and home-life in England, and in the year 1760 he solicited his own recall. He had already declined the government of New York, as indicated by his letter to Cadwallader Colden, here published for the first time. He was immediately appointed governor of South Carolina, with increased pay and greater opportunities for study. But he decided to go first to England, evidently with the view of escaping from the dull routine of colonial service. The estimation in which he was held in Massachusetts displayed itself in laudatory addresses regretting his departure, and in a proffer of the only armed vessel owned by the province to convey him home to England. This offer he declined as soon as he heard of the objection of some few Boston merchants, who feared the precedent of extravagance and the withdrawal of that protection which an armed ship afforded the harbor in time of war.

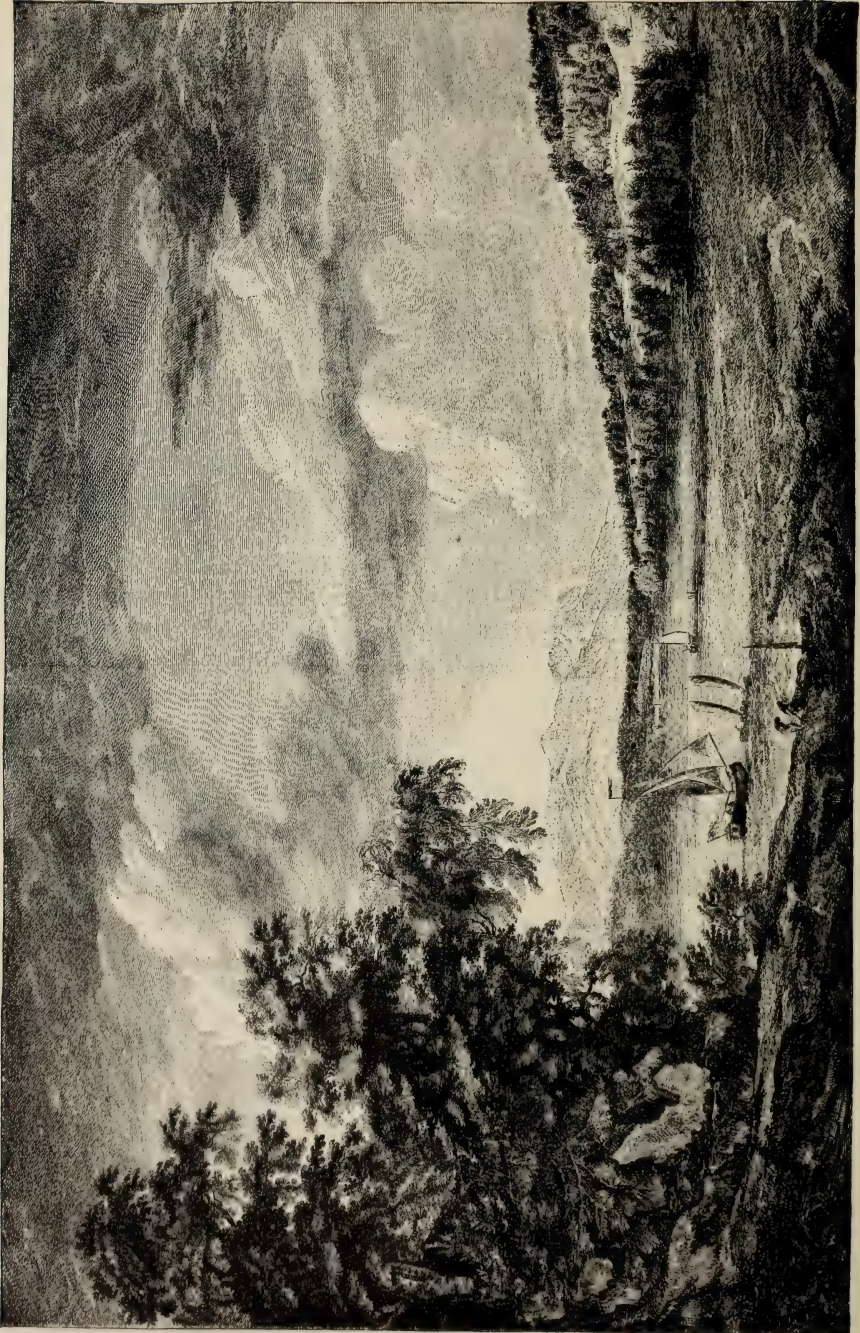
He embarked on a private vessel May 3, 1760, attended to his barge by

both Houses of Assembly. This was his last outward voyage, and was destined to convey him to a theater of still more extended usefulness to the colonies.

That Pownall left traducers behind him is evident. By some of the rigid folk in Boston he was thought too gay in his demeanor and too fond of society. The stern puritan, Samuel Adams, the "man of the town meeting," called him the "fribble"—an almost obsolete word for "fop." That Pownall always carried himself as befitted a man of rank by the standard of his time, Cradock, a memoir writer and traveler of the last century, plainly affirms. Describing him, on a subsequent visit to France, Cradock says, "the Governor was splendid and magnificent in his dress"—a statement confirmed by the Lord Orford portrait duly befrilled and powdered, yet withal singularly high-bred and thoughtful looking. In these externals he merely conformed to the requirements of European taste in the last century, and if he exceeded them, it is certain that they did not affect his mental character or the learning and dignity which his contemporaries concede to him, and his writings prove for him. On his safe return from Boston to England, Pownall concluded not to enter on his Carolinian appointment. He stood for Parliament, and was returned for Tregoney, in Cornwall. But being appointed Director-General of Control in Germany, a high office in the commissariat of the active forces, he soon retired from Parliament. While in Germany, he was the subject of a libel, published in Wilkes' notorious *North Briton*, accusing him of passing inferior stores and falsifying the military accounts. After the Peace of Paris, in 1763, the truth of the libel was at his own instance investigated, his accounts passed with honor, and his real defamer—an inferior officer—dismissed from the army.

After ten years of active official life, somewhat prosaic withal, but combining service, civil and military, in council and camp, in the colonies and in Parliament, Pownall found himself with leisure to pursue the great plan of his life—that for England's closer political union with her colonies. The year following the Peace he devoted to preparing for the press that remarkable book entitled, *The Administration of the Colonies*, the first edition of which appeared in London in 1764. It passed through five editions, plainly denoting the estimation in which it was held by the English-speaking world in those trying ten years of discussion and recrimination which preceded the American Revolution. Its literary style has been criticised by a few verbal purists who overlooked the subject matter, alone worthy of attention in a technical work of this character.

In the editions of 1764 and 1765, now difficult to procure, the author



“A VIEW IN HUDSON RIVER OF PAKESBY AND THE CATSKILL MOUNTAINS: SKETCHED ON THE SPOT BY HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR POWNALL.”
From a rare print in the Collection of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.

expressed an opinion, subsequently modified, on the abstract right of the Imperial Government to exact some external contribution from the colonies toward defraying the frightful expense of the seven years' war—a proposition founded upon the cost of policing the high seas, and once conceded sound by Franklin. But in the edition of 1768, possessed by the New York Historical Society, Pownall corrected this opinion, and denied the right of Parliament to tax the colonies at all, so long as they remained unrepresented in Parliament. In the preface of this edition, addressed to Grenville, he points out the danger which threatens English supremacy in America, and makes no scruple to avow, that unless the evils are averted, resistance should follow. This advice from so temperate a politician in England, was received with much satisfaction by the colonies. The book treats of all the defects in the colonial constitutions—those which were inherent, as well as those which followed from the application of vicious principles of interpretation.

In the course of his exposition, the author resorts to the historical method, and shows the theory by which the maritime powers of Europe acquired title to the territories of the new world, and like the modern juriprudent, Sir Henry Maine, Pownall ascribes this theory to a principle of the Roman law. He next analyzes the civil governments of the colonies, and traces them to their ancient archetypes, the Duchy of Normandy, the Island of Jersey and the counties palatine of England, from which the law officers of the crown first derived their precedents for the charters and other documents in use in the North American colonies. From this chaos of antiquity he extracts and applies the fundamental principles of what, to his own honor, he concedes were colonial constitutions. If, in this connection, it is remembered that up to this time the English lawyers—such as Blackstone, whose work was just then published—had but cursorily and even superficially touched this subject, we shall appreciate the merits of Pownall's performance, and that he was the *first* Englishman who had taken the trouble to place colonial governments and constitutions upon rational and liberal foundations.

But his main stress was laid upon the necessity of a revision of the political principles uniting the colonies to England. In his proposed reform of the union, he did not forget that he was accidentally born a monarchist, but he belonged to that liberal and enlightened school of monarchists which embraces Mr. Gladstone in our own day. Mr. Pownall would have preserved to the colonists their separate legislatures and decentralized administration. A common kingship was to be the executive of his union, and a great federal Parliament, in which every State was to be

represented, would constitute the legislative element. This federal Parliament was to meet in the territorial center, and, if needs be, the seat of government of the union was to be ultimately removed to America.

Visionary as the plan seemed, and as Pownall admitted that it would seem to the aristocratic, ruling class in England, he contended that it was the only way by which a union between England and America could be preserved; and without this he repeatedly affirmed that dismemberment of the existing English empire was certain. Had his vigorous and radical plan been adopted, the avowed grievances of the colonies would have been redressed; for until the Declaration of Independence no colonial State paper quarreled with the monarchical feature of English rule. The adoption of Pownall's union would have postponed internecine war, and have caused America to occupy much sooner the hegemony of English-speaking peoples—a position still denied to us by England but destined surely to come, just as Greece ultimately became the embodiment of the tradition and policy of the Hellenic race to the exclusion of the more ancient seats of that people. This destiny of America is already indicated by the title of "Greater England" bestowed on us by English historians. That there may be no thoughtless deprecation of such a result, it should be borne in mind that the Federal Constitution is as purely the result of Anglican institutions as *Magna Charta* or the Bill of Rights. It is the very incarnation of English law, plus a political revolution. It is no condescension on the part of this great country to recognize the subtle influences of nearly two centuries of the rule of that sturdy island race which has been more potent in the forces of civilization than any race excepting the Greek, and not excepting the Roman. No doubt the political severance of America from Europe was an inestimable advantage to the governments of the whole world. Had Pownall's union been consummated the same separation would have followed peacefully, although not before the cause of American letters and culture had been speeded by several centuries. In thus emphasizing the effects of Pownall's union, we are led to see how his conception would have modified history, and that to this extent it was the conception of a statesman.

Pownall devoted the year 1765 to a personal affair—one long in contemplation; some years before this he had jocosely said that the "lion in the Pownall coat of arms was a bachelor like his master," a compound joke directed against the absurdities of the Heralds' College as well as his own bachelorhood. In his forty-fifth year he married Lady Faulkner, the daughter of Lieutenant-General Churchill, and the widow of an English minister to the Porte at Constantinople. At her death, some years subse-

quently, the governor composed the epitaph on her tomb at Lincoln. Strangely enough this composition enters into one of the most interesting incidents of English history. Pownall was one of the forty-two persons associated with the authorship of the celebrated *Junius Letters*—letters written under a pseudonym and enveloped in a mystery as complete as that of the unknown destroyer of the busts of Hermes at Athens. Both outrages baffled the detection of a vindictive public. The biographers of Sir Philip Francis, the real “Junius,” disposed of Pownall’s claims by the production of Lady Pownall’s epitaph. For they said, that an author who was guilty of such an atrocious style could never be the keen, satirical and polished Junius. The epitaph is as follows:

“Here is entombed Dame Harriet, daughter of Lieutenant-General Churchill, wife in her first marriage to Sir Everard Faulkner, Knight, in her second, to Governor Pownall. She died February 6, 1777, aged 51. Her person was that of animating beauty, with a complexion of the most exquisite brilliancy, unfaded when she fell. Her understanding was of such quickness and reach of thought that her knowledge—although she had learning—was instantaneous and original. Her heart, warmed with universal benevolence to the highest degree of sensibility, had a ready ear for pity and glowed with friendship, as a sacred and inviolate fire. Her love to those who were blest with it was happiness. Her sentiments were correct, refined, elevated. Her manners so cheerful, elegant, amiable and winning, that while she was admired, she was beloved, and while she was enlightened and enlivened, she was the delight of the world in which she lived. She was formed for life—she was prepared for death: which being a gentle wafting to immortality, she lives where life is real.”

The biographers of Sir Philip Francis, who so wantonly reproduced this epitaph, made no further comment than that indicated. They evidently thought that the claims of Pownall were insignificant if he could write about a lady’s complexion when she *fell*, as if she were a horse-dragon, killed in battle, and indite mixed metaphor about a “heart that *warmed* with benevolence,” and “had an *ear* for *pity*.” Others will believe Governor Pownall’s authorship of the *Junius Letters* sufficiently refuted by the unfriendly spirit these letters display toward the friends of the colonies. Perhaps the only thing this incident does prove for Pownall is his wide acquaintance with the leading men of England, for the real Junius knew their most hidden foibles, and no one was associated with the authorship, unless he possessed at least this qualification. One other fact cited by the friends of Pownall’s claims to being Junius is, that in the year 1762 the Jesuitical books were burned in Paris by the common hangman

for the paradoxical offense of "*sound casuistry*." The real Junius was present, and Pownall was there also, in the train of the Duke of Bedford, looking after the preliminaries of the Peace of Paris. This is very negative evidence, as it seems, by which to associate Pownall with so brilliant an atrocity.

In 1767 Pownall was again returned to Parliament. The ministry was Tory and he a Whig in opposition. Throughout the long Parliament, which began in 1768, Pownall was uniformly on the side of America. In his speech against the "Bill for suspending the power of the New York legislature," the first he delivered, he announced that the people of America *were resolved never to submit to any internal tax imposed by a legislature in which they had no share*. For seven years anterior to our Revolution he alone continued to warn Parliament of the dangers attending their American measures. He worked persistently in the interest of the colonies; he sought to extend the Nullum Tempus Bill here, and opposed the extension of the Bill for Quartering Troops. He added beneficent clauses to the Mutiny Bill, requiring the civil magistrates, who invoked the aid of the soldiery, to explain their reasons in writing. When called upon to defend his amendments, he delivered a luminous speech on the character of civil governments, declaring that the authority of government, like that of a school-master, ended when force began.

An account of his parliamentary labors would alone require a volume. His courageous and humane attitude on American questions lessened his influence in Parliament. On all other questions he continued the highest authority. In all Spanish-American problems no one equaled him. Because of his economic and statistical knowledge the Irish Parliament employed him to defend the linen interests of Ireland, and the English Parliament intrusted him with difficult investigations relative to the assize and the mode of lessening the cost of bread. But his main interests, while in Parliament, were with the British North-American Colonies, and he always found time to write on them. He was a man of intense intellectual activity; even in his hours of leisure and when he traveled, he went to the seats of the more interesting antiquities. From these spots he wrote profound papers on archæology, on a Roman vase or a Greek coin, on the Druidical remains, or on the aboriginal vestiges in Wales and Ireland. He wrote on early architecture, on ancient painting. He published a theory of ocean currents, and treatises on subjects as diverse as political economy and navigation. He investigated the true principles of drainage and sewers, and these pursuits of his leisure made him a Fellow of the Royal Society and of the Society of Antiquaries.

Pownall has been censured because on the outbreak of the American Revolution he allied himself with the Tory war party under Lord North. His successor, Hutchinson, of Massachusetts, says in his Diary, that "Pownall was frightened at having sown the wind which reaped such a whirlwind." I am convinced, whatever others may think, and despite the verdict of several professional historians of this country, that in changing his party name Pownall remained true to his principles. His critics overlook the fact that at the end of Pitt's splendid administration, the Whigs and Tories of England exchanged principles on internal matters of English politics. In regard to the principles of American liberty, Pownall when he became a Tory was the same Pownall when a Whig. He was, no doubt, greatly grieved at the armed resistance of the Americans; he had hoped for a peaceful revolution, and when war broke out he thought that he detected the intrigues of the house of Bourbon and the court of France. He recognized that it was the end of his colonial union, but he blamed the Americans far less than he blamed the Whigs, who had refused to hearken to him long years before. Like our War Democrats, he was now for the war and against most of its principles.

Early in the session of 1775 he took occasion to refute the charge of inconsistency and to speak for America. He supported the bill for restraining the trade of the American colonies until their revolt ceased, and he found, to the astonishment of the House, a precedent for it in a bill directed against Barbadoes and Virginia, passed in 1650, more than a century before; but in the same speech he called upon his country to proclaim peace, and peace by acceding to terms. After the Battle of Lexington, from which we date our Revolution, he opposed compromise because he thought it useless, and he opposed Burke because he thought half measures were futile. In December, 1777, six years before the peace, he spoke against one of Mr. Fox's pacific measures to induce the colonies to return to their allegiance. He said "He knew that he should displease gentlemen on both sides of the House of Commons, but that England's sovereignty over America was abolished and gone forever," and he bade England make haste to a commercial treaty in order to frustrate French influence. Is there any wonder that it was said, "Such a Tory and such a friend to Franklin would ruin any party in England?" His speech was a great delight to this country, and the more effective because the speaker was a Tory and had no political interest to subserve. In the next year he spoke against Lord North's employment of the American Indians in warfare, and proposed a *modus vivendi* by which neither combatant should employ savages—a measure, he said, Congress would accede to. In 1778

he laid before the ministry a plan for peace, but in his plan the independence of the colonies was a *sine qua non*. At that early stage of the conflict the ministers refused even to lay this plan before the irascible king. Pownall continued throughout the Revolution a thorn in the flesh of his party, but as he was a native-born Englishman, he was against the foes of his country. No doubt, what Franklin said of Pownall in the year 1777 continued true during this entire period of Pownall's career—"He is very ill heard *at present*."

But in 1780 Pownall's patience was exhausted, and he gave notice that unless some one else brought in some explicit proposition for peace with America, he himself should do so, and having waited till the following year, 1781—still two years before the actual peace—he at last presented a bill "to empower his Majesty to make peace or truce with America." As this bill was opposed by Lord North and the Tories, and supported by the Whigs, he, at the close of the session, retired from Parliament.

There can be no doubt that he then regarded his long parliamentary career as a failure. A letter of subsequent date to his "dear old Friend," as he often called Franklin, demonstrates this. His conception—the great English-speaking empire—was vanishing in the disruption which he first prophesied, and he had staked all his usefulness and the labor of a life on a single idea which was proving a failure; his fabric, however, crumbled, leaving no particle of dishonor resting on him. During his colonial administration and his parliamentary life of twenty years, no latent or patent hostility to a single principle of what the world is beginning to recognize as American political philosophy can be detected.

The residue of his life was henceforth devoted to the ordinary pursuits of a private gentleman. He was far from idle, but the desultory nature of his occupation indicates that he recognized that he had played his part, and had not taken. Fortunately for him, some years after Lady Pownall's death, he had married again a Mrs. Astell, of Everton House, in County Bedford, and when not on the continent, or at Bath, or some other watering-place, they lived at Everton House, her former home.

The year after he retired from Parliament he published a *Treatise on the Study of Antiquities*, sketching out a general plan of research, and next an *Essay on the Elements of Speech*, in which he came very close to the celebrated law concerning the differential mutations of consonants, now called "Grimm's Law." The next year he published a description of the *Antiquities of the Provincia Romana of Gaul*, and an *Account of the Thermæ and Roman Baths in Baden*. In 1795, when seventy-five years of age, he issued *Letters* advocating, in substance, free trade in grain, and in



THE ABBEY CHURCH, BATH.

In which the Cenotaph was erected to the memory of Governor Pownall.

this may be detected a confirmation of a step in his former parliamentary career, when he spoke the first word for American wheat ever heard in the House of Commons. The *Letters* were followed by an *Antiquarian Romance*, in which he recommends the disregard of traditional methods, and the employment of what he calls "experimental inductive theorems" in the examination of ancient myths—a process which comes near to the methods of modern comparative mythologists. He wrote on numerous other topics, such as *Hannibal's Passage of the Alps*; a theme, as one sees from Gibbon's *Extraits de mon Journal*, very attractive to scholars. Even when Pownall was at Bath for his gout, he wrote on the Roman antiquities of that neighborhood in moments of painless idleness.

As his long life drew nearer to its close he became more and more introspective; he now writes on *Intellectual Physics*, an *Essay Concerning the Nature of Being*, and last, I think, a treatise on *Old Age*, no doubt suggested by the *De Senectute* of Cicero. His writings are not, with the exception of that on the colonies, a fair index of his greatness, although he was esteemed a learned antiquary, and is so called. They show conclusively the wide range of his scholarship, and that he was a Greek scholar of parts and a Latin etymologist of more than common parts. His powers as a philosophical historian were applauded by the Walpoles, whose friend he was, and his knowledge of the exact sciences was sufficiently unusual to make him well heard, even by Franklin. But he was great only as an Americanist, and because he was the first statesman who dealt with American questions; he was the precursor of Jefferson, Webster, and Seward. He was the first man who matured a great American policy, so minutely worked out and so well known to the foreign diplomats of his time, that when the Spanish Americans were in the process of revolt from Spain, their leaders consulted him as the one Englishman who for half a century had best understood the destinies of American nationality. What a tribute to Pownall! What a reprimand to his countrymen who had lost America!

Among the fruits of his later literary labors were two extraordinary productions, in which he spoke with a confidence and a sublimity rarely attempted. They were the *vale dicta* of a statesman of one age to the ruling authorities of another, to the sovereigns of Europe and to the sovereigns of America, two very different classes, distinguished most carefully and addressed by name. To the sovereigns of Europe he counseled the cultivation of the new American States as the arbiters of future commerce and future power. He predicted the independence of the Spanish-American colonies, which soon followed. He recommended to Portugal the project of removing its government to Brazil if it would augment its



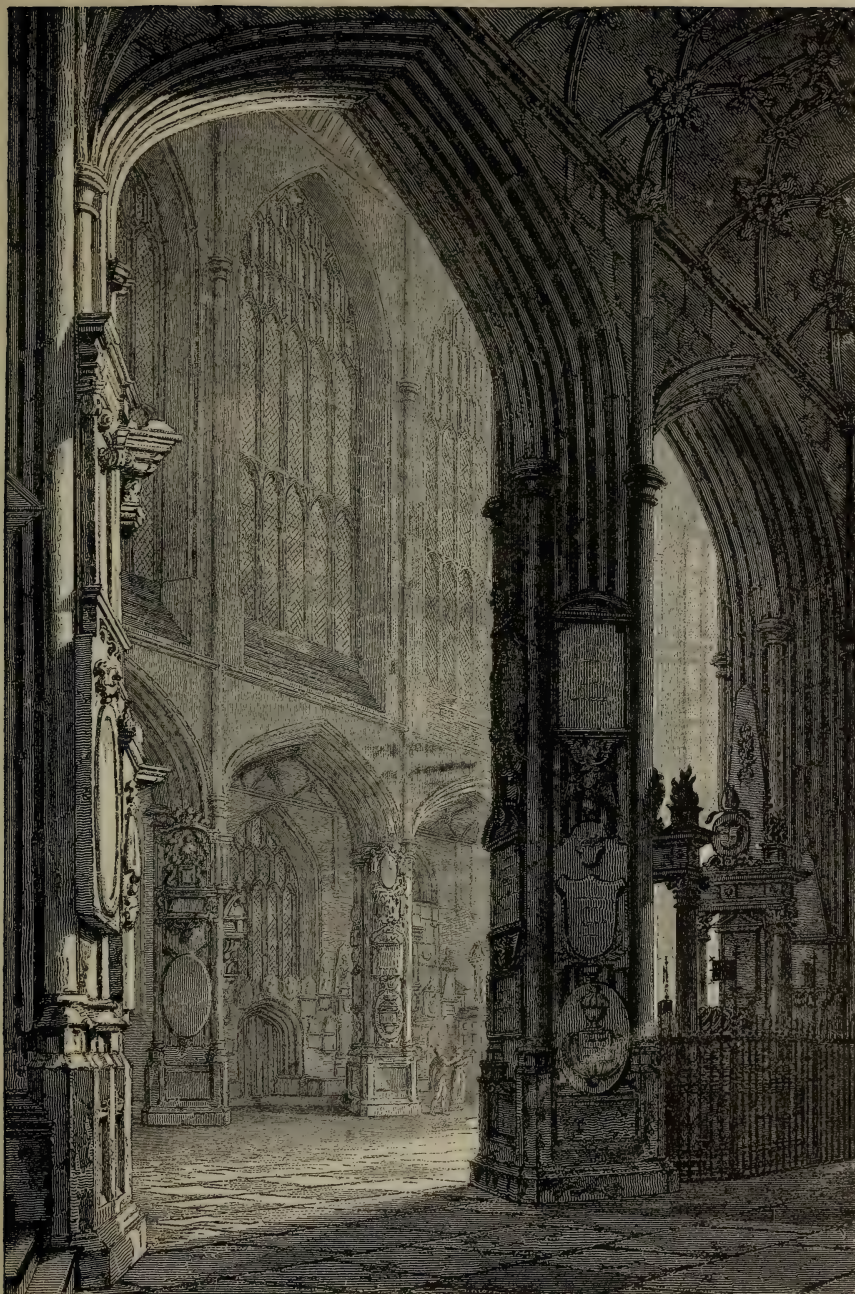
INTERIOR OF BATH ABBEY CHURCH. FROM BRITTON'S HISTORY.

[This rare view of the Nave, looking east, shows the forms of the main Piers and Arches, the Clerestory windows, the groining, the great arches of the tower, together with the distant parts of the Choir.]

influence as a nation, and years subsequent the Portuguese ruler created a regency in Lisbon and transferred himself to Rio de Janeiro, where his dynasty now exerts an influence incomparably greater than that of Portugal, a mere dependency of Great Britain. He spoke the first English word for negro emancipation, and he foretold that this down-trodden race would soon establish an independent political power in the West Indies, which event followed in the case of Hayti. England he advised that the old balance-of-power theory in European politics was a thing of the past, and to confine her statesmanship to a wise maritime and commercial policy—advice which that country has followed with success, and disregarded either to her cost or humiliation. In his address to the sovereigns of America, Pownall uttered words of profound significance, if the extracts with difficulty obtained from a distance are a good indication. Some of these, indeed, rival in dignity the great occasion they herald.

Yet Pownall was never intrusive or a mere visionary enthusiast. He was always a quiet English gentleman in politics, but infinitely more profound and more exact in his observations than his more distinguished contemporaries. All his opinions, speeches and writings are characterized by a modesty, dignity and self-abnegation unusual in a political life. He sometimes wondered that others would not see as clearly as he saw, that a new era in the world's history had begun, and that America was not a mere colony like those of the Phœnicians and the Greeks, but a great political power in the near future—a power to be recognized and treated by Europe as such in all matters of external politics. Realizing this as he did, had Pownall been born to the purple, or been even the premier of England, he would have descended to his grave, enrolled among the leading names in history as the master of a famous and sagacious policy.

The future of North America was absolutely certain to him. On the signing of the definitive Treaty of Peace with England, he hastened to congratulate Franklin on the establishment of his country as a free and sovereign power, saying also, "that if ever there was an object worth the traveling to see, it was the beginnings of a great empire at its foundation." And a little later he again wrote Franklin, as follows: "I am told you are returning to your country, you must excuse me when I say what I feel, I envy you—I, too, had wished in my line of conduct to have served a country I would not believe too far gone in corruption of politics to be served. If God grants you life and health what a glorious scene in this great drama have you before you, in giving and persuading your country to take your advice as to the settlement of their affairs in a sovereignty free and efficient to all the purposes of liberty."



INTERIOR OF BATH ABBEY CHURCH. FROM BRITTON'S HISTORY.
Interesting View across the Nave, looking south-west.

HISTORIC HOMES

THE HERMITAGE, BURGWIN'S SEAT

Prior to the Revolution, and during the period extending from its close to the War of 1812, the people of Wilmington were distinguished for a social intercourse, gay, generous, and cordial. Many opulent planters made the town their residence a great part of the year. Men of leisure, in conjunction with the gentlemen of the liberal professions, moderated and refined the spirit of trade, and gave an elevated tone to society. The sports of the field and the excitement of the race-track and card-table were generally indulged in, and gentlemen prided themselves rather upon the quality of their horses than the style of their equipages. The royal Governor Martin, on a visit to Wilmington, called it "the region of politeness and hospitality."

But these characteristics presented a more animated and highly colored picture as seen among the surrounding country families, chiefly of the rice-planters residing on either bank of Cape Fear River. Family visits, or rather visitations, were the order of the day, and were always welcomed with a hearty, ungrudging hospitality, followed by festive entertainments, balls, and every species of amusement which song and dance could afford. Everywhere on the eastern and western branches of Cape Fear River were men of fortune, related by blood or connected by marriage, whose plantations extended almost as far as the town of Fayetteville, at the head of tide-water navigation. Wit and humor, music and poetry, were brought into action in social and convivial intercourse, the point of honor was understood and recognized, and the slightest approach to indignity resented. Such manners and customs would be altogether unsuited to the present order of things. It is claimed that the present is a more progressive age, and can boast of a higher civilization than then existed; and comparisons are frequently drawn between the "new South," as it is called, and the old, to the detriment of the latter. That there has been a great improvement in mechanics, in the arts and sciences, and the practical application of the most wonderful inventions, is admitted by all; but that society now is more elevated and refined than of old, is emphatically denied. It has been the habit of late years to sneer at the usages and customs of the past, and a disposition shown to ignore the old, because it is old, and

to elevate the new; but there was in the temper and disposition of those former times a beauty and a charm, from many points of view, which this progressive age cannot present.

Many years ago, when the writer was much younger than now, he well remembers seeing in its proper place upon an old ante-revolutionary map of North Carolina, a house marked "Hermitage, Burgwin's Seat," and upon the notes issued in 1815 by the Bank of Cape Fear, which was the only bank in Wilmington for many years, was engraved a picture of the Hermitage in vignette. A few of those notes are still in existence, and very highly prized by their possessors. The locality was the most prominent and best known, not only in this section, but throughout the State, and was the residence of Mr. John Burgwin, the ancestor of a family distinguished in our annals for wealth and intelligence, and which, from his day to the year 1861, when the Iliad of our Southern woes began, was the seat of a profuse and elegant hospitality. If I mistake not, it was the last survivor of the old-time country mansions of Cape Fear, and the plantation the only one in the State which has been owned by one family and occupied by them from the time of its original grant by the royal patentees, nearly two hundred years ago, down to the present day. Rev. Richard Marsden was the first owner, from the original Lords Proprietors, of the two plantations afterwards known as the Hermitage and Castle Haynes, lying on opposite sides of the old county road, eight miles north of Wilmington. His residence at Castle Haynes was adorned and beautified with great skill and taste. He was the first Episcopal clergyman settled on Cape Fear River. Prior to his coming to America he was chaplain to the Duke of Portland, whom he accompanied to Jamaica when the duke was appointed governor of that island. While residing there, he was induced by some planters from South Carolina to go to Charleston, then the chief importing city on the continent, with a view of taking charge of one of the churches in that city; but when he arrived, owing either to his delay or some other cause, he found the place filled by another. His friends, however, hearing that the people of Wilmington desired the services of a clergyman, interested themselves in having him called. He came in due course of time, and officiated for several years as rector of St. James' parish, and was the main agent in having the first church edifice built.

Mr. Marsden's only daughter and heiress married Roger Haynes of Lisbon, and had two daughters. One was married to General Hugh Waddell of the British army, and the other to Mr. John Burgwin, the younger son of an ancient Welsh family. By family settlements both of these plantations became vested in Mr. Burgwin, and the original patent or grant for



THE HERMITAGE, BURGWIN'S SEAT.

the Hermitage lands, on indented parchment, signed by Earl Craven, sealed with wax and bound together with red ribbons, is still, I believe, in the possession of Mr. Burgwin's descendants.

The mansion-house was beautifully located, and presented a very imposing appearance. It was about one hundred and twenty feet long; the north front faced a sloping lawn, extending about one hundred and fifty yards to Prince George's Creek, and the south front faced a large flower-garden, from which extended a broad avenue about half a mile long, with a double row of elms on each side, continued by a carriage-way of more than a mile in length, under ditch and banks, through the pines, until it entered the county road leading to Wilmington. The avenue was almost entirely destroyed by a tornado about sixty years ago. The house contained seventeen rooms, with a light, well-ventilated stone cellarage extending under the whole. The building was of the most substantial character. Instead of weather-boarding, the two wings were sided with cypress shingles, which, after the lapse of more than a hundred years, were as sound and solid as when first nailed on. It is stated that they were made under contract by Colonel Samuel Ashe of Rocky Point, then a young man, and subsequently of revolutionary fame. The framing timbers were very large and solid, and being of heart pitch-pine, stood for many hours after the sides and roof had burned away, at the fire which destroyed it in

the year 1881, presenting a very striking appearance as they stood in relief against the sky, erect and in place, a mass of blaze and heat.

The furniture was of massive mahogany, the greater part of it imported from England, with none of the deceptive veneering now in general use, but solid and substantial, intended not simply for ornament but service, and for the use of future generations. During the late war the mansion was occupied by a regiment of Federal troops, and greatly desecrated. All of the books, papers, and family records were destroyed, and the venerable furniture broken up or given to negroes. The large and very valuable oil painting, set in a panel over the mantelpiece in the drawing-room, and which was so much admired by visitors, was picked to pieces with their bayonets by the soldiers, in search of concealed treasure, some of the fragments being afterwards found in the garden.

The history of that picture presents the character of Mr. Burgwin in such an admirable light that it well deserves to be recorded. On his return to America, after the close of the Revolutionary War, he found himself greatly embarrassed by the debts which he owed in England, incurred before the war, while a great part of those which were due him in America could not be collected, owing to insolvencies and the Statute of Limitations, and other obstacles interposed by his debtors. His English debts were barred by law, and wholly uncollectable, as his creditors well knew. Yet, notwithstanding his great losses on this side, which nearly sacrificed his whole estate, such was his high sense of honor and indomitable energy that he did not rest until he had paid off every dollar he owed, although the struggle continued through one-half of his remaining years. It was to mark their appreciation of his honorable conduct that the merchants of the celebrated "Lloyd's Coffee-House" had the picture painted and sent to him.

It represented a forest scene, a dark thunder-storm arising in the distance, and in the foreground two horses drawing a heavy load—straining every muscle in their efforts to get it in before the storm should be upon them. It was greatly admired by connoisseurs, but its beauties were lost on the vandals who destroyed it, their sordid nature not being capable of seeing in a beautiful work of art anything but a supposed place of concealment for hidden treasure. Its loss has naturally been greatly deplored by the surviving members of the family, for they felt a just pride in possessing such a souvenir of their ancestor, reflecting so much honor upon him. The subject of the picture was happily chosen, symbolizing, as it did, the herculean efforts of Mr. Burgwin to relieve himself of embarrassments when surrounded by the dark clouds of adversity. About the year

1767, Mr. Burgwin was appointed Treasurer of the Province of North Carolina, and held the office with credit and honor to himself under the royal governors Tryon and Martin, during the stormy years which preceded the Revolution.

The writer has been permitted to copy from a family record, written for her children by the late Mrs. Caroline B. Clitherall, only daughter of Mr. Burgwin, and mother of Major George Burgwin Clitherall, of Mobile, and of Judge Alexander B. Clitherall, of Montgomery, Alabama, the following interesting account of the Hermitage and incidents connected with it. Mrs. Clitherall writes: "My father had received, in right of his wife, a large tract of land situate eight miles from Wilmington, divided and settled as two plantations. Upon one of these was a comfortable two-storied dwelling-house. Here, in 1753, with his young wife, he resided, and Castle Haynes was the seat of comfort and hospitality. On the other tract he put up a small house, intending to enlarge, as inclination directed. The health of Mrs. Burgwin declining, the physicians recommended change of climate and a sea-voyage. She soon, however, returned to die, and Castle Haynes was shut up. My father having much time at his command, continued his improvements at the other place. The land was soon made to produce abundance of vegetables, fruits, and shrubs. The original building became a wing to the large two-storied centre now erected. Taking up his residence there, and comparing his solitary life to that of a recluse, he named his residence 'The Hermitage.' Other additions were made from time to time, the workmen being his own slaves, directed by an English architect. Alcoves, bowers, a hothouse and fish-pond, adorned the six acres laid off for pleasure grounds; a large vegetable, or, as it was called, cook's, garden, yielded plentifully for the table. But where is the possessor of wealth with a hospitable disposition suffered to reign alone? It was a retreat for the married men of business from Wilmington, and the tired traveler found no lock on the great gate which led to the mansion-house. A room at the east end was especially for travelers, and so named.

"How often have I heard my dear father relate anecdotes of those days when the Hermitage was the resort of those seeking for rest or pleasure within its hospitable doors. The urbanity of his manners, his liberality, general information, and cheerful disposition could not fail to attract guests for the day and often for the week. At one of these parties—it was in 1775—during a game of blind-man's-buff, in the large room known as the Long Hall, my father fell and broke his leg. It was unskillfully set, and for eleven weeks the poor patient could not be moved, but lay ex-

tended on a mattress in the same room where he fell. Next year, under surgical advice, he went to England to have the broken leg reset."

The following extract from a letter written by Mr. Burgwin while in London, to a friend in Bristol, shows that our forefathers were subjected to the horrors of war, though to a much less degree than their descendants nearly a century afterwards, and that, too, in face of the opinion that we are a more enlightened and a more highly civilized people than those of the eighteenth century:

"LONDON, *August 10, 1777.*

* * * * *

"He* left Carolina last month, had seen Mrs. De Rossette, and said that as yet my Haynes and Hermitage places were safe, but that Marsh Castle† had been fired and some of my slaves carried off; that a marauding party had been at the Hermitage, and while the officers were reveling in my old wines under a threat of general plunder, Graham, the tenant, instructed old Robert where he had secreted the chest of plate and my papers. Robert, shrewdly, and to curry favor, produced a dusty quart bottle of what he told them was master's best old Madeira. This they took with an oath, and a toast to his Majesty King George, and among them emptied the precious bottle of—antimonial wine. When the desired effect was had, the faithful old negro, with Pompey's assistance, carried off the chest and buried it."

In 1797, whether from a desire to return to England or for other reasons, Mr. Burgwin wished to dispose of his place, and wrote a friend in Bristol, requesting him to look out for a purchaser, and describing the property as follows. It will be seen that he was a man of substance, and his possessions large and valuable:

"HERMITAGE, *May 9, 1797.*

* * * * *

"The mansion-house is large, elegant, and commodious for a large family, with barn, stabling for twenty horses, cowhouses, pigeonhouse, and every other outhouse convenient or necessary. Near three thousand acres of land, all within a ring fence, double ditched and between a navigable river and creek, at the distance of eight miles from Wilmington. There are upwards of three hundred acres of rice land, near one hundred acres of which are clear, and under good dams and flood-gates, and there are upwards of three hundred acres of upland under tillage in corn, peas,

* A clergyman he had just met.

† An estate he owned on Lake Waccamaw.

potatoes, cotton, flax, etc.; my price is \$25,000. I would sell also, at a fair valuation, one hundred head of horned cattle, fifty sheep, horses, and all farming utensils, and about one hundred negroes."

It was during this visit to England that Mr. Burgwin saw and became engaged to his second wife, Miss Eliza Bush, a lovely lady, then living with her parents at Ashley Downs, one of the beautiful suburbs of Bristol. He married her in 1782, and in 1783 they came to reside at the Hermitage, with one child who had been born to them, the late John Fanning Burgwin, of Newbern, North Carolina. Her married life was short, she having died shortly after giving birth to her third child, the late George W. B. Burgwin of the Hermitage. In 1801, Caroline, the only daughter, then seventeen years of age, who had lived with her mother's relatives since her childhood, returned from England to take charge of her father's household at the Hermitage; she married, June, 1802, Dr. George C. Clitherall, United States Army. Having had access to various papers and documents, through a member of the family, her lively description of her arrival in Wilmington, and her first impressions of the place and people, is copied for the reader.

"We were expected by this packet, and had instructions to go, on our arrival, to the house of my father's old friend, Mr. London. It was about ten o'clock at night, and there were only a few solitary lights gleaming from dwellings as we passed along. We were much amused by the soft sand, and by the remarks of the negro who was our guide to Mr. London's house. At the breakfast-table, next morning, Mr. London told me my father's horses and servants were in town to take us to the Hermitage after we had breakfasted. The chairs, or gigs, as they were called (there were no carriages then in Wilmington), came to the door. Holder* rode in one, driven by a negro boy, I in another. The road was narrow, and led through a pine forest; we thought we were in a lane, and expressed to our astonished driver our fears of an attack by wild beasts. An eight-mile ride brought us to the dear old Hermitage. Several of the house servants ran out to welcome us, and faithful old Robert led me to my father, who was confined to his room by his old enemy the gout.

"I was struck with the handsome appearance of my younger brother, George, who at my father's direction showed us about the gardens. These were extensive and beautifully laid out. There were alcoves and summer-houses at the termination of each walk, seats under trees in the more shady recesses of the Big Garden, as it was called, in distinction from the flower-garden in front of the house. There were many evergreens, and a creek

* Her English maid.

winding its way through the grounds. The house was large and convenient, and bore a strong impress of the olden time, the furniture being the same as during my dear mother's life. Her room, high bureau, curtain-stand, and dressing-table were as she had left them, and were reserved for me. It was dining hour, 2 P.M., and the table had been set in my father's room. The string of five servants, with old Robert leading them, each bearing a dish, greatly amused me. Our meal was quite English—a nice dessert, and a finish with cheese and porter. The cloth removed, nuts, apples, and wine, with the old-fashioned call for a toast, and we cordially drank to our English friends. In a small brick building called the Study, on a high mound in the Big Garden, was a fine collection of books, writing-desk, and tables.

“The first two weeks I received many calls and invitations, but did not go to town. A ticket for the Assembly, inclosed in a polite note from Mr. Giles, engaging me as a partner for the evening, was handed me by my brother. My father had a furnished house in town (subsequently the residence of the late Dr. Thomas H. Wright, corner Third and Market Streets), and we all went off in the same style in which we came up. Judge and Mrs. Wright were my chaperons, and I went from their house escorted by Mr. Giles. I was determined to be pleased, and the contrast between the splendid chandeliers, fine band, elegant assemblage, and gay military of Bristol and Clifton, though they drew forth sad reminiscences, did not destroy the cheerful enjoyment I partook of, in the ill-lighted room and violin scrape of the sable musician. The style of dressing was quite strange, the ladies' dresses particularly so. Powdered curls down the back, morocco shoes, and cotton stockings, colored under-dresses, over them stiff plain and figured muslins. My own dress was a sprigged India muslin with a drapery trimmed with lace, an ostrich feather festooned by a silver bandeau, my hair curled short all over the head, *à la Britte*, a gold chain, and no other ornament.”

There has been an improvement in the style of ladies' dresses since then in this ancient borough, particularly at balls and assemblies, and more brilliant displays of lights, but it is doubtful whether there is as much real enjoyment or unalloyed pleasure. Wilmington then contained about twelve hundred inhabitants.

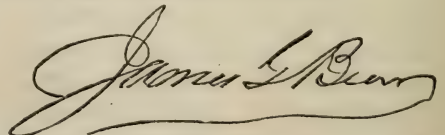
Mr. John Burgwin died in the year 1803, at the Hermitage, and the two plantations became the property of his oldest son, John, who, with his family, resided there for some years. In 1811, however, he exchanged them both, together with the slaves who cultivated them, for the plantation and slaves of Mrs. George Burgwin, the wife of his younger brother,

daughter of Governor Nash, of Pembroke, near Newbern, and sister of our late Chief-Justice Frederick Nash. Castle Haynes was settled on her and her children, and the Hermitage on her eldest son, the late Captain John Henry King Burgwin, of the United States Army. This gallant young officer was a graduate of West Point, and was assigned to duty in the dragoon branch of the service. At the breaking out of the war with Mexico, he was ordered with his command to New Mexico, and participated in several engagements, in which he displayed great skill and bravery, and would unquestionably have risen to a high rank in his profession but for his untimely death in 1847. While gallantly leading a forlorn hope at the battle of Pueblo de Taos, on February 4 of that year, he received a wound of which he died three days after. A young man of great promise, skilled in his profession, a chivalric soldier, a high-toned gentleman, brave as a lion, yet refined and gentle as a woman, his death was mourned as a loss, not to his family and friends alone, but to his country. He was unmarried, but at the time of his death was engaged to a lady of great accomplishments, and his last act, ere his life terminated, was to take from his finger a ring and give it to a friend who bent over him, to deliver to her with farewell messages of tenderness and love. His remains were brought to Wilmington and received with imposing honors. A vast concourse of people stood with uncovered heads in Front Street as the mournful cavalcade approached. It stopped in front of the Cape Fear Bank building, from the portico of which the late Joshua G. Wright, a prominent member of the bar, and a gentleman of rare oratorical powers, pronounced a eulogium touching, eloquent, and beautiful. The body was borne to the Hermitage under an escort of the first citizens of Wilmington, and deposited in the family burying-ground, but was subsequently removed to Oakdale Cemetery; a stately marble monument marking the spot where his ashes repose.

In late years, descendants of this family rendered the name illustrious, by devotion to the cause of the South, on many a bloody battle-field in the civil war. At Antietam, a field-officer of the race, General George Burgwin Anderson, and at Spottsylvania Court-House, Robert Walker Anderson, his brother and one of his staff, grandsons of Mr. George Burgwin, sealed that devotion with their life's blood. Another grandson, Captain George Burgwin Johnston, a gallant young officer, after swimming a swollen stream in a vain attempt to induce his company to follow him, as the only means to escape capture by the victorious enemy in the field before Richmond, deliberately broke his sword, formerly that of his uncle, Captain John H. K. Burgwin, threw it into the swift waters, and swam

back to surrender himself with his men. He returned from prison wrecked in health, and sank into an early grave.

Colonel Harry King Burgwyn,* a grandson of Mr. John F. Burgwin, was killed at the head of his regiment in attempting to storm the Federal breastworks at Cemetery Hill, Gettysburg. Colonel Burgwyn was probably the youngest colonel in the Southern army, scarcely twenty-one years of age, and had gained his promotion in many previous bloody engagements. At Gettysburg he went into the charge with a splendid regiment, eight hundred strong. Three color-bearers were shot down. After the third had fallen he grasped the colors himself, and with them mounted the breastworks, where he was shot down, falling with the colors in his hand. At roll-call, after the battle, only eighty men answered to their names. The rest were dead on the field, wounded, or captured. Mr. George Burgwin, with his family, took up his residence at the Hermitage about the year 1812, and it has remained the home of themselves or their children till the present day. To those who knew that gentleman, it is unnecessary to say that the old-time hospitality of the place was well sustained. He was a gentleman of the old school (alas, that there are so few left!), and delighted in having his house filled with guests and in sharing their enjoyment. Did a visitor wish to indulge in the pleasure of the chase, a horse and hounds were at his service without delay; would he fish, implements were furnished, and a guide to point out the shady spots in streams, where the angler's skill would be rewarded. In fact, everything was done to make a visit there a most pleasurable remembrance. Mr. Burgwin had eleven children; three died in infancy; the eldest, Eliza Bush, was married to the late Wm. E. Anderson, cashier of the Bank of the State at this place; Margaret was married to the late Rev. Samuel I. Johnston, D.D.; Caroline was married to the Hon. Thomas S. Ashe, one of the Justices of the Supreme Court of North Carolina; Maria was married to the late Mr. Parker Quince; Sallie, unmarried; Hasell W., a resident of Virginia, and Hill Burgwin, the eminent lawyer. About ten years ago, Mr. Hill Burgwin acquired sole title to the property, and it is pleasant to know that the site of the old mansion, with two hundred acres around it, will not for generations to come pass out of the possession of the descendants of a family who were identified with our early history, and who have left behind them such an honorable record.



* It seems that this branch of the family, a good many years ago, made a slight change in the spelling of the name. The historic home, the Hermitage, was burned in 1881.

THE FIRST AMERICAN ANARCHIST

The leaven of freedom that, in times just prior to the Revolution, stirred the inhabitants of the thirteen colonies into tumult and ultimately into rebellion, brought into public notice James Few, a man who may be designated as the first American anarchist. There have been theoretical anarchists among us ever since those pre-revolutionary days, and not a little of the political economy of the past (and of the present also) seems, to the casual reader, to incline to anarchy. The teachings of Garrison and of a few of his associates have, to the rising generation of students, at least, a tinge of anarchistic theory, and something, though fortunately but little, which foreshadows the doctrine of the present anarchists as defined by the Pittsburgh manifesto of 1883. It is, however, only within a few years that the anarchists have become sufficiently numerous to be a *party*. Previously they were isolated individuals, who formulated their theories crudely and imperfectly by themselves, from what they had read or heard, or from their own distorted imaginations and reasonings.

Of such a class as these latter was James Few. He was a sober, industrious mechanic, a carpenter by trade, who had, by diligence, skillful workmanship, and economy, earned sufficient money to purchase a few acres of land, upon which he had built himself a house. His personal character seems to have been beyond reproach. He was a dutiful son—the sole support of his aged parents. History had no concern with him until the troubles in North Carolina brought him, in 1771, under arms, into the field, as captain in the little army which the Regulators opposed to British tyranny. Volumes have been written to prove the true purpose of the Regulators, but neither space nor inclination permits more than a casual reference to them here. Whether they were merely rioters, or whether they were patriots, thrice armed by a just quarrel—whether to them does or does not belong the credit of having shed the first blood in the cause of American freedom—we do not now undertake to decide. They were oppressed, and they took up arms against their oppressors.*

Tryon was the royal Governor of Carolina in those days, and though

* Those who are desirous of studying the history of the Regulators are referred to Lossing's *Field-Book of the Revolution*, to Bancroft's *History of the United States*, and to the various histories of North Carolina. There is also a lecture by the Rev. Francis L. Hawks, bearing on this subject.

the ministers of the king, far away in London, looked upon him as the best governor in all the colonies, there was great discontent among the people whom he governed. They complained bitterly that he and the office-holders under him were unscrupulous extortionists, whose only object was to gain fortunes for themselves at the expense of the people. Especially were their complaints directed against the lawyers and the judges of the courts, whom they accused of political favoritism and venality.

There seems to have been abundant cause for complaint, for when six indictments were found against Fanning, one of the worst offenders, for oppression and extortion, and he was brought to trial and found guilty of each charge, the judge imposed on him only a fine of one penny for each offense.

The spirit of rebellion had been smoldering for some time, but this miscarriage of justice fanned it into flame. Lawyers were caught and horsewhipped; the sittings of the king's courts were prevented; papers breathing defiance and eloquent in narratives of wrongs committed were circulated freely; excited meetings were held; and songs, those sure precursors of revolution, were heard in the fields and at the fireside, rehearsing the injuries of the people, the wickedness of the rulers, and the justness of revenge. The disaffection spread over the whole province, and was especially strong in the northern and western portions. Great reforms were struggling for existence.

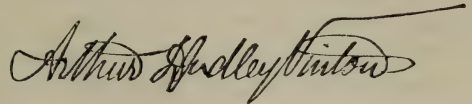
The leaders of the people were men deficient in the culture of schools, yet of considerable mental power—grave, cautious, and shrewd. Among them was James Few. He had his own grievances, no doubt, but his peculiar theories must have been prominent factors in producing his rebellion. He believed that all the evils which afflicted society came from the rulers. He would abolish all government, believing that it was an unnecessary evil, and that a natural and spontaneous order would spring from the absence of all authority. He would abolish all artificial restraints of society and do away with all class distinctions and rulers, especially lawyers. He believed, furthermore, that he was specially commissioned by God to preach these doctrines to the people.

To suppress the Regulators, Governor Tryon got together an army and marched into the disaffected portions of the province, launching proclamations as he proceeded onward. The Regulators armed and awaited his coming. On the 16th day of May, 1771, the armies met on the banks of the Allamance River. A battle, the result of which could scarcely be doubtful, followed. The royal forces were superior in numbers and in discipline, and the Regulators were totally defeated. They fled in disorder

from the battle-field, leaving James Few and several others of their leaders in the hands of the royalists.

Few's doctrines were well known to Tryon, and the unfortunate fellow found no favor in his captor's sight. Without even the formality of a drum-head court-martial, the British governor hung the anarchist upon the nearest tree, declared his property confiscated, and turned the helpless parents over to the charity of their neighbors.*

The savage vengeance thus summarily inflicted upon poor Few raised him, in the opinion of his sympathizers, to the rank of martyrdom. His vagaries and peculiar theories were ascribed to a disordered mind, and his summary execution was accounted against the governor, by all historians, as a crime. In this later day, however, when "The International Working People's Association" has risen to the dignity of a distinct organization, with numerous adherents, we may well be skeptical of James Few's insanity, though we would not deny such credit as may accrue to him by reason of his being the first American anarchist.



* One of the songs, sung by the Regulators and their friends, was written by Rednap Howell, of which the author of this paper has discovered, in the archives of pre-revolutionary literature, two stanzas, here quoted for the benefit of the reader of to-day :

"Says Frohawk to Fanning, 'To tell the plain truth,
When I came to this country, I was but a youth.
My father sent for me—I warnt worth a cross—
And then my first study was stealing a horse.
I quickly got credit and then ran away;
And haven't paid for him to this very day.'

Says Fanning to Frohawk, "'Tis folly to lie;
I rode an old mare that was blind in one eye.
Five shillings in money I had in my purse,
My coat it was patched, but not much the worse.
But *now* we've got rich and 'tis very well known,
That we'll do very well, *if they let us alone.*'"

BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT

In the winter of 1754 the British Government determined upon more energetic measures in the struggle with France in America. As one part of the general plan, it was resolved to send two regiments of regulars, the 44th and 48th, of about five hundred men each, to act against Fort Duquesne. These regiments were under Sir Peter Halket and Colonel Dunbar, the whole expedition being under the command of Major-General Edward Braddock, a veteran officer of approved skill, courage, and integrity. He had entered the service as an ensign in the famous Coldstream Guards in the year 1710, and had risen step by step to his present position.* As the event proved, he was not well suited for an enterprise like that in which he was now engaged; but "whatever were his failings," says Parkman, "he feared nothing, and his fidelity and honor in the discharge of public trusts were never questioned."

In January, 1755, the two designated regiments embarked at Cork, and in the following March arrived at Hampton, in Virginia. From Hampton they proceeded to Alexandria, where a camp was formed. Braddock experienced great difficulty in procuring wagons to convey the baggage and stores of his army. By the influence mainly of Dr. Franklin, among the farmers of Pennsylvania, a sufficient number of horses and wagons was at length obtained. In May Braddock reached Fort Cumberland, at Wills Creek, on the very frontier of western civilization. He had been joined by a number of provincial troops, so that his entire force was now about twenty-two hundred men. Among the Virginians who had flocked to his standard was the youthful George Washington, already somewhat known to fame for his gallant conduct in the border troubles. Braddock made Washington his aid-de-camp, and in this position he did invaluable service in the ensuing campaign. By the 10th of June Braddock had his army in motion from Fort Cumberland. But the cumbrousness of his baggage and the difficulties of the march were such that by the 18th of the month he had only reached the Little Meadows, a distance of thirty miles. A road had to be cut through the wilderness; and not only that, but

* His father, whose name he bore, had been an officer of high rank in the same regiment, "and it may be worth noting that the total period of service in this regiment of father and son did not fall short of seventy years, during all which period the name of Edward Braddock appeared on its roster."—Sargent's *History of Braddock's Expedition*, p. 123.

Braddock seemed to think it necessary to bridge every little stream, and level every molehill in his way. All this disgusted Washington, who at length prevailed upon Braddock to leave the heavy baggage under the care of Colonel Dunbar, and push forward. But their progress was still extremely slow, so that it was not until the evening of the 8th of July that they reached the Monongahela River, a little below the mouth of the Youghiogeny. Braddock had with him about fifteen hundred men, the rest having been left with Colonel Dunbar in charge of the baggage.

On the morning of the 9th of July Braddock crossed to the left bank of the Monongahela, to avoid some hills that ran down to the water's edge. His route then lay along the flat lands on the left bank for about three miles, when he re-crossed the river at a point a short distance below the mouth of Turtle Creek. A house stood here which belonged to John Frazier, the Indian trader. Washington knew the place well, as he had stopped at Frazier's, both when going and coming on his famous trip to Fort Le Bœuf, some eighteen months before. This house was within nine miles of Fort Duquesne. Braddock and his men no doubt felt that their long march was about ended, and the object of the expedition almost realized. The idea of any serious opposition being offered them never entered the head of the over-confident Braddock. Washington from the first had predicted otherwise. "We shall have more to do," said he, "than to march up hill and then down again."

It was about one o'clock in the afternoon of a sunny summer day, when Braddock's army crossed, and halted in a narrow plain on the right bank of the Monongahela, and then re-formed for the march. A rough path led from Frazier's house to Fort Duquesne, and along this the army began to move slowly. This path ran inland for a little; then curved to the left, and followed a course parallel to the river, along the base of a line of steep hills that bordered the valley.* But meantime let us note what is taking place at Fort Duquesne. James Smith, an intelligent young man of eighteen, is our principal informant here.† He had been one of Braddock's road-cutters, and had been captured by the Indians a short time before. He had been carried prisoner to Fort Duquesne, and compelled to run the gauntlet, according to their custom, and was very severely handled. "On the 9th day of July, 1755, in the morning," he says, "I heard a great stir in the fort. As I could then walk with a staff in my hand, I went out of the door, which was just by the wall of the fort,

* Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe*.

† Smith's *Narrative* has been several times reprinted; it may be found in Drake's *Indian Captivities*, pp. 178-264.

and stood upon the wall, and viewed the Indians in a huddle before the gate, where there were barrels of powder, bullets, flints, etc., and every one taking what suited. I saw the Indians also march off in rank entire; likewise the French Canadians and some regulars." Though the Indians now went off with some alacrity, only a short time before they had been slow enough. As the large force of Braddock drew near, De Coutreccœur, the commandant, was filled with alarm. He did not feel that he was able to defend the fort. Captain Beaujeu, a man of great courage and enterprise, had recently arrived with some re-enforcements. He had been designated to relieve De Coutreccœur, and in a few days would have assumed command of the fort.* He now appealed to the Indians to go out with him and meet the enemy. From this appeal they recoiled in alarm. "I am determined to go out against the enemy," said Beaujeu. "I am certain of victory. What!" he exclaimed, "will you suffer your father to depart alone?" The Indians at length consented to go. Beaujeu's party consisted of six hundred and thirty-seven Indians, thirty-six French officers and cadets, seventy-two regulars, and one hundred and forty-six Canadians, or about nine hundred men in all.† It had been Beaujeu's intention to contest the passage of the Monongahela at the second ford, but dissensions among his Indians, and other obstacles, had interfered somewhat with his march, and he met the van of Braddock's army about half a mile from the river. But the ground was favorable to his purpose, being covered with a thick growth of trees and bushes, and intersected with shallow ravines.

It has been generally represented that Braddock fell into an ambuscade; but, as Parkman says, there was no ambuscade; on the contrary, except that he did not reconnoiter the woods very far in advance of the head of the column, Braddock had made "elaborate dispositions to prevent surprise." The vanguard, with the road-cutters, had proceeded some distance up the slope, when Mr. Gordon, one of the engineers who were in front marking out the road, perceived the enemy bounding forward. Before them, with long leaps, came Beaujeu, in Indian costume, but wearing a silver gorget on his bosom, which bespoke his leadership. He suddenly halted when he came in sight of the British, and waved his hat above his head. At this signal his party instantly dispersed to the right and left, and secreted themselves behind rocks and trees, and in the convenient ravines. If the earth had opened and swallowed them up they could

* The claim has been made that Beaujeu was in command of the fort at this time, but Parkman very conclusively shows that De Coutreccœur was in the chief command. See the matter discussed in Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe*, Appendix D.

† Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe*, vol. I., p. 211.

not have more completely disappeared from view.* At once a volley of musketry assailed the vanguard. The troops promptly faced about, and discharged their arms; but as no enemy was visible, their fire was of little effect. Volley after volley was poured into their ranks. Re-enforcements were hurried forward, and the fire of the unseen enemy was returned with spirit. At the third fire, the gallant Beaujeu fell dead. Dumas succeeded to the command. The leaden hail continued to pour upon the British ranks, and men were falling thick and fast on every side. The troops became demoralized and fell back, abandoning the two guns that had been hauled in front. Courage was not wanting, but it seemed impossible to contend successfully against an invisible foe. The work of carnage went on, the British firing at random, often into the air, and sometimes into their own ranks. The provincial troops would have taken to the trees, and fought the Indians in their own way, but this Braddock would not allow. To him it seemed cowardice to skulk behind trees. He knew of but one way to fight, and that was to stand up to the work like men. As for himself, Braddock was the impersonation of intrepidity. The old warrior galloped through all parts of the field, ordering, exhorting, and swearing. He had four horses shot under him, and had mounted the fifth when a ball pierced his side. Already the order for retreat had been sounded; but, with the fall of Braddock, the retreat became a rout. The dreadful work of carnage had gone on for more than two hours, and all discipline and regard for military authority had now merged into an instinctive desire to preserve life by escape from the bloody scene. The soldiers rushed pell-mell down the hill and across the river, leaving everything behind them. Every effort to stop them, or to make another stand, was unavailing. Braddock was borne from the field by a few of his officers, and Washington, with a handful of his gallant Virginians, covered the retreat. The destruction of Braddock's force was almost complete. Of eighty-six officers, sixty-three were killed or disabled; and of one thousand three hundred and seventy-three non-commissioned officers and privates, only four hundred and fifty-nine came off unharmed.† The wounded were left on the field, and the imagination shudders at the thought of the barbarities of the savages, whose tender mercies even are cruel. The loss to the French and Indians was but forty or fifty in all.

Young James Smith, as he saw the party of Beaujeu file off that morning toward the forest, was in high hopes that he would soon see them fly-

* Sargent's *History of Braddock's Expedition*, p. 227.

† These figures are given a little differently by different authorities; the above are adopted by Parkman on the authority of Patrick Mackellar, who was chief engineer of the expedition.

ing before the British, and that General Braddock would take the fort and rescue him. "I remained anxious to know the event of this day," he says; "and, in the afternoon, I again observed a great noise and commotion in the fort, and though at that time I could not understand French, yet I found that it was the voice of joy and triumph, and feared that they had received what I called bad news. I had observed some of the old-country soldiers speak Dutch; as I spoke Dutch, I went to one of them and asked him what was the news. He told me that a runner had just arrived who said that Braddock would certainly be defeated; that the Indians and French had surrounded him, and were concealed behind trees and in gullies, and kept a constant fire upon the English; and that they saw the English falling in heaps, and if they did not take to the river, which was the only gap, and make their escape, there would not be one man left alive before sundown. Some time after this I heard a number of scalp halloos, and saw a company of Indians and French coming in. I observed they had a great many bloody scalps, grenadiers' caps, British canteens, bayonets, etc., with them. They brought the news that Braddock was defeated. After that another company came in, which appeared to be about one hundred, and chiefly Indians, and it seemed to me that almost every one of this company was carrying scalps; after this came another company with a number of wagon horses, and also a great many scalps. Those that were coming in, and those that had arrived, kept a constant firing of small arms, and also the great guns in the fort, which were accompanied with the most hideous shouts and yells from all quarters; so that it appeared to me as if the infernal regions had broke loose.

"About sundown I beheld a small party coming in with about a dozen prisoners, stripped naked, with their hands tied behind their backs, and their faces and part of their bodies blacked; these prisoners they burned to death on the bank of the Allegheny River, opposite to the fort. I stood on the fort wall until I beheld them begin to burn one of these men; they had him tied to a stake, and kept touching him with firebrands, red-hot irons, etc., and he screamed in a most doleful manner; the Indians, in the meantime, yelling like infernal spirits. As this scene appeared too shocking for me to behold, I retired to my lodgings both sore and sorry." But there was one note of regret in the midst of the rejoicing at Fort Duquesne: the brave Beaujeu had fallen. His body was brought back to the fort, and buried on the 12th "in the cemetery of Fort Duquesne, under the title of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin at the Beautiful River." *

* See the *Register of Baptisms and Interments at Fort Duquesne*. An excellent edition, with a translation of this work, has been published by Rev. A. A. Lambing, A.M.

Dunbar's camp was forty miles in the rear. Braddock reached the camp on the 11th. With the news of Braddock's defeat, a wanton and useless destruction of stores and arms was made, and a retreat to Fort Cumberland begun. Braddock lingered in great agony, of both body and mind, until the evening of Sunday, the 13th of July, when he died. His last words were, "We shall better know how to deal with them another time." He died at the Great Meadows, and was buried the next day in the road, and the wagons were drawn over his grave so that it might not be discovered by the Indians.

Bad news flies fast. At ten o'clock the next day after the battle, a teamster, covered with dust and perspiration, and mounted on a weary horse, rode into Dunbar's camp with the news of the defeat; at noon the following day it was known at Fort Cumberland; on the 15th at Carlisle, and by the 20th of the month at Philadelphia and everywhere. The news of the defeat caused a great revulsion of feeling. The highest hopes had been built on Braddock's expedition. All over the country that summer people had been singing a patriotic song, one stanza of which ran thus:

"March on, march on, brave Braddock leads the foremost;
The battle is begun, as you may fairly see;
Stand firm, be bold, and it will soon be over,
We'll soon gain the field from our proud enemy."*

From this height of expectation men were suddenly plunged into the yawning gulf of gloom and alarm. The whole frontier lay exposed to the hatchet and the torch of the remorseless red man. "By this event," says Graydon, "every obstacle to their incursions being removed, in the minds of the timid they were to be looked for everywhere. From the consternation that prevailed, I can still recollect that the horrors of a discomfiture by such a foe were among my most early and lively impressions. To the terrors of the tomahawk and the scalping-knife, the imagination adds the savage yells, the gloomy woods and dismal swamps, which are their usual accompaniments."†

J. I. Chapman,

* This song is printed in *Sargent's History of Braddock's Expedition*, Appendix No. 5.

† *Memoirs of his Own Time*, by Alexander Graydon, p. 23.

VIRGINIA'S CONQUEST

THE NORTH-WESTERN TERRITORY

One of the most unique circumstances pertaining to the Revolutionary War has been virtually overlooked by our historians—a circumstance which probably gave us final possession of the north-west portion of our country, and one which was accomplished by the independent enterprise of one of the United Colonies under the Articles of Confederation.

On the left bank of the "Ouabache," or Wabash, River, where it forms the boundary-line between Illinois and Indiana, is the city of Vincennes, originally called by the Indians "Chippe Coke," that is, the town of Brushwood. The Wabash River was discovered and mapped before the Ohio River was known, and Vincennes was settled by the French as early as the year 1710, who designed it as one of a line of stations connecting their settlements in Canada with those on the Mississippi—to constitute, in their dreams of dominion, the Empire of New France. Their grand scheme was defeated by the compulsory cession of Canada and the Western settlements to England, in 1763. In establishing colonies on the American Continent, the French relied very much upon the direct influence of the Catholic priests among the Indians, which proved a wise policy, for such influence was a most effective power.

The name Vincennes was derived from that of a French officer, who, however, spelled his name Vinsenne. He is supposed to have been killed in an expedition against the Chickasaw Indians, in the year 1776. At the breaking out of the Revolution, the town, with all the vast western territory, belonged, as above intimated, to England. Colonel, afterward General, George Rogers Clark, one of the most able and energetic of pioneer military officers, and who, in a very important sense, was the founder of Kentucky, becoming convinced that Detroit, Vincennes, and Kaskaskia—the latter situated in the western part of what is now Illinois—were posts of peculiar advantage to the English, urged upon Virginia the importance of reducing these posts by means of a military invasion. Thus, in the year 1778, that colony resolved to undertake an independent expedition for that purpose. So loose were the Articles of Confederation, that each colony had the right to carry on warlike operations in its own behalf—although Virginia alone did so. Colonel Clark was intrusted with the management of the proposed raid, and was sent out under secret instructions of Patrick

Henry, then governor of Virginia, with less than two hundred men, commanded by four captains, and hardly £1,200, in depreciated currency, for the expenses of the undertaking. He started, June 24. Having contrived, by shrewd and adroit methods, to gain the friendship of the French, he obtained possession of Kaskaskia and Cahokia without the loss of a man. Through like means and the influence of the French, and especially of a French priest, he withdrew a large number of the Indian tribes from their league with the British, and attached them to his own cause. In accomplishing this, he mixed kindness and false threats in a grotesque compound—even condescending to assure the Indians solemnly that he proposed to give the British, and also the women and children of the Indians, with themselves, to the dogs, to be eaten; and he ingeniously contrived to conceal the scantiness of his own resources. Prior to this time a treaty had been effected between France and our colonies. When Clark took Kaskaskia, Gibault, the priest, was in the town, and sympathized with the colonies. It was arranged that he should go to Vincennes and gain the coöperation of its French residents in capturing the place. He proceeded there, and, assembling the people in a church, gave them a full explanation of the condition of affairs. The audience was much excited by his address, and at once took the oath of allegiance to the Commonwealth of Virginia, elected a Commandant, and hoisted the American flag, to the great astonishment of their Indian neighbors.

Gibault returned to Kaskaskia and reported the gratifying news to Clark, who, in the plenitude of his power as a frontier sovereign, appointed one of his captains, named Helm, Commandant, and "Agent for Indian Affairs in the Department of the Wabash." This was on the 1st day of August. But he could not divide his meager forces; and the result was that Helm had not a single soldier at his command to uphold the dignity of his office. Prior to January 29, Clark received no communication whatever from Vincennes. He became very anxious to know how affairs were progressing "in the Department of the Wabash," and fortune favored him, at length, with an opportunity. Colonel Francis Vigo—from whom one of the counties in Indiana is named, a Sardinian by birth—then resided in St. Louis, prosecuting a successful trade with the Indians. Although his nation, Spain, was at peace with England, he sympathized with the colonies in their efforts to attain independence. He sought an interview with Colonel Clark, and agreed to visit Vincennes, and in person learn the actual situation. He set out alone, accompanied by a single servant, and on the way was captured by Indians, and carried to Vincennes. The notorious British general, Hamilton, had arrived from Detroit, and

then held the fort and detained Helm, Clark's vicegerent, a prisoner of war. At Detroit, Hamilton had exhibited the utmost brutality of character and committed the most horrible atrocities, issuing, under his own signature, proclamations offering a specified sum for every American scalp, whether brought in by his own troops or by Indians. As Vigo was a Spaniard, and, therefore, a non-combatant, Hamilton was much puzzled to know what to do with him, not daring to treat him in all respects as a prisoner, and yet having a strong suspicion as to the motive of his visit. However, he put him under parole, with the condition that he should report at the post every day. This gave the opportunity he needed, and of which he availed himself to the utmost. The French residents soon began to clamor for his release, and even threatened to withhold supplies from the garrison, unless Hamilton would comply with their demand. He required Vigo to sign an agreement "not to do any act during the war injurious to British interests;" but Vigo refused. At last, a compromise was effected, and he signed an agreement "not to do anything injurious to the British interests, on his way to St. Louis."

Accordingly, in company with two *voyageurs*, he embarked in a pirogue, in which he passed down the Wabash and Ohio rivers, and up the Mississippi, to St. Louis, keeping the letter of his agreement. But then he turned his pirogue to Kaskaskia, and disclosed everything he had learned to Colonel Clark; who, on the information thus received, resolved to surprise Hamilton and take Vincennes, notwithstanding the inclement winter season and the overflowing of the streams by the almost incessant rains.

The little band of one hundred and seventy men left Kaskaskia in February, 1779, without provisions or means of transportation. They were sometimes compelled to wade in water and ice to their necks, on the Illinois prairies, carrying their rifles above their heads, following their intrepid leader. Heroic as they were, however, their valor at one time gave way; and, utterly benumbed by the cold, they mutinied, declaring they could go no farther. Clark's persuasions and authority were powerless. In one of the companies was a drummer-boy, and also a very tall, stalwart sergeant, devotedly attached to the colonel. The boy was mounted on the shoulders of the sergeant, who, at command, plunged into the water, the drummer beating a charge, and the colonel closely following, with his sword drawn, and shouting, "Forward!" This animated the men in spite of their fearful destitution and hardships. One of the officers, Captain Bowman, in his journal, under date of February 23, made the following entry: "Set off to cross a plain, called Horse-Shoe Plain, about four miles long, all covered with water breast high. Here, we expected some of

our brave men must certainly perish, the water having frozen in the night, and so long fasting. Having no other resource but wading this lake of frozen water, we plunged in with courage, Colonel Clark being first. We took care to have boats by, to take those who were weak and benumbed with the cold into them. Never were men so animated with the thought of avenging the ravages done to their back settlements as this small army. About one o'clock we came in sight of the town. We halted on a small hill of dry land, called 'Warner's Island,' where we took a prisoner hunting ducks, who informed us that 'no person expected our coming in that season of the year.'"

The prisoner was utilized as a messenger to carry a letter addressed "To the Inhabitants of Post Vincennes." It read thus:

"GENTLEMEN: Being now within two miles of your village, with my army, determined to take your fort this night, and not being willing to surprise you, I take this method of requesting such of you as are true citizens, and willing to enjoy the liberty, to remain still in your houses. And those, if any there are, that are friends to the king, will instantly repair to the fort, and join the *hair-buyer* general, and fight like men. And if any such as do not go into the fort shall be discovered afterwards, they may depend on severe punishment. On the contrary, those who are true friends to liberty will be well treated. G. R. CLARK."

The prisoner was dispatched with his letter about sunset, and the colonel then advanced with his little band, wading, in water up to the waist, to the rising ground on which the fort stood. Here an intrenchment was thrown up by the besiegers, and to secure the due effect of the blustering letter the colonel resorted to a ruse, which he thus describes in his report: "As it was an open plain from the wood that covered us, I marched time enough to be seen from the town before dark, but taking advantage of the land, disposed the lines in such a manner that nothing but the pavilions could be seen, having as many of them as would be sufficient for a thousand men, which was observed by the inhabitants who had just received my letter and who counted the different colors, and judged of our number accordingly. But I was careful to give them no opportunity of seeing our troops before dark."

Evidently Clark was an adept at strategy. The garrison opened fire on the intrenchment with cannon, doing no damage. The assailants responded with rifles, wounding a few of the garrison. About nine o'clock on the morning of the 24th the colonel sent in a summons to surrender,

covered by a flag of truce. The men were provided with a breakfast—this being the only meal they had had since the 18th. The summons was in the following words: "SIR: In order to save yourself from the impending storm that now threatens you, I order you immediately to surrender yourself, with all your garrison, etc., etc. For if I am obliged to storm, you may depend on such treatment as is justly due a murderer. Beware of destroying stores of any kind, or any papers or letters that are in your possession, or hurting one house in town: for, by heavens, if you do, there shall be no mercy shown you."

The reply to this was: "Gov. Hamilton begs leave to acquaint Col. Clark that he and his garrison are not disposed to be awed into any action unworthy British subjects." On receipt of Hamilton's missive, Colonel Clark renewed the battle. But in less than an hour another flag of truce came from the fort, with this message: "Gov. Hamilton proposes to Col. Clark a truce for three days; during which time he promises that there shall be no defensive work carried on in the garrison, on condition that Col. Clark will observe, on his part, a like cessation of offensive work; that is, he wishes to confer with Col. Clark, as soon as can be, and promises that whatever may pass between them two and another person mutually agreed on to be present, shall remain secret until matters be finished; as he wishes, whatever the result of the conference may be, it may tend to the honor and credit of each party. If Col. Clark makes a difficulty of coming into the fort, Lieut.-Gov. Hamilton will speak with him by the gate."

The pointed response was: "Col. Clark's compliments to Gov. Hamilton, and begs leave to say that he will not agree to any terms other than Mr. Hamilton surrendering himself and garrison prisoners at discretion. If Mr. Hamilton wants to talk with Col. Clark, he will meet him at the church with Captain Helm." The conference at the church took place at once. While it was going on some of Colonel Clark's officers and men employed themselves in tomahawking four Indian prisoners just captured in a small party, and throwing them into the river. Two other prisoners were captured at the same time, who proved to be white men, and were released.

Governor Hamilton had drawn up and signed articles of capitulation, which Colonel Clark promptly rejected, after a brief consultation with his officers. He proposed, however, very fair terms instead. Hamilton felt his humiliation so keenly that he appended his reasons to the paper, namely: "Agreed, for the following reasons: Remoteness from succors; the state and quantity of provisions, etc.; unanimity of officers and men

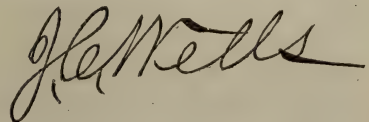
in its expediency; the honorable terms allowed; and lastly, the confidence in a generous enemy." It will be seen that the adroit piece of flattery in the last clause availed little in the sequel.

On February 25, 1779, at ten o'clock A.M., the garrison marched out and the representative of Virginia took possession, thus completing the conquest of the North-western territory.

Colonel Clark appointed Captain Helm civil and military commandant, and returned to Kaskaskia as soon as practicable. The appointment, however, was only provisional. A report was sent to Virginia; an act was passed which established the *County of Illinois*, as previously the *County of Kentucky* had been organized. Colonel Todd was appointed by Thomas Jefferson, then governor of Virginia, civil commandant and lieutenant-colonel of the County of Illinois. Todd seems to have supposed himself to be appointed autocrat; as he organized a provisional government at Vincennes, delegated his authority as lieutenant-governor to Legras, and retired to Kaskaskia, for what distinct purpose does not appear.

Hamilton and the leading prisoners of his command were sent to Virginia, where, by reason of his former cruel proclamations and practices, he was put in irons as a retaliation. The British General Phillips remonstrated. Governor Jefferson referred the matter to General Washington, who recommended that the punishment be relaxed. So the irons were removed, but Hamilton was retained in close and rigorous imprisonment; and all offers of exchange were refused for some time. He was denied all communication with the world, except through his keeper—Governor Jefferson declaring that this was to serve as an example to deter others from Hamilton's barbarous mode of warfare. Finally, a parole was drawn up, which Hamilton refused to sign. It required that he (and the other prisoners) should thereafter be inoffensive in word and deed—whereas Hamilton insisted that he had the right to abuse rebels verbally as much as he pleased. He signed it, at last, however.

In December, 1783, Virginia transferred the North-western territory to the United States by legislative act. General Harmar was appointed governor and Indian Superintendent. In 1790 he was succeeded by General St. Clair, who, in a report to the Secretary of State, recommended the "establishing of a printing-press in the Western territory."



THE SPLIT AT CHARLESTON IN 1860

On the 23d of April, 1860, the delegates to a National Democratic Convention met at Charleston. Called to order and a president *pro tem.* appointed, it proceeded to complete its organization. A Committee on Organization and a Committee on Credentials were constituted. In each, the delegations selected one of their number to represent them. Contesting delegations from New York and Illinois being present, the Convention ordered neither of the sitting delegations to vote in their own case. An attempt to exclude a contested delegation (until the right was adjudicated) from any action in the Convention had previously been made, but failed.

The Committee on Organization reported a list of officers, Caleb Cushing (Massachusetts) the president. It recommended that the rules and regulations of the Conventions of '52 and '56 be adopted, with the addition: "That in any State which has not provided, or directed by its State Convention, how the vote may be given, the Convention will recognize the right of each delegate to cast his individual vote."

To the officers reported there was no objection, to the additional rule there was, and a division of the question being demanded, the first clause was carried. The retiring president and his successor addressed the Convention. The former urged the fact that the Democratic Party knew no sections of the Union, its tie of brotherhood, East, West, North, and South, being a common belief in certain political principles. The latter asserted that the mission of the party had been and was, to maintain the public liberties, to reconcile popular freedom with order, to maintain the sacred reserved rights of the States, and to stand sentinel at the outpost of the Constitution. He characterized the other party as aiming at a sectional conspiracy of one-half of the States against the other half, with the mingled stupidity and insanity of fanaticism, hurrying the land to revolution and civil war. Business resumed, a committee to report a platform and resolutions was constituted, each delegation selecting one of its members to sit. Until a platform should have been adopted, the Convention determined not to ballot for nominees.

The majority report of the Committee on Credentials (adopted) awarded seats to the sitting delegations and delegates.

The minority report (rejected) divided the vote of New York equally between the contesting delegations.

The Committee on the Platform, by its chairman, presented a report :

"That the platform adopted at Cincinnati be affirmed, with the following resolutions:

"1. The National Democracy of the United States hold these cardinal principles upon the subject of slavery in the Territories. That Congress has no power to abolish slavery in the Territories; that the Territorial Legislature has no power to abolish slavery in the Territory, nor to prohibit the introduction of slaves, nor any power to exclude slavery therefrom, nor any power to destroy or impair the right of property in slaves, by any legislation whatsoever.

"2. That the enactments of State Legislatures to defeat the faithful execution of the Fugitive Slave Law are hostile in character, subversive of the Constitution, and revolutionary in their effect.

"3. That it is the duty of the Federal Government to protect, when necessary, the rights of persons and property on the high seas, in the Territories, or wherever else its constitutional authority extends.

"4. That the Democracy of the nation recognizes the imperative duty of the government to protect the naturalized citizen in all his rights, whether at home or in foreign lands, to the same extent as its native citizens.

"5. The National Democracy earnestly recommends the acquisition of the island of Cuba at the earliest practicable period.

"6. Whereas, one of the greatest necessities of the age, in a political, commercial, postal, and military point of view, is a speedy communication between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, therefore, that the National Democratic Party hereby pledge themselves to use every means in their power to secure the passage of some bill for the construction of a Pacific Railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean, at the earliest practicable moment."

Payne (Ohio) presented a minority report which embodied the views of fifteen States:

"We, the Democracy of the Union, in convention assembled, hereby declare our affirmance of the resolutions unanimously adopted and declared as a platform of principles by the Democratic Convention at Cincinnati in the year 1856, believing that Democratic principles are unchangeable in their nature when applied to the same subject-matters, and we recommend as the only further resolutions the following:

"That all questions in regard to rights of property in States or Territories are judicial in their character, and the Democratic Party is pledged to abide by, and faithfully carry out, such determination of those questions

as has been, or may be, made by the Supreme Court of the United States.

"That it is the duty of the United States to afford ample and complete protection to all its citizens, whether at home or abroad, whether native or foreign born.

"That one of the necessities of the age, in a military, commercial, and postal point of view, is speedy communication between the Atlantic and the Pacific States, and the Democratic Party pledge such constitutional government aid as will insure the construction of a railroad to the Pacific coast at the earliest practicable period.

"That the Democratic Party are in favor of the acquisition of the island of Cuba on such terms as shall be honorable to ourselves and just to Spain.

"That the enactments of State Legislatures to defeat the faithful execution of the Fugitive Slave Law are hostile in character, subversive of the Constitution, and revolutionary in effect."

Butler (Massachusetts) presented a second minority platform :

"We, the Democracy of the Union, in Convention assembled, hereby declare our affirmance of the Democratic resolutions unanimously adopted and declared as a platform of principles at Cincinnati, in the year 1856, without addition or alteration, believing that Democratic principles are unchangeable in their nature when applied to the same subject-matter, and we recommend as the only further resolution the following :

"It is the duty of the United States to extend its protection alike over all its citizens, whether native or naturalized."

Cochrane (New York) offered an amendment to the Butler report :

"That the several States of the Union are, under the Constitution, equal, and that the people thereof are entitled to the free and undisturbed possession of their rights of person and property in the common Territories ; and that any attempt by Congress or a Territorial Legislature to annul, abridge, or discriminate against such equality or rights would be unwise in policy and repugnant to the Constitution ; and that it is the duty of the Federal Government, whenever such rights are violated, to afford the necessary, proper, and constitutional remedies for such violations ; that the platform of principles adopted by the Convention at Cincinnati, and the foregoing resolutions, are hereby declared the platform of the Democratic Party."

The proposition of Mr. Cochrane, being a third amendment, could not, under the rules, be considered, and Bigler (Pennsylvania) moved that the majority and minority reports be recommitted to the committee, with instructions to report in an hour the following resolutions :

"That the platform adopted by the Democratic Party at Charleston be affirmed, with the following explanatory resolutions:

"That the government of a Territory organized by an Act of Congress is provisional and temporary, and during its existence all citizens of the United States have an equal right to settle in the Territory, without their rights either of person or property being destroyed or impaired by Congressional or Territorial legislation.

"That it is the duty of the United States to maintain all the constitutional rights of property in the Territories, and to enforce all decisions of the Supreme Court in reference thereto," etc.*

A division of the question being demanded, recommitment was ordered, but the instructions were tabled.

At this stage the rule of the Convention as to the unit and individual vote had to be construed. Georgia "requested" its delegates to vote as a unit. The chair decided that so its vote must be cast. Later, New Jersey having instructed its delegation to vote on one subject as a unit, and "recommended" it to vote as a unit upon all other subjects, the chair decided that its vote must be cast as a unit. The decision, on appeal, was overruled.

The Committee on the Platform and Resolutions reported (its chairman stating that its report was understood to embody in substance the views of Bayard, Cochrane, and Bigler):

"That the platform adopted by the Democratic Party at Cincinnati be affirmed, with the following explanatory resolutions:

"That the government of a Territory organized by an Act of Congress is provisional and temporary, and, during its existence, all citizens of the United States have an equal right to settle with their property in the Territory, without their rights either of person or property being destroyed or impaired by Congressional or Territorial legislation. That it is the duty of the Federal Government, in all its departments, to protect, when necessary, the rights of persons and property in the Territories or wherever its Constitutional authority extends.

"That when the settlers in a Territory have an adequate population, and form a State Constitution, the right of sovereignty commences, and, being consummated by admission into the Union, they stand on an equal footing with the people of the other States; and the State thus organized ought to be admitted into the Federal Union, whether its constitution prohibits or recognizes the institution of slavery," etc.

* Those resolutions on which there was substantial agreement will be designated by "etc." Life is too short and space too precious for useless repetition.

The minority submitted its report :

"That we, the Democracy of the Union, in convention assembled, hereby declare our affirmance of the resolutions unanimously adopted and declared as a platform of principles by the Democratic Convention at Cincinnati in the year 1856, believing that Democratic principles are unchangeable in their nature when applied to the same subject-matter, and we recommend as the only further resolutions the following :

"Inasmuch as difference of opinion exists in the Democratic Party, as to the nature and extent of the powers of a Territorial Legislature, and as to the powers and duties of Congress, under the Constitution of the United States, over the institution of slavery within the Territories :

"Resolved, that the Democratic Party will abide by the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States upon those questions of constitutional law," etc.

The second minority report (Butler) repeated the original words.

The question was first taken upon the Butler report. It was rejected. The minority report was then adopted as a substitute for the majority report. A division of the question demanded, separate votes were taken upon each of its propositions ; that which pledged the Democratic Party to abide by the decisions of the Supreme Court upon questions of the nature and extent of the powers of a Territorial legislature, and of the powers and duties of Congress in regard to slavery in the Territories, was defeated ; the others were adopted.

Stuart (Michigan) moved to reconsider, and also to lay the motion to reconsider upon the table, but gave way to Walker (Alabama), who, under instructions from his delegation, presented a communication to the chair, and announced that Alabama withdrew from the Convention. The delegations from Mississippi, South Carolina, Florida, Texas, Louisiana, and Arkansas followed the same course and duly announced the same. As the reasoning in each communication was identical, if its expression varied, the citation of one will exhibit all.

"To the President of the Democratic Convention :

"Sir,—As chairman of the delegation which has the honor to represent Mississippi on this floor I desire to be heard by you, and by the Convention.

"In common consultation we have met here, the representatives of sister States, to resolve the principles of a great party. While maintaining principles, we profess no spirit save that of harmony, conciliation, the success of our party, and the safety of our organization. But to the former

the latter must yield, for no organization is valuable without it, and no success is honorable which does not crown it.

"We came here simply asking a recognition of the equal rights of our State under the laws and Constitution of our common government, that our rights of property should be asserted, and the protection of that property, when necessary, should be yielded by the government which claims our allegiance. We had regarded government and protection as correlative ideas, and so long as the one was maintained, the other still endured. After a deliberation of many days it has been announced to us by a controlling majority of nearly one-half of the States of this Union, and that, too, in the most solemn and impressive manner, that our demand cannot be met, and our rights cannot be recognized. While it is granted that the capacity of the Federal Government is ample to protect all other property within its jurisdiction, it is claimed to be impotent when called upon to act in favor of a species of property recognized in fifteen sovereign States. Within those States even Black Republicans admit it to be guaranteed by the Constitution, and to be only assailed by a higher law; without, they claim the right to prohibit and destroy it. The controlling majority of Northern representatives on this floor, while they deny all power to destroy, equally deny all power to protect; and this, they assure us, is, and must, and shall be the condition of our co-operation in the next presidential election.

"In this state of affairs, our duty is plain and obvious. The State which sent us here announced to us her principles. In common with seventeen of her sister States, she has asked a recognition of her constitutional rights. They have been plainly and explicitly denied to her. We have offered to yield everything, except an abandonment of her rights; everything, except her honor, and it has availed us nothing.

"As representatives of Mississippi, knowing her wishes, as honorable men, regarding her commands, we withdraw from the Convention, and, so far as our action is concerned, absolve her from all connection with this body, and all responsibility for its action.

"To you, sir, as presiding officer of the Convention, while it has existed in its integrity, we desire, collectively, as a delegation, and individually, as men, to tender the highest assurances of our profound respect and consideration."

The communication of the Arkansas delegation discloses its additional reason for withdrawal:

"That, by the usages and customs of the Democracy, as developed in its practice in former conventions; by the compact believed to have been

made by Democrats of the United States, when conventions were first agreed to be founded; the report of the Committee on the Platform became the platform of the party, and therefore this Convention had no duty to perform in relation thereto, but to receive, confirm, and publish the same, and cause it to be carried into effect, wherever in the respective States the Democracy were able to enforce their decrees at the ballot-box.

"This opinion is confirmed by the history of the past, which shows that in all instances the sovereignty of the States, not the electoral vote of the States, has uniformly been represented in the Committee on a Platform, and that the report of the committee has invariably been registered as the supreme law of the Democratic Party, by unanimous consent of the entire Convention, without changing or in any manner altering any part or portion thereof. It is a part of our traditional learning, confidently believed, that the Democracy of the United States, by a peculiar system of checks and balances, formed after the fashion of the Federal Government, had contracted and bound themselves to fully recognize the sovereignty of the States in making the platform, and of the population or masses of the States in naming the candidate to be placed on the platform. That many States have been uniformly allowed to vote the full strength of their electoral college in these conventions, when it was well known that the said States had never heretofore, and probably would never hereafter, give a single electoral vote at the polls to the candidate whom they had so large a share in nominating, cannot be accounted for on any other principle than that it was intended as a recognition of the sovereignty and equality of said States.

"Would it be right for the numerical majority to deprive the Black Republican States, represented on this floor, of the representation which by custom they have so long enjoyed, because it is evident that they will be unable to vote the Democratic ticket in the next presidential election? If wrong, how much more unjust to deprive all the States of their vested right to make and declare the platform in the usual and customary manner. The South has heretofore felt safe, because of the checks and balances imposed upon the machinery of Conventions. Where she retained an equal power to write the creed of faith, she could trust her Northern sisters, with their immense populations, to name the candidate, and all would alike support the creed and the candidate."

Twenty-six of the thirty-six delegates from Georgia announced that they withdrew from the Convention. Ten refused to abide by their decision, but when they sought to vote, the vote was challenged, and the

chair decided that under the instructions of Georgia to its delegation, they were excluded from separate action. Upon an appeal, the Convention sustained the chair.

It is clear now, if it was not then, that upon the nature of a Federal Republic, upon the scope of a Constitution, and upon the principles of the Democratic Party, there was a divergence between the Democracy North and South, too radical to admit of further concert of action. Between the Republican Party and the Northern Democracy the distinction was of form, not substance. Both claimed that a numerical majority could rightfully dictate to the Southern States what thenceforth should be their Constitutional rights; one, through the agency of elections, the other, through that of party conventions. The "bad robber" in the nursery tale proposes to dispatch "The Babes in the Wood" at a blow. The "good robber" prevents by killing him, and leaves the children to die from starvation. The Southern claim of rights had only the choice between the "bad robber" and the "good robber."

Mr. Cook (Ohio) moved that the Convention, by a call of States, proceed to nominate candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency, and asked the previous question, which he withdrew, whereupon Bidwell (California) read the resolutions of California:

"1. That the platform adopted at Cincinnati, in 1856, is hereby affirmed.

"2. That to entitle a Territory to form a Constitution for admission into the Union as a sovereign State, it should contain a reasonable number of inhabitants, not less than the number required for a representative in Congress.

"3. That the true interpretation of the Cincinnati platform is hereby declared to be, that the right to hold slaves in a Territory rests on the same ground, and is entitled to the same protection, as other property.

"4. That any infraction of the rights of property in a Territory would be a judicial question, and that it is the duty of Congress to pass such laws as may be necessary to secure the faithful execution of the mandates of the courts.

"5. That Congress has the power at any time to change or repeal any Territorial organic act, and to revise or annul any Territorial act conflicting therewith."

Howard (Tennessee) offered a resolution, "That the President of the Convention be directed not to declare any person nominated for the office of President or Vice-President, who has not received a number of votes equal to two-thirds of the votes of all the electoral colleges." Mr. Cook

called up his resolution, upon which the previous question had already been moved and seconded. It was carried.

Against the Howard resolution a point of order was made, that in effect it changed an existing rule of the Convention, viz.: "That two-thirds of the votes given shall nominate," and must therefore lie over a day. The chair decided that the resolution was in order. Upon an appeal, the decision was sustained, and then the resolution was carried.

Douglas, Guthrie, Dickinson, Hunter, Johnson, Lane, were then nominated by delegations or delegates. Fifty-seven ballots were taken without a result. The vote for Douglas was constant at 150-2, for the other candidates 100-2. Having become satisfied that a nomination was impossible either with or without the Howard resolution, the Convention adjourned, to reassemble at Baltimore on the 18th June. It recommended to the Democratic Party of the several States the filling of all vacancies in their respective delegations.

The clause in the Constitution upon the meaning of which the free and the slave States crossed swords, is,

"The Congress shall have power to dispose of, and make all needful rules and regulations respecting, the Territory, or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be construed to prejudice any claim of the United States, or of any particular State."

In the Federal Convention that clause was accepted instantly and almost unanimously.* In the ratifying conventions of the States, while almost every other delegation of power was subjected to sharp scrutiny, acute criticism, and demand for exposition, that was admitted without question, though even the jurisdiction over ten miles square excited jealousy. It is evident that all men then understood it alike, or supposed that they did.

A. W. Blason

* Maryland only, No.

FROM CEDAR MOUNTAIN TO CHANTILLY *

III

GROVETON

The morning of the 29th of August found Sigel's Corps standing alone before Stonewall Jackson's entire force. Of the rest of the army only Reynolds' Division was within supporting distance. McDowell and his other two divisions had gone astray, and Pope, with two other divisions, had been decoyed away toward Centreville. The First Corps had become the nucleus upon which Pope's army should rally.

The order that Sigel should attack vigorously at dawn was punctually obeyed, and as soon as it was fairly light the thunder of his cannon rolled across the hills. Men and officers had neither time for breakfast nor much to eat. The supply wagons with which our columns are said to have been encumbered we had not seen for many days. Scarcely a vehicle carrying provisions was anywhere near, and our supplies at Manassas had been destroyed. The men of the First Corps had lain down and risen with empty stomachs. In that condition they marched into the fight. To make matters worse, there seemed to be little prospect that supplies would come forward. In response to his urgent request that food and forage might be sent out from Alexandria, General Pope had received the following, addressed, under date of August 29, 8 P.M., to the "Commanding Officer at Centreville," and signed by General Franklin, commanding the Sixth Corps: "I have been instructed by General McClellan to inform you that he will have all the available wagons at Alexandria loaded with rations for your troops, and all the cars also, as soon as you will send a cavalry escort to Alexandria as a guard to the train."

General Pope justly remarks that "such a letter, when we were fighting the enemy, and Alexandria was swarming with troops, needs no comment;" and adds: "It was not until I received this letter that I began to feel discouraged and nearly hopeless of any successful issue to the operations with which I was charged."

The condition of our cavalry from which a *railway* train guard was required as a condition to forwarding supplies, is thus described in General Pope's official report: "Our cavalry at Centreville was completely broken down, no horses whatever having reached us to remount it. Generals

Buford and Bayard, commanding the whole of the cavalry force of the army, reported to me that there were not five horses to the company that could be forced to a trot."

During the march of the 28th General Sigel had with him but one hundred and fifty horsemen, and most of his reconnoitring had to be done by his own staff officers.

Schurz's Light Division of six regiments held the right of Sigel's line. It was deployed on the north side of the turnpike, parallel with the Sudley Springs road. Schimmelpfennig's Brigade held Schurz's right, and Krzyzanowski's, with Captain Romer's Battery, his left. Milroy, with his independent brigade and one battery, held the center. To the left of Milroy, and south of the pike, was Schenck's Division—first Stahel's Brigade and then McLean's. Beyond Schenck was General Reynolds, who had brought up his division during the night, and thrown forward one brigade (George G. Meade's) toward Jackson's right flank.

The Confederate line was about two miles in length. On the left was A. P. Hill's Division, with four batteries; in the center Ewell's Division, under Lawton; and on the right Jackson's own division (Starke commanding), with five batteries. Jackson's aggregate force present on the field must have been little short of 25,000 men; our own, including Reynolds' Division, was not above 12,000. Such was the disparity of numbers when Sigel, with the formation described, moved to the attack.

Milroy led off in developing the enemy's position. "Fall in, boys; we're going to whip them before breakfast," he shouted as he galloped about among his regiments, already thoroughly aroused by the cannonade. Throwing away their coffee, just brought to them from the rear, the men fell into their places, and the independent brigade moved forward. It had not proceeded more than five hundred yards when the enemy's skirmishers opened fire upon it from the woods in front. Milroy was about to make a dash into the woods, when Sigel checked him in order that the proper connections might first be established.

After a brief pause the whole line moved forward. Milroy took possession of a hill in front of the Stone House, and Schenck and Schurz kept abreast, right and left, driving the enemy before them. Pressing steadily on from point to point, Sigel's whole command soon became engaged in a violent infantry and artillery contest. Schurz advanced a mile and Schenck two miles. Milroy was impatient to outstrip both. Pushing two of his regiments—the Eighty-second Ohio, Colonel Cantwell, and the Fifth Virginia, Colonel Zeigler—into a strip of dense timber, he made ready to charge a Confederate battery with the other two. He had no

supports, and had lost connections, both right and left. During the advance Schurz's Division had shifted a little to the right and Schenck's to the left, leaving the independent brigade alone. These circumstances should have suggested caution, to say the least, but that was a virtue not known to Milroy. He had four regiments, and sent two of them, he says, to the assistance of General Schurz. The fact is, that these two regiments (above named) moved through the woods straight at the enemy. They were alone—two regiments groping through a coppice in search of Ewell's Division. Deep in the woods the unfinished railway embankment already mentioned ran along a flat, marshy piece of ground. Behind this embankment, which was eight or ten feet high, the Confederates lay concealed. Stealthily waiting until Cantwell's line had approached within a few paces of them, they sprang up from their ambush, and with a wild yell poured a deadly volley full into our faces. In spite of this surprise and shock the Eighty-second charged the embankment, and even passed it at one point, when a flanking force showed itself upon our right, and obliged us to change front. While directing this movement, and gallantly rallying his men, Colonel Cantwell—a most brave and accomplished officer—was struck in the head by a bullet, and fell dead from his horse. The Fifth and Eighty-second were driven out of the woods, and the Second Virginia, sent forward by Milroy, was pushed back in disorder. Colonel Cantwell's body was left on the field, but was recovered afterward under flag of truce.

This clumsily managed and bloody affair temporarily disorganized Milroy's Brigade, and weakened the whole line. The enemy at once threw forward masses of infantry to take advantage of Milroy's repulse, and Stahel's Brigade had to be brought over from Schenck's Division to Milroy's support. Meanwhile the artillery came to our rescue. The battery on Schurz's left was fortunately so placed as to take the advancing Confederates in one flank, while a reserve battery, and two of Schirmer's guns, struck them upon the other. Milroy, as brave as he was imprudent, rallied his men on his reserve regiment (the Third Virginia) and held his ground.

During this time Schurz had been pressing through the woods, and had advanced half a mile. The enemy disputed the ground step by step, and when Milroy was repulsed, fell heavily upon Schurz's left and center. At the same time heavy columns of Confederate infantry were seen moving upon the right. Schurz's center was broken, and thrown out of the woods. Fortunately Colonel Soest, with the Twenty-ninth New York, of Von Steinwehr's Brigade (under Colonel Koltes), had come up and deployed behind a fence in the edge of the timber. The fire of this regi-

ment, and that of the batteries, held the enemy in check, and the center soon rallied and recovered its lost ground.

It was now ten o'clock, and the approach of General Kearny's Division on Schurz's right was announced. General Reno's troops also came up, on the Centreville pike, and with Reno's consent three of his regiments and a battery, all under General Stevens, were placed by Sigel on Schenck's right, there relieving Dilger's Battery, which had held that position all the morning. Two other regiments, with two mounted batteries, were sent to the assistance of Schurz, and slipped in between his brigades. The remainder of Koltes' Brigade was also called up.

To make room for Kearny, Schurz contracted his right, and had no sooner done so than another furious assault was made upon his center and left. The center was driven from the woods in disorder, and the enemy advanced to the edge of the timber. The Twenty-ninth New York, stationed in reserve, was obliged to fall back after delivering several volleys, and Krzyzanowski, on the left, had to withdraw, though stubbornly contesting the ground, inch by inch.* The moment was critical, and again the artillery turned the current of the battle. While Schurz was rallying his men, the battery on his left opened fire upon the pursuing Confederates, and at once brought them to a stand. Schimmelpfennig had held his ground upon the right, and now the Twenty-ninth New York (Colonel Soest), and the Fifty-fourth New York (Lieutenant-Colonel Ashby), gallantly advanced in the center and re-entered the woods.

At this moment Schurz was shown a letter which was on its way from Sigel to Kearny, saying that Longstreet was not able to bring his troops in line of battle that day, and requesting Kearny to change his front to the left, and advance, if possible, against the enemy's left flank. Schurz thereupon ordered a general advance of his whole line, anticipating that Kearny would attack at the same time, as Sigel had requested. It was by this time after midday. Schurz's whole division dashed forward, and drove the enemy at every point. In this charge the Twenty-ninth New York distinguished itself for its intrepidity, and its brave commander, Colonel Soest, was severely wounded. The railroad embankment was carried, and on the right Schimmelpfennig's Brigade passed beyond it. Krzyzanowski, with two mountain howitzers, doing effective work from his front line, also carried the embankment. Milroy, on the left, held his ground. But Kearny did not attack on the right. Had he done so—as he did later

* Schurz's report says: "The Seventy-fourth Pennsylvania, which displayed the greatest firmness, and preserved perfect order on that occasion, deploying and firing with the utmost regularity, deserves special praise."

in the day—we would, in Schurz's opinion, have crushed the enemy's left wing.

Schurz held the embankment until two o'clock P.M. His troops and Milroy's had been fighting most of the time since sunrise, and were very much exhausted. They had suffered great losses, and were nearly out of ammunition. General Hooker's Division had come upon the field, and, at Sigel's request, relieved Schurz's regiments, one by one. Milroy kept his place until later. Schurz withdrew his brigades behind the hill on which Krzyzanowski's Battery had been posted, and here the men replenished their ammunition, and, for the first time in the day, had something to eat.

On the left Schenck, fighting mainly with his artillery—De Beck's, Buell's and Schirmer's batteries—advanced until he reached the position of Gibbon's Brigade on King's battle-ground of the evening before. Reynolds' Division came up on the left of Schenck's, crossed the pike, and established a battery (Cooper's), supported by Meade's Brigade, on the same ridge on which Jackson's right rested. But the withdrawal of Stahel to support Milroy broke the connection with Schenck, and Reynolds, being exposed to a converging fire of the enemy's batteries, deemed it prudent to withdraw from the cleared ground he occupied, into the woods. Schenck adjusted his line to Reynolds' new position.

Turning to the extreme right, we find Kearny moving two brigades—Robinson's and Poe's—against Jackson's left. With Poe on his right, Robinson endeavored to connect with the right of Schimmelpfennig's Brigade, which had advanced beyond the railroad embankment into a corn-field. But Schimmelpfennig was obliged to fall back to the embankment, and Robinson, heavily assailed, was unable to make further progress. Having withdrawn to the road, he was re-enforced by four regiments of Birney's Brigade, and held his ground. Of Hooker's Division, Carr's Brigade and Taylor's went into the woods to take Schurz's place, and this concluded the field movements up to two P.M.

General Pope arrived from Centreville about noon. After inspecting the line from right to left, he decided not to push the troops again into action until sufficient time had been given for McDowell and Porter to come in on the left. This, he felt sure, ought to happen very soon. Porter, at Bristoe, had received at 5.20 A.M. the order to "move upon Centreville at the first dawn of day." The distance from Bristoe to Manassas Junction is five miles, and from the Junction to the point where Reynolds' left rested, the distance was not over five miles. Moving by way of Manassas, Porter had but ten miles to march in order to come close upon our left, joining Reynolds. Hooker's Division had this same day

marched that distance before eleven o'clock in the forenoon, and as Porter had been resting thirty-six hours, he was certainly able to move as rapidly as Hooker.

Near Manassas Junction, Porter was overtaken before nine o'clock by Pope's order to push expeditiously upon Gainesville. By the joint order, issued at nine A.M., he was additionally instructed to establish communication with the rest of our forces, and received the admonition: "It may be necessary to fall back behind Bull Run at Centreville to-night." The Warrenton turnpike, which our lines crossed at Groveton, being the only route by which we could fall back behind Bull Run at Centreville, it was clear that Porter was expected to take a position where he could withdraw by that turnpike if necessary. All this he could do by communicating with the rest of the army as ordered—that is to say, by connecting with Reynolds.

From noon-day on, Porter's arrival was momentarily expected, and every ear was bent to catch the first sound of his guns. Reynolds' Division, after its withdrawal in the morning, was held back, concealed in the woods, awaiting its anticipated support. About two o'clock some artillery shots were heard toward Jackson's extreme right, indicating, as was thought, that Porter and McDowell were then approaching the positions assigned them. But the firing in that direction did not continue, and General Pope soon afterward learned that McDowell was coming up the Sudley Springs road, and would not arrive until two hours later. Thus the afternoon waned. Meanwhile a heavy cannonade was kept up, some of the Confederate guns throwing spikes, chains and segments of railroad iron, which, as they rushed through the air, produced a horrid medley of unearthly noises.*

* The following curious incidents of the cannonade are mentioned by Colonel Strother:

"I remarked two of the battery horses on the left performing some singular gymnastics. A shell struck the span, and burst between them. They then commenced hopping around and bowing to each other like two over-polite Frenchmen, and having made several circles in this way, they fell plunging and rolling over each other, then rose again to perform the same tour of gymnastics. This continued for ten minutes, and I was glad, at last, to see the poor creatures lying quiet. Going up to them, I found them both stone dead, the shell having carried away the fore-leg of one and the hind leg of the other, close to the body."

"Arriving on the ground occupied by a battery of twenty-pounder Parrots which had been working very industriously and effectively all day, Generals Pope and McDowell (with Sigel and Kearny, I believe), with their chief officers, formed a line on the right of the guns, and stood for some time reconnoitring the enemy's position. The battery was still working rapidly, and the enemy fighting back with equal spirit, when one of the guns burst, throwing off a heavy fragment of the muzzle, which described an arc immediately over the heads of the line of officers, and fell with a thud, just clearing the last man and horse; two feet lower and it would have swept off the whole party."

On all parts of the field shells were bounding and bursting, and along the skirmish lines there was a loud and continuous rattle of musketry.

Four o'clock came, and still no word from Porter. Half an hour later General Pope dispatched a staff officer with the following:

Head-quarters in the Field,
August 29—4.30 P.M.

Major-General Porter :

Your line of march brings you in on the enemy's right flank. I desire you to push forward into action at once on the enemy's flank, and, if possible, on his rear, keeping your right in communication with General Reynolds. The enemy is massed in the woods in front of us, but can be shelled out as soon as you engage their flank. Keep heavy reserves and use your batteries, keeping well closed up to your right and rear, so as to keep you in close communication with the right wing.

JOHN POPE,
Major-General Commanding.

About half-past five o'clock, when General Porter should have been coming into action in compliance with this order, General Pope ordered Heintzelman and Reno to attack the enemy. Reno led off in splendid style, accompanied by Taylor's Brigade of Hooker's Division. Crossing the ridge where our batteries were posted, the blue lines moved with beautiful regularity down the open slope, and into the woods where Carr's Brigade had relieved Schurz, and was now confronted by the enemy in great strength. For half an hour the roll of musketry along that part of the line was heavy and unceasing. But the attack was repulsed, and Carr was obliged to quit the ground over which Schurz had advanced in the morning. Hooker then threw forward General Cuvier Grover's Brigade, which on this occasion made a bayonet charge described by General Heintzelman, in his official report, as "the most gallant and determined of the war." The regiments comprising this brigade were the First, Eleventh, and Sixteenth Massachusetts, the Second New Hampshire, and the Twenty-sixth Pennsylvania. Crossing the ridge behind which they had been held in reserve, they descended through open ground, driving before them the enemy's pickets. With fixed bayonets they then rushed upon a heavy line of Confederate infantry, which was driven back over the railroad embankment where it was ten feet high. From behind the embankment another strong line of infantry poured a terrific fire upon Grover's men as they emerged from the woods. Let Colonel William Blaisdell, commanding the Eleventh Massachusetts, narrate what followed:

"The Eleventh, being the battalion of direction, was the first to reach the railroad, and of course received the heaviest of the fire. This staggered the men a little, but recovering in an instant, they gave a wild hur-

rah, and over they went, mounting the embankment, driving everything before them at the point of the bayonet. Here, for two or more minutes, the struggle was very severe, the combatants exchanging shots, their muskets almost muzzle to muzzle, and engaging hand to hand in deadly encounter. Private John Lawler, of Company D, stove in the skull of one rebel with the butt of his musket, and killed another with his bayonet. The enemy broke in confusion and ran, numbers throwing down their muskets, some fully cocked, and the owners too much frightened to fire them, the regiment pursuing them some eighty yards into the woods, where it was met by an overwhelming force in front, at the same time receiving an artillery fire which enfiladed our left, and forced it to retire, leaving the dead and many of the wounded where they fell."

General Kearny's attack was intended to be simultaneous with this, but for some reason was delayed until toward six o'clock, by which time Grover had been forced back. To prepare the way for Kearny, it was deemed necessary to shell the woods where the enemy was, although many of the wounded of both armies yet lay there. Forty pieces of artillery opened fire, and our cannoneers worked with savage energy. Then Kearny, with Poe and Birney holding his front line, and Robinson his second, dashed forward, supported on the left by General Stevens. The enemy's infantry was swept up by Kearny's furious onset, causing "the chance of victory," says A. P. Hill, "to tremble in the balance." Fortunately for Hill, Lawton's Brigade and Early's were near by, and they sprang to his rescue. Kearny and Stevens were both far outnumbered, and were obliged to relinquish the ground they had so bravely won.

It was five o'clock or later before General McDowell arrived upon the field. He came by the Sudley Springs road, and brought with him King's Division, led by General Hatch, General King being sick. While this Division was approaching, Kearny made his attack, and Pope was seized with the idea that the enemy, worsted on his left, was quitting his positions on that flank, and retreating toward the Gainesville pike. Hatch was therefore pushed rapidly to the front, along the pike, but instead of finding a retreating column he encountered Hood's Division of Longstreet's Corps in line and about to advance. A fierce fight ensued, in which Meade's Brigade of Reynolds' Division took part on the left. "The struggle was a desperate one," says General Hatch, "being in many instances a hand-to-hand conflict." General Gordon, describing it, says: "Hardly had the Federal line opened fire when Hood's advancing division moved onward, firing as they moved. The storm of Confederate bullets swept through the Federal ranks, and the men bent and swayed beneath

its rage, though they breasted it well for a time. The officers urged their men to renewed effort. Field officers and generals set them examples. At one period General Hatch sat complacently on his horse, while every man who approached him pitched and fell headlong before he could deliver his message."

So energetic and aggressive was the resistance of Hatch and Meade that Wilcox's Division, which Longstreet had sent over to re-enforce Jones' Division confronting General Fitz John Porter, was called back to Hood's assistance.* Thus re-enforced Hood assaulted Hatch with redoubled energy, and succeeded in capturing a few prisoners and one piece of artillery. "This gun," says Colonel Law, of Hood's Division, "continued to fire until my men were so near it as to have their faces burnt by its discharges." Unable to hold his advanced position against such odds, General Hatch withdrew steadily to more favorable ground, and darkness put an end to the fighting.

The battle of the 29th was over. Its conclusion left us in possession of the field and of part of the ground which had been wrested from the enemy, but that was all. In the main object we had failed, and a golden opportunity had been missed. Sigel had seized Jackson's railroad intrenchment, Hooker and Reno had pierced his center, Kearny had "rolled up" his left, and Hatch and Reynolds had wrestled valiantly with his right wing, but beyond Reynolds, where we had expected to hear General Fitz John Porter's guns thundering upon the enemy's right and rear, there had been dead silence. Porter had not even joined hands with us during the bloody struggles of the day. Let us see where he was, and what he was about.

Proceeding from Manassas Junction toward Gainesville, as ordered in the morning, Porter passed Bethlehem Church, two miles from the Junction, and between ten and eleven o'clock arrived at a brook called Dawkins' Branch. Here he halted. In this march—about four miles in two hours—Morell's Division led, and was followed by Sykes', and then by King's. A short distance beyond the dry bed of the Branch Rosser's cavalry videttes were perceived. General Butterfield, commanding Porter's leading brigade, passed over the Branch, with members of his staff, to reconnoiter the ground. He directed part of his brigade to follow him,

* General Lee so states in his official report: "While the battle was raging on Jackson's left [Kearny's attack] General Longstreet ordered Hood and Evans to advance, but before the order could be obeyed Hood was himself attacked [by Hatch], and his command became at once warmly engaged. General Wilcox was recalled from the right [in front of Porter] and ordered to advance on Hood's left, and one of Kemper's brigades, under Colonel Hunton, moved forward on his left. . . . The battle continued until 9 P.M."

but while engaged in his reconnoissance, and when near the enemy's pickets, he saw, to his astonishment, that the regiments which he had ordered forward had disappeared. Riding back he learned that they had been recalled by General Porter in consequence of something that had occurred between that officer and General McDowell. The latter, in quest of King's Division, had just arrived from Manassas Junction, and on his way from there had received the following:

Head-quarters Cavalry Brigade,

9.30 A.M.

General Ricketts:

Seventeen regiments, one battery, five hundred cavalry passed through Gainesville three-quarters of an hour ago *on the Centreville road*. [That is, they were going toward Groveton, not toward Porter.—L.] I think this division should join our forces now engaged at once.

JOHN BUFORD,

Brigadier-General.

McDowell exhibited this dispatch to Porter. Both officers had by this time received the joint order issued to them by Pope in the morning. Both, from the position where they then were, saw shells bursting in the air, and heard the sounds of battle in the direction of Groveton. They discussed together the Joint Order, and noticed particularly its instruction that the troops should take a position from which they could reach Bull Run that night or next morning. The signs of battle were spoken of, together with Buford's note, and a column of dust was seen rising above the trees near the pike, indicating that the force which had passed Gainesville was moving, as Buford had reported, toward Groveton, where the battle was. The construction which the two generals placed upon the Joint Order, and the action which they took in pursuance of it, are thus stated by General McDowell: *

"The question with me was, how, soonest within the limit fixed by General Pope, this force of ours could be applied against the enemy. General Porter made a remark† to me which showed me that he had no

* Statement before the Court of Inquiry.

† Will you state what that observation was?

I do not know that I can repeat it exactly, and I do not know that the accused meant exactly what the remark might seem to imply. The observation was to the effect—putting his hand in the direction of the dust rising above the tops of the trees—"We cannot go in there without getting into a fight."

What reply did you make to that remark?

I think to this effect: "That is what we came here for."

Were there any obstacles in the way of the advance of General Porter's command upon the flank of the enemy?

question but that the enemy was in his immediate front. I said to him: 'You put your force in here, and I will take mine up the Sudley Springs road on the left of the troops engaged at that point with the enemy,' or words to that effect. I left General Porter with the belief and understanding that he would put his force in at that point."

As to the duration of the authority of chief command vested in him by the Joint Order, General McDowell testifies:

"I decided, under the latitude allowed in that order, that General Porter should post his troops in to the right of where the head of his column lay, and that I would take mine away from the road on which our two commands then lay up the Sudley Springs road into the battle, in this way dissolving the joint operations of our two corps, and from the moment I left General Porter I considered he was no longer under my immediate control, or under my immediate command, or my direct orders, but that he came under those of our common commander-in-chief, we not then being on the same immediate ground. The article to which I refer is the 62d Article of War, which directs that when troops happen to meet, the senior officer commands the whole. I considered that article to apply up to the time that I left General Porter, and broke my command away from his, after which I conceived that his relations were direct to the commander-in-chief."

After the two generals had concluded their conference, McDowell rode back to Bethlehem Church, and on the way passed Porter's troops halting in the road. At the Church he found and resumed control of King's division, which had been temporarily assigned to Porter, and directed the march of that division up the Sudley Springs road. Arrangements were made for Ricketts' Division to follow, as soon as it should arrive, by the same route. On his way from Bethlehem Church to Groveton, McDowell encountered a messenger from Pope bearing a written order to Porter. That was the 4.30 order. Passing on, McDowell reported to Pope, on the field, between five and six o'clock P.M.

The time at which General Porter received the 4.30 order has been disputed. Captain Douglas Pope, who was the bearer of it, swears that he delivered it almost precisely at five o'clock, and this testimony is strongly corroborated by that of other witnesses. Between five o'clock and eight

That depends upon what you call obstacles. A wood is an obstacle.

I mean insuperable obstacles, in a military sense.

I do not think we so regarded it at that time. I did not.

Was, or not, the battle raging at that time?

The battle was raging on our right.—*Court-Martial Record of General McDowell's Testimony.*

there were three hours of good fighting time. Within that period Kearny delivered his brilliant assault from the right, and on the left, where General Porter was expected to join in the battle, Hatch and Meade were engaged until nine o'clock at night in a desperate struggle with Hood.* At five o'clock, or thereabouts, Grover's brigade crashed through Jackson's center. The mighty clamor of these different conflicts rang out far beyond the position where General Porter's corps lay, summoning every officer and man into line. What did Porter do?

Before him were the enemy's skirmishers, but he did not sweep them away. To the right a column was moving to re-enforce Jackson against Hooker, Hatch and Kearny, but he did not attack it. Morell, at the front, reported that two batteries had come down in the woods on the right, and two regiments of infantry in the road, and Porter, from Bethlehem Church—two miles back—directed Morell to "move the infantry and everything behind the crest, and conceal the guns." Morell replied: "I can move everything out of sight except Hazlitt's battery," and Porter suggested: "I think you can move Hazlitt's, or the most of it, and post him in the bushes with the others, so as to deceive. I would get everything, if possible, in ambuscade."

Assuredly *that* was not the way to engage the attention of Longstreet, or to draw him away from Jackson.

Later Morell was directed to "push up *two regiments*, supported by two others, preceded by skirmishers," and "attack the section of artillery, . . . giving the enemy a good shelling as the troops advance." Then, directly after giving this order, General Porter sent the following to McDowell:

"Failed in getting Morell over to you. After wandering about the woods for a time, I withdrew him, and while doing so, artillery opened upon us. The fire of the enemy having advanced, and ours retired, *I have determined to withdraw to Manassas*. I have attempted to communicate with McDowell and Sigel, but my messengers have run into the enemy. They have gathered artillery and cavalry and infantry, and the advancing masses of dust show the enemy coming in force. I am now going to the head of the column to see what is passing, and how affairs are going, and I will communicate with you."

Later Porter sent another dispatch of substantially the same purport,

* Fifteen months later, Longstreet attacked and was repulsed by Generals Geary and Tyndall in Lookout Valley, Tennessee, at midnight. Wellington's last assault at Waterloo was delivered at nine P.M., and Thursday's fighting at Gettysburg lasted until long after dark.

addressed to Generals McDowell and King, reiterating his determination to "withdraw to Manassas."

It is difficult to comment upon these dispatches with judicial patience. Porter was expected to communicate with McDowell and Sigel, not by messenger only, but with the precipitate momentum of his entire *corps d'armée*. His second dispatch to McDowell begins: "I found it impossible to communicate by crossing the woods to Groveton." If he meant by this that the woods were an obstacle, we may wonder what he would have done had he been required, as, at a later period, other commanders were to communicate in the Virginia wilderness, or amidst the mountain wilds of Northern Georgia and the swamps of the Carolinas. Whatever difficulties General Porter may have found, Longstreet, it is certain, had none—as General Lee's report shows—in "crossing the woods to Groveton." Furthermore, Longstreet was able to cover with two divisions a front not more than half of which Porter was expected to cover with his two.

As to the "advancing masses of dust" referred to by General Porter, we have the following explanation in the official report of General Stuart, commanding Jackson's cavalry:

"The next morning [29th], in pursuance of General Jackson's wishes, I set out again to endeavor to establish communication with Longstreet, from whom we had received a favorable report the night before . . . I met the head of General Longstreet's column between Haymarket and Gainesville, and there communicated to the commanding general Jackson's position and the enemy's. I then passed the cavalry through the column so as to place it on Longstreet's right flank, and advanced directly toward Manassas while *the column kept directly down the pike* to join General Jackson's right. I selected a fine position for a battery on the right, and one having been sent me, I *fired a few shots** at the enemy's supposed position. General Robertson, who, with his command, was sent to reconnoiter further down the road *toward Manassas*, reported the enemy in his front. Upon repairing to the front I found that Rosser's regiment was engaged with the enemy to the left of the road, and Robertson's videttes had found the enemy *approaching from the direction of Bristoe Station* toward Sudley. The prolongation of his line of march would have passed through my position, which was a very fine one for the artillery, as well as observation, and *struck Longstreet in the flank*. I waited for his approach long enough to ascertain that there was at least an army corps [Porter's], at the same time keeping detachments of cavalry *dragging brush down the*

* These were probably the shots which General Pope supposed to be Porter's signal of attack.

road from the direction of Gainesville so as to deceive the enemy, and notified the commanding general, then opposite me on the turnpike, that *Longstreet's flank and rear were seriously threatened*, and of the importance to us of the ridge I then held. Immediately upon receipt of that intelligence, Jenkins', Kemper's, and D. B. Jones' brigades, and several pieces of artillery were ordered to me by General Longstreet, and being placed in position fronting Bristoe, awaited the enemy's advance. *After exchanging a few shots with rifle pieces, this corps [Porter's] withdrew toward Manassas*, leaving artillery and supports to hold the position until night."

From this it clearly appears that when General Porter reached his most advanced position there was nothing in front of him but a few brigades of cavalry; that the "advancing masses of dust" from which he assumed that the enemy was coming in force were produced by detachments of cavalry dragging brush down the turnpike; and that when notified of Porter's approach, Longstreet could spare and actually sent but three brigades of his corps to hold the position which Stuart says was so important.

These conclusions are fully corroborated by General Longstreet's report, which says:

"At a late hour of the day Major-General Stuart reported the approach of the enemy in heavy columns against my extreme right. *I withdrew General Wilcox with his three brigades from the left*, and placed his command in position to support Jones in case of an attack against my right. *After some few shots the enemy withdrew his forces*, moving them around toward his front, and about four o'clock in the afternoon began to press forward against General Jackson's position. Wilcox's brigades* were moved back to their former position, and Hood's two brigades, supported

* The original disposition of Wilcox's brigades, and of the other forces of Longstreet's Corps, is thus stated in the official report of General Lee:

"Longstreet took position on the right of Jackson, Hood's two brigades, supported by Evans, being deployed across the turnpike, and at right angles to it. These troops were supported on the left by three brigades under General Wilcox, and by a like force on the right under General Kemper. D. R. Jones' Division formed the extreme right of the line, resting on the Manassas Gap Railroad. The cavalry guarded our right and left flanks, that on the right being under General Stuart in person. After the arrival of Longstreet, the enemy changed his position, and began to concentrate against Jackson's left," etc.

As shown by a previous citation from General Lee's report [Note to page 475], as well as by that from Longstreet's report just given, Wilcox's brigades were withdrawn from Longstreet's right in order to support Hood in his attack upon Hatch's Division. This left only Jones' Division, about six thousand strong, to confront Porter's Corps. Had Porter attacked with half the persistency of Kearny or Hooker, both Wilcox and Kemper would have had altogether too much to do to have been able to lend a helping hand to Hood against Hatch.

by Evans, were quickly pressed forward to the attack [on Hatch]. At the same time *Wilcox's three brigades made a like advance*, as also Hunton's Brigade, of Kemper's command." *

This seems to show conclusively that, as soon as Porter withdrew, or gave signs of withdrawing, Longstreet took away the three brigades which he had detached to resist him, and hurled them upon that part of our army as to the defeat of which General Porter had such solemn apprehensions.

In a letter published since the war General Longstreet says, referring to the battle of the 30th :

"As we were not engaged, I rode out in advance of my line, in search of an opportunity to take my share in the battle. Had I thus engaged the day before [29th], it is more than probable that Porter would be *in season to take me on the wing, and in all probability have crushed me.*"

Porter thought Longstreet was too strong for him, but Longstreet's opinion was different. So was General McDowell's, who says: †

"I think, and thought, that if the corps of General Porter, reputed one of the best, if not the best, in the service, consisting of between twenty and thirty regiments and some eight batteries, had been added to the efforts made by the others, the result would have been in our favor, very decidedly."

But without having struck a blow worthy of the name, General Porter decided to "withdraw to Manassas." The joint order had instructed him that the line of retreat—if retreat we must—would be toward Centreville, but he chose a different direction—a direction in which he had already, as we shall now see, taken a preliminary step.

About midday General Sturgis arrived at Dawkins' Branch with Piatt's Brigade, which had been assigned to Porter's command. At one o'clock Porter sent that brigade back to Manassas Junction, ‡ from whence it had just come. Its services would have been of great value anywhere along the front of battle during that eventful afternoon, but it was sent to the rear. Piatt continued his march to Centreville, and from thence, of his own accord, he next day moved forward again to the field, and took part in the closing scenes of the battle.

After Piatt's Brigade had gone, Sykes' Division and most of Morell's lay extended to the rear along the Manassas Junction road.§ Here,

* With such odds against him, no wonder General Hatch had to fall back.

† *Court-Martial Record.*

‡ General Sturgis' testimony.

§ General R. C. Buchanan's testimony.

countermarching from time to time, these troops remained during most of the afternoon, and some of them were seen as far back as Bethlehem Church by Ricketts' Division as it passed by, during the evening, on its way to the front. But between five and six o'clock the intended withdrawal to Manassas was arrested by the 4.30 order. Then Morell, whose pickets were yet at the front, received from Porter a spasmodic verbal order to attack. This was followed directly by another order in writing, to "put the men in position to remain during the night." Last of all, the following peremptory message put a final stop to General Porter's movement in retreat, and fitly closed the melancholy history of this day:

Head-quarters Army of Virginia,

In the Field, near Bull Run.

August 29, 1862—8.50 P.M.

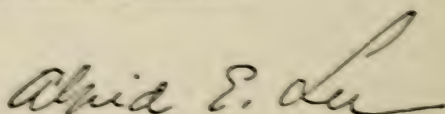
To Major-General Porter.

General:

Immediately upon the receipt of this order, the precise hour of receiving which you will acknowledge, you will march your command to the field of battle of to-day, and report to me in person for orders. You are to understand that you are expected to comply strictly with this order, and to be present on the field within three hours after its receipt, or after daybreak to-morrow morning.

JOHN POPE,

Major-General Commanding.



POPE'S CAMPAIGN AGAIN

A NOTEWORTHY REVIEW OF FACTS AND FIGURES

One of the most curious instances of the difference of view which exists "before and after" is furnished by General Pope and some others, in regard to his campaign in Virginia in 1862. General Pope, was placed in command of the Army of Virginia June 26, but remained in Washington for a month, while events on the Peninsula were occupying the attention of the Federal administration and while his troops were being put in order for active service. General Pope issued numerous orders during that time, which show (besides other things) the boldness and confidence with which he entered upon his campaign. On July 14, he said: "I have come to you from the West, where we have always seen the backs of our enemies, from an army whose business it has been to seek the adversary and to beat him when found; whose policy has been attack and not defense. In but one instance has the enemy been able to place our Western armies in a defensive attitude. I presume that I have been called here to pursue the same system and to lead you against the enemy. It is my purpose to do so, and that speedily. . . . Let us study the probable lines of retreat of our opponents, and leave our own to take care of themselves. Let us look before us and not behind. Success and glory are in the advance. Disaster and shame lurk in the rear."

On the 18th of July orders were issued to his troops to subsist mainly on the country in which they were operating, and his cavalry were denied baggage and supply trains. July 20, a proclamation to the people of Virginia within his lines held them responsible for all losses inflicted by guerrillas or partisan troops, and July 23, he went so far as to order the arrest of all disloyal citizens (which meant nineteen-twentieths of the male population), and the expulsion of them from their homes, unless they would take the oath of allegiance to the United States. If they returned to their homes they were to be treated as spies. The mode in which he intended to wage war was not more clearly indicated in General Pope's dispatches of this period than was the confidence with which he looked forward to seeing the backs of his enemies, and to operating on their lines of retreat. There was much at this date to encourage General Pope to braggadocio. When he took command of 50,000 troops in northern Virginia, there was but a single brigade of cavalry in his front. He

might have occupied the Shenandoah Valley as far south as Staunton, and held the railroad from that point through Gordonsville without serious opposition. This condition of things lasted until the middle of July. Pope ordered his cavalry to break the railroad at Charlottesville and Gordonsville. But he remained in Washington, seventy miles off, and his men, not being so well acquainted with the backs of their enemies as he, bungled the matter, and failed. Jackson came to Gordonsville at the middle of July, and for ten or twelve days occupied that point with a force about one-fourth of that under Pope. During this time, General Pope seems to have been busy preparing his orders for a war of extermination upon the non-combatants behind his lines, and Jackson was unmolested. Two weeks later, Jackson, with a force now increased to 24,000 men, took the initiative, and attacked and demolished one Federal corps before the remainder of Pope's 50,000 men could come to its rescue. A week more of delay was thus secured, and at the expiration of this, Lee was himself on the Rapidan. Pope, in spite of his bold words, was thrown upon the defensive and pushed back, first to the Rappahannock, and next to Bull Run, where the campaign ended with his overwhelming defeat. Pope's campaign was one of the most signal failures of the war. It was characterized throughout by a maximum of brave words and a minimum of wise deeds. As an example of blunders it is one of the most interesting in history to the military student.

General Pope's bombastic orders before the campaign were not wider of the mark than has been his after description of it. In order to account for his defeat he assumes the tone of a man who has failed in a forlorn hope, exaggerates his difficulties and the forces of his enemies, underrates his own resources, blames everybody except himself—Halleck, McClellan, Porter, etc.—for sacrificing him; and having brought disaster on his cause and almost succeeded in losing Washington, he retires from the stage with the air of one who bears upon his shoulders "the base ingratitude of republics." General Pope's report and his recent article in the *Century*, when compared with his orders at the outset of the campaign, can hardly fail to excite a smile wherever the sense of humor is not entirely wanting.

The mistaken estimates and the misconceptions under which General Pope seeks shelter from his failures, though frequently corrected even by northern writers, still find currency. It has only been a few months since General Porter ceased to be the scapegoat of the campaign, and it is therefore not wonderful that, in an interesting article entitled "From Cedar Mountain to Chantilly," in the September number of the *Magazine of American History*, the author perpetuates some of General Pope's errors

of statement. In a periodical of such standing these errors require correction.

After the Federal administration had decided to unite their two great armies in Virginia by transporting McClellan from the James to the Rappahannock, it was, of course, wise and proper in General Pope to avoid a general engagement until a junction could be effected, but this is no reason for ascribing his retreat to the overwhelming forces of Lee. The Confederates were probably never superior to Pope in numbers on any day of this campaign, and they were certainly inferior during most of it. The contrary impression is produced, first, by exaggerating Lee's numbers, and, secondly, by underrating Pope's. Thus the author of the *Magazine of American History* articles says Lee's forces, in the middle of August, were from 55,000 to 65,000 men—which is a mistake. Mr. Ropes, whose account of this campaign is as admirable for fairness as for ability, shows that the estimates of the Confederate numbers were from 47,000 to 55,000. No data exist for putting Lee's forces above the higher number. They were probably between 50,000 and 55,000. In a foot-note to the article we are criticising, it is said that, after August 15, "Lee was joined by most of the remainder of his veteran troops still at Richmond about the time McClellan disappeared from Harrison's Landing." Lee left about 20,000 men at Richmond when he moved to the Rappahannock, and none of the troops so left joined him until after the second battle of Manassas. It is a mistake to represent him as receiving any re-enforcements after he crossed the Rapidan and before the end of the campaign. Again, our author errs in adopting General Pope's loose estimate of his own strength instead of the official returns, many of which are in existence. The report of General Pope's army for July 31 gives him 52,000 men "present for duty" on the Rappahannock, besides 8,410 under Sturgis at Washington, 2,752 under White at Winchester, and 8,812 under Cox in Kanawha. At this time he was confronted by Jackson with 24,000 at Gordonsville.

After the battle of Cedar Run, August 9, Pope was re-enforced by 8,000 of Burnside's men, under Reno. Supposing Pope's loss at Cedar Run to have been 3,000, he must thus after Reno's arrival have had 57,000 men, less his losses by sickness after July 31.

Pope states his force to Halleck on August 20 as follows: McDowell, 18,000; Sigel, 12,000; Banks, 7,000; Reno, 8,000. McDowell's returns for August 16 are on file, and show that he had then 22,618 "present for duty," and 22,117 for duty, "equipped." This last number includes 2,698 cavalry, and General Pope's dispatch above apparently was not meant to include cavalry. This, therefore, should be deducted. Even with this

deduction General Pope understates McDowell's strength by 1,500. There are no returns of Sigel, but as his strength is nearly the same as on July 31, it is probably correct. Banks's return for the month, which was probably made out a week later, after severe marching, shows his "present for duty" then to have been 8,800. It must have been at least that on August 20. Pope had, on August 20, more than 5,000 cavalry in Bayard's and Buford's commands. Making these additions to Pope's dispatch of August 20, we see that he had over 53,000 men, a number just about equal to that with which Lee confronted him. It was at this time that the comparative numbers were most favorable to the Confederates, and all they could do was to equal Pope.

Much stress is laid on Pope's losses by fighting and marching before he reached Manassas. General Pope says: "From the 18th of August until the morning of the 27th, the troops under my command had been continually marching and fighting, night and day, and during the whole of that time there was scarcely an interval of an hour without the roar of artillery. The men had had but little sleep, had had but little time to get proper food or to eat it, had been engaged in constant battles and skirmishes, and had performed service laborious, dangerous, and excessive beyond any previous experience in this country." It is hard to recognize the facts in this exaggerated description. There was no serious fighting on the Rappahannock. Active skirmishing along the river, mostly with artillery, the defeat of Bohlen's attempt on the Confederate trains, and Stuart's raid to the Federal rear, were about all. Bohlen, according to General A. E. Lee, lost 200, and Stuart took 300 prisoners. One or two thousand would probably cover all Pope's casualties in battle before August 27. Nor did Pope's well-managed retreat behind the Rappahannock involve any serious marching. His movements, when once behind that river, and also his retreat to Manassas, were so conducted as to put a severe strain upon his men, but his marches were never so severe, nor his supplies so scarce, as were those of the Confederates.

General Pope says, in his *Century* article, January, 1886: "On the 21st of August, being then at Rappahannock Station, my little army confronted by nearly the whole force under General Lee, which had compelled the retreat of McClellan to Harrison's Landing, I was positively assured that two days more would see me largely enough re-enforced by the Army of the Potomac to be not only secure, but to assume the offensive against Lee, and I was instructed to 'hold on, and fight like the devil.' I accordingly held on till the 26th of August, when, finding myself to be outflanked on my right . . . and seeing that none of the re-enforcements

promised me were likely to arrive, I determined to abandon the line of the Rappahannock. . . .” Again: “Jackson’s advance . . . made it plain to me that all the re-enforcements and movements of the troops promised me had altogether failed.”

We have already seen that the “little army” consisted of over 50,000 men, and that Lee had on the Rappahannock a force not superior to the Federal Army. Let us see about the re-enforcements, none of which, Pope says, ever arrived, and after waiting in vain for which until August 27, he fell back.

Notwithstanding Pope’s distinct statement, above given, it is a fact beyond all question that Pope was re-enforced by one division and two corps of McClellan’s army by the 26th of August, that these troops fell back with him, and that they shared in his defeats. To go into detail. On August 23 (that is, within forty-eight hours of August 21) Reynolds’ division joined Pope. Pope estimates this body at 2,500. The returns of its strength have not been published, and are probably lost, but let us see how others estimated it at the time. Assistant Secretary of War Tucker, on August 19, telegraphs to Halleck: “General McCall’s division (Reynolds’) left here (Fort Monroe) this morning, consisting of about 8,000 men.” August 21 Burnside telegraphs from Falmouth that “Reynolds’ division of about 8,000 men are under orders and will start at once.” And on the same day Colonel Smith, of General Pope’s staff, dispatches Reno to the same effect. Now Reynolds arrived on the 23d, without accident or collision. Can it be possible that his division had dwindled in two days from 8,000 to 2,500 men? Even General G. H. Gordon, whose treatment of numbers is very one-sided, puts it at 4,500. Mr. Ropes estimates it at 6,000. From the arrival of Reynolds, Pope had the advantage in numbers, an advantage which was greatly increased by the arrival of Heintzelman’s corps on the 24th and Porter’s corps on the 26th. These last bodies were not less, even by General A. E. Lee’s estimate, than 20,000 men. Added to Reynolds’, they make the number of McClellan’s troops, which joined Pope in time for the great battles of the campaign, 28,000, and the total force which Pope had at his disposal after crossing the Rappahannock, 81,000 men.

General Pope, in his official report, estimates his strength, August 27, at 54,500. He does this by putting Banks’ corps at 5,000, when Banks’ return for the month shows it was 8,800; by putting McDowell’s and Reynolds’ together at 15,000, when McDowell alone had over 19,000 infantry “equipped for duty” on the 16th, and had incurred no considerable losses since, and Reynolds had on the 23d 8,000; by cutting 1,000 off

Reno's strength and 3,000 off Sigel's (who had actually lost some men), and 2,000 off Porter's and Heintzelman's, and by classing all his cavalry (except 500) as "broken down." As his cavalry had seen but one week's service since they crossed the Rappahannock, and that of a feeble character, it is hard to see why it was completely broken down.

But it is curious to compare General Pope's estimate above, which was made some time after the campaign closed, with his estimate at the time. On August 26, at seven P.M., General Pope informs Porter of the position of the army, and gives the following statement of strength:

Sigel, McDowell, Reynolds	34,000
Reno.	8,000
Banks.	6,000
	48,000

In his later report, above quoted, Pope puts these commands at 36,500, thus striking off at one stroke twenty-five per cent. from their numbers. It is evident that General Pope's statements about his numbers are of the loosest character.

The severity of service which both armies saw, between August 20 and the battles of August 27-30, of course reduced their numbers very considerably, but this service was certainly not more severe in the Federal than in the Confederate army. Mr. Ropes estimates that Pope's force on the 27th was not over 70,000 men, that is, he had lost in various ways some 11,000 in the week between August 20 and 27. This reduction amounts to thirteen per cent. Pope's losses on the Rappahannock were a few hundred men more than Lee's. Deduct say ten per cent. from Lee's force, and we have a possible maximum of 49,000 as the total Confederate strength on the 27th.

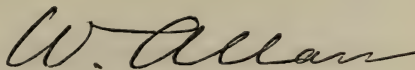
Let us tabulate the numbers of the two armies throughout the campaign.

	POPE'S FORCES.	CONFEDERATES.
From July 1 to 19.....	49,500.....	1,200 to 1,500 cavalry.
" " 19 to 30	49,500.....	12,000, Jackson.
" " 30 to August 9.....	52,000.....	24,000, Jackson.
" Aug. 9 to 14.....	49,000.....	23,000, Jackson.
" " 14 to 18.....	53,000.....	23,000, Jackson.
" " 18 to 23.....	53,000.....	55,000, Lee.
" " 24 to 27.....	81,000.....	55,000, Lee.
" " 27 to September 2.....	70,000.....	49,000, Lee.

Thus, putting the Confederates at the outside figures, there were five days during which Pope and Lee were practically equal in numbers. On

every other day, between July 1 and September 2, Pope was in the majority, and generally largely so.

Bitter complaint is made by General Pope and his friends of the dilatory arrival of troops sent to his aid. Without going into the question as to whether McClellan's army could have been brought up more promptly, what we have already set forth shows how absurd is the claim that General Pope was holding an advanced position with an insufficient force. He had a strong defensive line and his troops were as numerous as his adversary's. That he himself had no such idea at the time as was developed afterward, in his writings on the campaign, is shown by his dispatch to Halleck, August 22. "I must do one of two things, either fall back and meet Heintzelman behind Cedar Run, or cross the Rappahannock with my whole force, and assail the enemy's flank and rear. I must do one or the other by daylight. Which shall it be? I incline to the latter, but don't wish to interfere with your plans." Halleck approves of the bolder plan, and Pope decides upon it, but the rain-storm of that night prevents its execution, just as it prevented Jackson from crossing at Sulphur Springs. Now this plan, to which Pope "inclined," was not at all out of keeping with the proportions of the two armies, and was in accordance with the aggressive mode of campaign he had proclaimed at the outset. Pope expected re-enforcements. These expectations were not an "illusion," for within four days, and before he began to fall back, his numbers were swelled some fifty per cent. The rain, and not the want of troops, checkmated his plan of August 22. No other was substituted for it. His subsequent disasters were due, not to want of troops, but to his active adversary, who took the initiative, threw him on the defensive, and compelled him to look after those "lines of retreat" which he had proposed to leave to take care of themselves.



MARGERIE CORBIN

[SCENE: The American camp at Washington Heights, New York. TIME: November 16, 1776, the day of the capture of Fort Washington by the British.]

Sombre with fate the yesternight that ushered the wan day,
The world, with drench of sleety rain, masked in a garb of gray.

Corbin, the gunner, peered without ; and, spite of dripping tent,
Burned with the scorching words Magaw had to Kniphausen sent ;

And when a sudden sea-turn trailed a fog-bank from the sea,
Half-feared the Hessian's haughty threat an empty one might be.

But, with the foremost peep of day, shrill bugle-calls afar
Told the besiegers were astir.—Then horsed was the car of war !

Post-haste along the ring'd redoubts were battle orders flown :
" Strive as you never strove, till help from Washington come down ! "

* * *

" Now, wife," quoth Corbin, " it be best we kiss and bid good-by ;
The week of watchfulness is past, the hour of action nigh.

" Heaven knows the peril that besets, would we these foot-hills fend,
While closely hedging fore and flank the British hounds extend ;

" But ere these breastworks they beat down, and Blue-Bell Tavern gain,
Yon brooks shall bathe their ivy banks with flow of rosier stain."

" If so it be," replied the dame, " then is my calling clear ;
For weal or woe I wedded thee, and find God's finger here.

" I deem these arms as stout as thine, my cheeks are no less swart ;
And as a soldier's other half, 'tis meet I play my part."

* * *

Then, first, from Tippet's Hill the shock of cannoneering rose ;
And all around them, though unseen, they felt the death-ring close.

Guarded by gunships to the west, the smoky Hudson slept,
And timidly the Palisades into the shadows crept ;

To southward crouching, Percy blocked the highway to the town ;
To sunrise, Mathews' British Guards athwart the marsh were thrown ;

And northward lay the Hessian fox, that foremost flashed in sight,
And he it was, near Cox's Hill, who opened up the fight.

With scream of shell, with bayonet charge, he towered o'er Tippet's Ridge,
The while his rascals stormed their way to Spuyten Duyvil's edge.

Down thundered King's-Bridge in the kill, down echoed Free-Bridge too ;
But through the ford the Hessians splashed, and burst our outposts through.

Toward Haerlem, then, the battle stretched ; backward our sentinels came,
Forced by the redcoat Grenadiers as by a blast of flame ;

And where Dame Corbin, from her place, a stone-cast sought to see,
Each fog-wave, as it rolled and brake, swarmed with red soldiery.

Out of the cloud, with windy whirl of smoke upon their heels,
Crushing the corn-fields, still uncut, rumbled the caisson wheels ;

While bridging boats, o'er Haerlem Creek, their living cargoes passed,
Till all the beach 'neath Laurel Hill with ranked platoons was massed.

Then Baxter spake one word, and sped from every shotted gun
A shower of death that rained below.—Thus was defense begun.

*
* *

Bravely the Pennsylvania boys the flood-tide held at bay.
The fog withdrew, and smoke alone veiled the November day ;

But still each cannon's mouth was hot with eloquence of deed,
And every yeoman breathed a prayer as he sowed the iron seed.

So, till the noonday, Corbin toiled, while Margery worked as well,
And which one proved most soldierly no mate could ever tell ;

But Margery 'twas the powder passed, and Margery who caught
The colors, ofttime cut away, and Margery who brought

Fresh water from the brook, half-hid beneath the weedy runs,
Wherewith to cool the fevered throats of the o'erheated guns.

Till suddenly, down at her feet, the gunner stumbled, slain—
A crimson kiss-mark on his brow, a grapeshot through his brain.

She breathed no word, she shed no tear, but swiftly stooped to snatch
The cartridge his warm hand still clinched—then held the blazing match.

Through all that afternoon, unhelped, brave Margery served the gun,
Nor rested till a grapnel-bolt bespoke her duty done.

Cruel the tiger-scratch it scored across her bosom white,
And there she lay, with ne'er a moan, till finished was that fight.

But one face even looked on her : the pale one lying there,
With glazing eyes upturned to hers in silence of despair.

Then up the hillslope, slippery with sleet, and fenced with briers,
And gory dying men, and dead, clambered the Grenadiers ;

When Baxter, vainly sallying forth to once more clear the way,
With riddled body tripped the rush his sword had failed to stay.

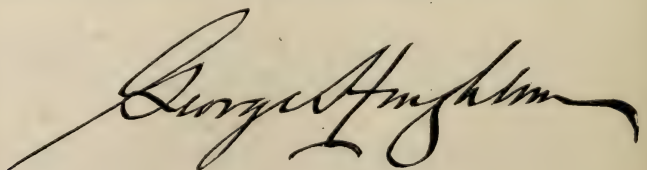
*
* *

Thus happened it, when all was done, love's labor spent for naught,
The wounded dame, beneath a truce, to General Greene was brought ;

And she who waked a smiling wife, at puff of morning gun,
Lay down at night in widowhood, nor knew which side had won.

But hero of all heroines was Margery from that day,
And Congress, many an after-year, portioned her soldier's pay ;

And, every spring, a soldier's suit, which brought a blush, half pride ;
And she sleeps the sleep of a soldier now, the Schuylkill close beside.

A large, elegant handwritten signature in cursive script, likely belonging to George Augustus, the author of the poem. The signature is written in dark ink and features long, sweeping flourishes.

MINOR TOPICS

AN INTERESTING DISCOVERY

Finding the bones of the "Worshipful Lion Gardiner, Lord of the Isle of Wight"

When the beautiful recumbent effigy in armor was erected at Easthampton, Long Island, about the middle of September, 1886, to that brave soldier of the army in Flanders, and Engineer and Master of Works of Fortification in the Leaguers of the Prince of Orange, Lion Gardiner, it was thought advisable to open the grave under the ancient red-cedar posts and bar (which have marked the spot since his death, in 1663) and which is within the railing surrounding the present knightly monument, designed by James Renwick, the architect of St. Patrick's Cathedral and Grace Church, New York. After digging down between six and seven feet, the skeleton was found in almost perfect condition, over it being a layer of stones. The skeleton was examined. The doctor who was present pronounced it to be that of a man of six feet two inches in height. The bones were white and hard, like ivory, the skull having a broad forehead, large jaws, and the teeth of the lower set perfect, very white and sound. A part of the hair still remained, and was brown in color. Five of the coffin nails were also found, to one of which adhered a small piece of the cedar wood. The bones were carefully replaced, covered with the stones and a coating of cement, and the earth filled in again—the cedar posts and bar being removed.

Lion Gardiner died in 1663, and it is remarkable that these relics of one who was a contemporary of Charles I. of England, Oliver Cromwell, and Maurice, Prince of Orange, should have been preserved in the ground for two hundred and twenty-three years. A similar case was that of Lady Fenwick, at Saybrook, Connecticut.

George Fenwick succeeded Lion Gardiner, as commander of Saybrook Fort. He was a Member of Parliament, colonel in the army, was designated as one of the judges of Charles I., but did not serve, and was governor of Tynemouth Castle, etc. His wife, Lady Alice, was the widow of Sir John Boteler, and daughter of Sir Edward Apsley. She died and was buried within the Saybrook Fort, in 1648, nine years after Gardiner had retired from the command of that fort and gone to his island. Her grave, when opened, a few years ago, showed also the bones intact and her beautiful long hair preserved. Lion Gardiner's body was found in the same position as that of his friend, the Rev. Thomas James, pastor of the church, who gave orders to be buried in the opposite way from what was customary, so that he might be raised, at the resurrection, facing his congregation. The effigy in sculpture of Lion Gardiner was unfortunately reversed, the head being where the feet should be. It is a curious fact that the man who assisted in excavating

this grave and setting up the monument should have been an Indian of the Montaukett tribe, almost the last of his race, named Wyandanch, after the great Sachem of Long Island, who was the steadfast friend of Lion Gardiner.

PHILADELPHIA FASHIONS IN 1796

Miss Sally McKean, daughter of Governor McKean, of Pennsylvania, and subsequently wife of the Spanish Minister, Marquis d'Frujo, wrote some graphic descriptions of Philadelphia fashions in 1796. In a letter to Miss Anna Payne, she says : "I went yesterday to see a doll, which has come from England, dressed to show us the fashions, and I saw besides a great quantity of millinery. Very long trains are worn, and they are festooned up with loops of bobbin, and small covered buttons, the same as the dress : you are not confined to any number of festoons, but put them according to your fancy, and you cannot conceive what a beautiful effect it has. There is also a robe which is plaited very far back, open and ruffled down the sides, without a train, being even with the petticoat. The hats are quite a different shape from what they used to be : they have no slope in the crown, scarce any rim, and are turned up at each side, and worn very much on the side of the head. Several of them are made of chipped wood, commonly known as cane hats : they are lined : one that has come for Mrs. Bingham is lined with white, and trimmed with broad purple ribbon, put round in large puffs, with a bow on the left side. The bonnets are all open on the top, through which the hair is passed, either up or down, as you fancy, but latterly they wear it more up than down : it is quite out of fashion to friz or curl the hair, as it is worn perfectly straight. Ear-rings, too, are very fashionable. The waists are worn two inches longer than they used to be, and there is no such thing as long sleeves. They are worn half way above the elbow, either drawn or plaited in various ways, according to fancy ; they do not wear ruffles at all ; black or colored ribbon is pinned round the bare arm, between the elbow and the sleeve. Everybody thinks the millinery last received the most tasty seen for a long time."—*Memoirs and Letters of Mrs. Madison.*

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

AN ORIGINAL LETTER OF MUCH INTEREST, FROM MRS. LYDIA H. SIGOURNEY
TO THEODORE DWIGHT, JR.

From the collection of Gordon L. Ford

Hartford, Tuesday, November 2, 1830.

My dear Mr. Dwight,

I thank you for your letter of October 26th which safely reached me last evening. I am happy to find that in your opinion the Manuscript Biographies may be useful to the rising generation, and feel deeply with you, how vastly the plaudit of "usefulness" transcends that of fame.

Not to have lived in vain is the seal we would all wish to affix to the finished scroll of our existence; and yet this aspiration seems almost too proud a one, for beings so ephemeral as ourselves,—so liable to be "crushed before the moth."

I agree in your reasoning that the prefixing of a name to a publication aids in many cases its circulation and popularity, and in this instance, would have been guided by your judgment even if my own had not concurred with it. But I am not able to consult either your wishes or my own since a decree more imperative exists. My husband has often expressed his decided aversion to this step, even when he warmly patronized my intellectual pursuits—and now that he has become their opposer, it would of course create violent displeasure. It is my duty in this case, as well as in all others, to consult his feelings as far as it may be in my power—without utterly burying in the earth those "few talents" for which I am responsible to their Giver and Judge. My ambition with regard to this little volume would be to have it used as a present for youth—a premium in schools—and a reading book in such Female Seminaries as adopt a plan which is now very general in Connecticut of devoting one or two afternoons in a week to reading some useful or religious work while the needle or knitting-needles occupy the hands of the fair auditors. In its manuscript state it has served the last-mentioned purpose for several years, and I think not without salutary influence. It would, therefore, be desirable to have the style I execute it in as handsome as the Publisher will hazard.

Would it, in your opinion, be best to dispose of the copy to him or to have a Copy-Right taken? in some other name, of course. Your idea of dedicating it to "Mothers" pleased me.

Something of this kind might be said,

To Mothers,

this volume is affectionately dedicated,

By a Mother.

Permit me, by way of curtailing egotism, to leave other preliminaries to your better judgment, and beg to be favored with a sight of the poetical manuscripts on Indian subjects, which I was encouraged throughout the perusal of the letter to hope had accompanied it, until a postscript informed me that pleasure was deferred. I am rejoiced that you continue the champion of our poor forest sons. Something may yet be done for them, ere they are hunted from all the haunts of civilized man. The gathering of our Literati in New York must have been a highly interesting season. I was delighted to hear some particulars of it from Perdiccari, among the rest, that you were so active there. A mind like yours cannot help sympathizing with Greece, that glorious, classic clime.

May I say to you something respecting the young Greek who has been a member of our family nearly two years. He has been translating the six orations of Tricoupi—the Demosthenes of modern Greece—and I have been copying them for him the last fortnight, and rendering them into good English. They are very fine and full of Scripture allusions. It struck me that they might be useful in giving variety for declamation in Colleges and high schools, as well as interesting to general readers, if published prettily in a small, pocket volume. I encouraged him to believe it might prove a source of slight emolument, as he is entirely dependent, and have laboured closely, in writing for him, during my intervals of leisure. Could something of this kind be advantageously done in New York?

I thought of sending you a few of the sheets as a Specimen, but will wait to hear first from you. He is now busy in writing Notes to the Orations which he thinks will add to their value. These I will connect, and add a preface if necessary, so that it will be a sort of partnership business, and we should, therefore, desire to remain incognito. How shall I adequately apologise for these many taxes upon your time and attention? I feel, however, in cases of philanthropy, especially when addressing you, somewhat of the disposition of Mr. Gallaudet, who, when I thanked him a few mornings since, for some assistance which he had kindly rendered, replied,—“No thanks,—no excuses,—it is a common cause.—”

I cannot still feel that individual obligation is entirely annihilated, however, and beg to add the appellation of grateful, to that of

Truly sincere friend,

L. H. S.

NOTES

JOHN ESTEN COOKE—In the death of Mr. John Esten Cooke, the distinguished author, at the "Briars," near Boyce, Virginia, on the 27th of September last, this Magazine has lost one of its most accomplished and agreeable contributors. Mr. Cooke is better known, perhaps, to the world at large, as a writer in the old romantic school of fiction; but his historical studies in later years have given far more emphatic evidence of his genius and taste. Our readers will remember his brilliant and valuable contributions of *Clayborne the Rebel* (illustrated), in August, 1883; *Christmas Time in Old Virginia* (illustrated), in December, 1883; *The Virginia Declaration of Independence, A Group of Virginia Statesmen* (illustrated), in May, 1884; and *Did Pocahontas Rescue Captain Smith?* in April, 1885. He had also in preparation an exhaustive sketch of the Lee family, intended for our pages.

Mr. Cooke's writings have been very numerous. Those published in book form are: *Leather Stocking and Silk* (1854); *The Virginia Comedians* (1854); *The Youth of Jefferson* (1854); *Ellie* (1855); *The Last Foresters* (1856); *Henry St. John, Gentleman* (1859); *A Life of Stonewall Jackson* (1863); *Survey of Eagle's Nest* (1866); *Mohun* (1868); *Wearing of the Gray* (1867); *Hilt to Hilt* (1869); *Fairfax* (1869); *Out of the Foam; Hammer and Rapier* (1870); *The Heir of Gaymount* (1870); *A Life of General R. E. Lee* (1871); *Dr. Vandyke* (1872); *Her Majesty, the Queen* (1873); *Pretty Mrs. Gaston and Other Stories* (1874); *Justin Harley*

(1874); *Canolles* (1877); *Professor Pressensee, Materialist and Inventor* (1878); *Mr. Grantley's Idea* (1879); *Stories of the Old Dominion* (1879); *Virginia Bohemians* (1879), and a history of Virginia, which has been adopted as a text-book in the schools of his State. His war books record his observations and opinions of the war in Virginia, and are vivid expressions of his generosity and candor. His varied contributions to periodicals are, many of them, of volume length, without having ever appeared in book form. He has been an industrious writer for thirty years. He was personally well-known in New York city, and by a long list of warm friends held in highest esteem for his modest manliness, his nobleness of purpose, his generous courtesy, and his perfect sincerity and loveliness of character.

INCREDIBLE PUNISHMENT—"A great book is a great evil," said an ancient writer—an axiom which an unfortunate Russian author felt to his cost. "Whilst I was at Moscow," says a pleasant traveler, "a quarto volume was published in favor of the liberties of the people—a singular subject, when we consider the place where the book was printed. In this work the iniquitous venality of the public functionaries, and even the conduct of the sovereign, was scrutinized and censured with great freedom. Such a book, and in such a country, naturally attracted general notice, and the offender was taken into custody. After being tried in a very

summary way, his production was determined to be a libel, and the writer was condemned to *eat his own words*. The singularity of such a sentence induced me to see it put in execution. A scaffold was erected in one of the most public streets of the city; the imperial provost, the magistrates, the physicians and surgeons of the Czar attended; the book was separated from its binding, the margin cut off, and every leaf rolled up like a lottery ticket when taken out of the wheel at Guildhall. The author was then served with them, leaf by leaf, by the provost, who put them into his mouth, to the no small diversion of the spectators; he was obliged to swallow this unpalatable food on pain of the knout—in Russia more dreadful than death. As soon as the medical gentlemen were of opinion that he had received into his stomach as much at the time as was consistent with his safety, the transgressor was sent back to prison, and the business resumed the two following days. After three very hearty but unpleasant meals, I am convinced by ocular proof that every leaf of the book was actually swallowed.”—*Strange and Curious Punishments* [No. V. *Olden Time Series*] by Henry M. Brooks.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S BRAVERY—Benjamin F. Butler, in his *Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln*, says: “He visited my department (of Virginia and North Carolina) twice while I was in command. He was personally a very brave man, and gave me the worst fright of my life. He came to my headquarters and said: ‘General, I should like to ride along your lines and see them, and see the

boys, and how they are situated in camp.’ I said, ‘Very well, we will go after breakfast.’ I happened to have a very tall, easy-riding, pacing horse, and as the president was rather long-legged, I tendered him the use of this horse while I rode beside him on a pony. He was dressed, as was his custom, in a black suit, a swallow-tail coat, and tall silk hat. As there rode on the other side of him, at first, Mr. Fox, the Secretary of the Navy, who was not more than five feet six inches in height, he stood out as a central figure of the group. Of course the staff officers and orderly were behind. When we got to the line of intrenchment, from which the line of rebel pickets was not more than 300 yards, he towered high above the works, and as we came to the several encampments, the boys all turned out and cheered him lustily. Of course the enemy’s attention was wholly directed to this performance, and with the glass it could be plainly seen that the eyes of their officers were fastened upon Lincoln, and a personage riding down the lines, cheered by the soldiers, was a very unusual thing, so that the enemy must have known that he was there. Both Mr. Fox and myself said to him: ‘Let us ride on the side next to the enemy, Mr. President. You are in fair rifle-shot of them, and they may open fire; and they must know you, being the only person not in uniform, and the cheering of the troops directs their attention to you.’ ‘Oh, no,’ he said, laughing, ‘the Commander-in-Chief of the army must not show any cowardice in the presence of his soldiers, whatever he may feel.’ And he insisted upon

riding the whole six miles, which was about the length of my intrenchments, in that position, amusing himself at intervals, where there was nothing more attractive, in a sort of competitive examination of the commanding general in the science of engineering, much to the amusement of my Engineer-in-Chief, General Weitzel, who rode on my left, and who was kindly disposed to prompt

me while the examination was going on, which attracted the attention of Mr. Lincoln, who said, 'Hold on, Weitzel, I can't beat you, but I think I can beat Butler.' I give this incident to show his utter unconcern under circumstances of very great peril, which kept the rest of us in a continued and quite painful anxiety." —*Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln*, edited by ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE.

QUERIES

CAUCUS—*Editor of Magazine of American History*: Will you or some of your numerous readers explain the origin of the word Caucus?

AMOS THATCHER

DETROIT, MICHIGAN.

ALGEBRA—What is the true meaning of the word Algebra? Was it ever used to signify a surgeon or bone-setter?

M. E. TRUMBELL

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

FLORIDA—American history properly begins with Florida rather than Virginia or Massachusetts. Yet a disagreement is found among writers on Florida in respect to the name of the day on which it was discovered. There is perfect harmony as to the year, the month, and the day of the month, in which Juan Ponce de Leon first beheld the mainland. It was March 27, 1512. But there are two conflicting statements regarding the name of that day, some affirming it was Easter Sunday, others declaring it was Palm Sunday. The latter precedes the former, being the Sunday immediately

before Easter. Easter Sunday commemorates our Lord's resurrection; Palm Sunday, his triumphal entry into Jerusalem before his Passion. The day is celebrated in Catholic communities by decorating the churches with palm branches and other evergreens, and with flowers. Hence most writers say it was called *Pascua Florida*—flowery Easter. The *Encyclopædia Britannica* uses the expression *Pascua Floridum*. Lossing, in his *Field-Book of the Revolution*, asserts that the day was called by the Spaniards *Pascua de Flores*.

Bancroft's *History of the United States*, Quackenbos' *School History of the United States*, A. Popular *History of the United States of America*, by John Clark Ridpath, Appleton's *American Cyclopædia*, and the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, state that this event occurred on Easter Sunday. Washington Irving, in his *Spanish Voyages of Discovery*, Fairbanks' *History of Florida*, *The History of Hernando de Soto and Florida*, by Barnard Shipp, mention Palm Sunday as the day on which the discovery was made. The last of these works, issued in 1881, contains translations of the original Spanish

and French narratives of events that occurred in Florida from 1512 to 1568. The opening sentence of the preface is : "The Peninsula of Florida was discovered by Juan Ponce de Leon on *Pascua Florida* (Palm Sunday), in the year 1512; and because of the day in which he discovered it he gave it the name of Florida." The same statement is made in the narrative of the discovery by Ponce de Leon. "From which circumstance, as well as having discovered it on Palm Sunday (*Pascua Florida*), he gave it the name of Florida."

If it be true that this important event took place on Palm Sunday, should not the erroneous statement regarding its occurrence on Easter Sunday be corrected? For history should always be in accordance with truth and fact. Will the *Magazine of American History*, or some of its cultivated readers, decide the point in question? J. H. MARTIN

GEORGETOWN, KENTUCKY

DID WASHINGTON EAT GREEN PEAS WITH A KNIFE?—The following extract is taken from the *Elementary History of the United States*, by G. P. Quackenbos, 1886. The author has not sinned enough in repeating an absurd story about an attempt to poison General Washington, in June, 1776, which has no foundation, but he is also guilty of accusing the great hero of eating green peas with a knife :

"Fixing his eyes upon the guilty man, he put a spoonful of peas on his plate, and asked him, 'Shall I eat of these?' 'I don't know,' stammered the man, turning deadly pale. *Washington took some on his knife*, and again asked, 'Shall I eat of these?' The man could not say a word, but raised his hand as if to prevent it."

It is interesting also to note that this "history" has been adopted by the authorities of the city of Brooklyn for use in their schools. MINTO

REPLIES

A JUST TRIBUTE [XVI. 394]—There is nothing said in the tribute to the memory of Hon. Robert L. F. Peyton that is not true. We knew him well. Our first acquaintance was formed with him in 1856, in Lexington, Missouri, and though not often thrown in association with him at that time, by reason of the distance of our respective homes, we learned to appreciate his high intellectual gifts, his gentleness, and his manly and courageous bearing. In after years, at Jefferson City, when he represented the Cass County district in the State Senate, we became more intimate in our intercourse, and the more we saw of him the

higher became our estimate of his character. We afterward met him in Richmond, where he represented his State in the Senate of the Confederacy, from which position he resigned to take an active part in the field.

No more knightly spirit than his ever stirred humanity. He was brave to recklessness when confronted with danger, yet was one of the gentlest of men, winning by the grace of his manners and the delicate fibre of his nature the esteem, yea, the love, of all whose good fortune it was to know him well.—Editor of *Valley Virginian*.

BOOK NOTICES

HISTORY OF THE PACIFIC STATES OF NORTH AMERICA. By HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT. Volume XVII. CALIFORNIA, Volume V., 1846-1848. 8vo, pp. 784. The History Company, Publishers, 1886. San Francisco.

This work is of exceptional value on account of the important period of which it treats. It is a complete history of the conquest or occupation of California by the United States, beginning with the operations of Frémont in 1846. Many events are described which are yet fresh in the memory of living men, and the policy of our government and the acts of its agents are brought into the clear critical light—the new light—revealing many a long and well-kept secret. Mr. Bancroft has apparently taken a comprehensive view of the situation, and writes with an assurance that seems to be fully sustained with overwhelming evidence. He has marshaled an array of facts into the foreground which deal with Frémont in a most searching and merciless manner. In the Bear Flag Revolt Mr. Bancroft condemns Frémont's course throughout, and declares the affair to have been uncalled for, criminal, and entirely without effect on the history of the State. He shows that Frémont exceeded his instructions in anticipating the war between Mexico and the United States, and that his excuses for his act—alleging the necessity of protecting the American residents—were utterly unfounded. The author says: "There can be no doubt that Frémont's strongest incentive was personal ambition. He confidently counted upon an immediate declaration of war between the United States and Mexico; and he believed that by commencing hostilities he might gain for himself a large share of credit for the conquest, which would otherwise fall to the naval commanders. The prevalent rumors among the settlers, afforded him a plausible pretext for an action that also offered a remedy for wounded military pride (referring to the occasion when Frémont 'ran away'). Should he err in his expectations of war, there would yet remain a chance of prominence in an independent California republic. Young and adventurous, he resolved to take the risks. From the stand-point of a purely personal ambition, he decided wisely. The result probably surpassed his most sanguine expectations. His decision made him subsequently a popular hero, a Senator of the United States, a candidate for the Presidency, a millionaire *ad interim*, a major-general—in fact, it gave him greater prominence than has perhaps ever been attained in the United States by any other man of no greater ability. He was essentially a lucky fellow."

Every chapter in the volume contains material of intense interest. The political controversies of Stockton, Kearny and Frémont, under the new régime; Cook, Brannan, and the Mormon battalion; Tompkins, Sherman, Ord, and Halleck with the artillery company; Stevenson and the New York Volunteers; the peaceful rule of Mason as military governor; and the treaty of the two governments assuring California to the United States—all these the reader will find worthy of closest study. The horrible sufferings of the Donner Party are described graphically and at length, and, after a few chapters devoted to the institutional annals of the period, the volume closes with the third and final installment of the alphabetical Pioneer Register and Index of all who came to the country before 1849.

The courage of Mr. Bancroft, whose rich and varied accumulations were so recently destroyed in a single blast of flame, has touched the public heart, and won for him and his latest production universal sympathy and profound admiration. When the disaster took place he was at San Diego, California, seeking rest from his severe literary labors. He was called to the scene, and it is said he bore himself among the ruins of his life-work with a calmness, resolution and fortitude worthy of the most heroic models. Wasting no time in lamentation, he set himself at once to prepare the way for continuing the issue of his great series of histories. To secure this object beyond risk of failure, to render it certain that the works should be completed as announced and promised to the public in the beginning, he made every possible sacrifice. He cheerfully surrendered all the possessions that remained to him for this noble object. In the next volume he will treat of a new era—that of gold.

THE MAKING OF NEW ENGLAND, 1580-1643. By SAMUEL ADAMS DRAKE. With many illustrations and maps. 12mo, pp. 251. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1886.

With the aid of abundant illustrations, this not very pretentious book aims to supply the undoubted want of condensed, trustworthy authorities concerning the formative periods of American commonwealths. The time is well chosen for the publication of such a book, for the last decade has seen the elucidation of numerous historical problems, and many standard textbooks need revision in the light of recent discovery. The general plan of the work is to take up each topic by itself, so that each may be considered independently of the rest. There are six general divisions, entitled, respectively, "Westward Ho!" "Coming to Stay," "His-

toric Stepping-Stones," "Coming of the Puritans," "Outswarms from the Mother Colony," and "The Era of Progress." Under each of these are short chapters appropriately sub-dividing the general divisions. Under the fourth general head, for instance, are treated "The Colony at Salem," "The great Emigration of 1630," "Boston explored and settled," Indian character, etc. The accompanying illustrations show a map of Salem, Roger Williams' house, reproductions of early maps of the Colony, costumes, implements, and the like—an illustration for almost every page. The attempt to provide striking captions for each, not altogether successful, has indeed sometimes overreached itself, as, for instance, when we find in close juxtaposition "Westward Ho!" "The Mystic Coast of Cod," "Westward the Course of Empire takes its Way."

CENTENNIAL HISTORY OF THE
PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH,
in the Diocese of New York. 1785-1885.
Edited by JAMES GRANT WILSON. 8vo, pp.
454. New York, 1886. D. Appleton & Co.

"The rise and growth of a church in a nation, or any part of a nation, which has expanded like the United States, is perhaps the most important theme in the history of the nation itself." These impressive lines catch the eye as we open the beautiful volume of "Proceedings of the Centenary Celebration of the Diocese of New York," and remain fixed in the thought—a crystallized gem of truth. We next turn to a finely executed picture of Old Trinity Church; and we regard with more than ordinary interest the seven steel portraits of the successive bishops of New York, the first of whom was the celebrated Bishop Samuel Provoost. He was one of the seven graduates of Columbia College at its first commencement, in 1758, carrying off the honors, although the youngest of his class. A charmingly written biographical sketch of this great divine, from the pen of the editor, General James Grant Wilson, is of special value. It contains a most interesting letter from Bishop Provoost, penned in the early part of the Revolution, and never before published. "In person," General Wilson says, "Bishop Provoost was above medium height. His countenance was round and full and highly intellectual. He was stately, self-possessed, and dignified in manner, presenting, in the picturesque dress of that day, an imposing appearance." The sketch of Bishop Moore follows, by the Right Reverend Cornelius B. Smith; that of Bishop Hobart is contributed by the Right Reverend Arthur Cleveland Coxe; that of Bishop Onderdonk, by Rev. Samuel Seabury, D.D.; that of Bishop Wainwright, by Right Reverend W. C. Doane;

that of Bishop Potter, by Rev. Morgan Dix, D.D.; and that of Assistant Bishop Henry C. Potter, by General Wilson. These biographies are all of the first interest, as might be confidently expected from the character of the distinguished subjects, as well as from such eminent and well known writers. The historic notices which follow, of all the parishes in the diocese, with accounts of the church institutions of learning and charity, and a survey of the church literature of the century, are rich with information and exact data, and are presented in the most concise form.

The proceedings at Trinity Church, on Wednesday, September 30, 1885, are recorded at length in the volume. An eloquent sermon was preached by the Rev. William J. Seabury, D.D., Rector of the Church of the Annunciation, New York, his text being the twelfth verse of the forty-eighth Psalm: "Mark ye well her bulwarks, set up her houses; that ye may tell them that come after." On the evening of the same day services were held in St. Thomas' Church, Fifth Avenue, and "An Historical Essay," read by Rev. B. F. De Costa, D.D., who subsequently added to the volume "A Sketch of the Church and State in New York, during the Colonial Period"—as an introduction to the foregoing essay. This contribution contains much excellent historic material, but its force and dignity as a narrative of church development is seriously impaired by the bitter partisan spirit which appears—as it seems to us, quite uncalled for—in many of its pages. The address of Bishop Coxe is a model of pulpit eloquence. He relates how the diocese of Western New York originated fifty years ago, and pays a beautiful tribute to the "graceful and learned Bishop De Lancey." Bishop Doane follows with an able discourse touching upon the Diocese of Albany; and Bishop Littlejohn speaks of the duty of the hour, to interpret and apply the lessons taught by all historic reminiscences. "The past is of moment to us chiefly as it bears on what we are to be and to do. It is the test of life, that it begets more life. It is the characteristic of Christian responsibility, that it knows no limit short of the universal spread of the Gospel of Christ and the salvation of all to whom it was sent."

The volume has been remarkably well edited, and it is furnished with an excellent index.

REMINISCENCES OF THE "FILIBUSTER" WAR IN NICARAGUA. By C. W. DOUBLEDAY. 12mo, pp. 225. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1886.

Middle-aged men can easily recall the excitement that prevailed when they were boys, over

the expedition of General Walker to Central America with a view to the liberation of the country from the despotic rule under which it was then held. It is a pity that the author did not preface his narrative with a brief resumé of the circumstances that led to the expedition. A majority of the fairly well informed American men and women of to-day under thirty years of age never so much as heard of General Walker, and his gallant, but ill-advised attempt to achieve the liberation of Nicaragua. If the story itself were poorly told it would not be worth while to make this criticism, but the literary work is admirably done, and the story of the daring and lawless exploits of Walker and his men, their perils and victories, their wounds and hardships, is narrated with a grace and *esprit* that must interest the most indifferent reader.

THE GREAT CONSPIRACY. Its Origin and History. By JOHN A. LOGAN. 8vo, pp. 810. New York, 1886. A. R. Hart & Co.

The book before us is one that should be read without any preconceived notions concerning its political bias, and it should be judged from a purely historical stand-point. General Logan has evidently written from intense conviction, and his utterances are intended to be entirely without malice or uncharitableness, whatever that may imply. He has written with exceptional power, and his work is destined to live when many a weaker production will have been lost in oblivion. There is significance in his assurances that he has not thought it his duty "to mince words, nor to refrain from calling things by their right names." But he claims to have conscientiously endeavored to be accurate and just in dealing with the chief characters in his story of the origin of the late civil war. Whether he has been so is a matter of much diversity of opinion. He is, however, supported in his statements and theories by voluminous quotations from the truthful records at Washington. He opens the volume with a discussion of the slavery question, tracing its growth from the beginning of our national government. He touches upon the Missouri struggle and compromise, and reviews the early history of the country in the matter of taxation. He discusses the annexation of Texas, the war with Mexico, the attempts to organize the Territory of Nebraska in violation of the Missouri Compromise, and the great debate between Mr. Douglas and Mr. Lincoln. The nomination and election of Mr. Lincoln follow; and a picturesque account of the turmoil in the early months of 1861, when secession was arming, and one after another of the national counselors from the South were saying their bitter and defiant adieus. The chapter entitled "Slavery's Setting," descriptive of that long last night of the 36th Con-

gress—and of the Democratic administration—is admirably well done, and intensely interesting. It is nearly all quotations from speeches of the leading men of the North and the South—Crittenden, Douglas, Seward, Henry Winter Davis, Louis T. Wigfall, Mr. Lincoln and others. The succeeding events in the great drama are narrated rapidly. There are many infelicities of style pervading the work, but the author is always fearless and forcible, whatever his shortcomings in the elegancies of diction. He alludes kindly to "those who were misled by the cunning secrecy of the conspirators, and without an inkling, or even a suspicion, of their fell purposes, went manfully into the field, and for four years of bloody conflict, believing that their cause was just, fought the armies of the Union, in a mad effort to destroy the best government yet devised upon this planet:" and says he has no words "condemnatory of those who, with manly candor, soldierly courage, and true patriotism, acknowledged their error when the ultimate arbitrament of the sword had decided against them." Many of the chapters are red-hot with partisan spirit, for General Logan's studies embrace a wide field of antagonistical action. But, however much the reader may disagree with him in matters of interpretation or political opinion, the value of his work will never be lightly appreciated—nor will it be laid upon the shelf unread. It is not a dull book, but interesting from cover to cover.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES IN AMERICAN HISTORY, with numerous SEARCH QUESTIONS. By GEORGE A. WILLIAMS, A.M. 16mo, pp. 50. Pamphlet. Syracuse, New York, 1886. C. W. Bardeen, Publisher.

We have examined this little hand-book with more than ordinary interest, and commend it unhesitatingly and warmly to both teachers and pupils. It consists of a series of lessons, each lesson embracing a dozen or more topics or questions, followed by references to the various important authorities relating to these topics. The topical method has many advantages—calling attention to facts and their proper relations, while it stimulates observation, awakens interest, and creates thought in the young mind. The author has shown remarkable versatility of talent in the preparation of the work; and the pupil who becomes familiar with its pages and profits by its suggestions cannot be otherwise than well informed. It is a departure from the dull, old-fashioned and hackneyed methods of teaching American history—and we doubt not many a teacher will reap a harvest of knowledge concerning the origin, growth, and expansion of our country, through its agreeable aid, as well as our future citizens and rulers, whose education they have in charge. Opening the volume at

random we find under the general topic of "The Confederation becomes a Union," twelve questions, among which are several relating to the Conventions, and the Constitution, and one concerning the "Ordinance of 1787." The only reference given for the latter is the scholarly paper of President Andrews, published in the *Magazine of American History* in August, 1886. One of the excellent features of this improved mode of instruction in history is the marked attention given to the study of the questions of the day. On page 46, for instance, the special topic is "Cleveland;" and the questions and references open the way to the very best sources of current information. The search questions are also admirable. This miniature hand-book needs only to be known to command appreciation, and we predict that it will become, and not very long hence, one of the most popular little works of its character ever published in America.

THE SEVENTY-NINTH HIGHLANDERS,
New York Volunteers, in the WAR OF THE
REBELLION, 1861-1865. By WILLIAM TODD
(of Company B). Illustrated, 8vo, pp. 513.
1886. Albany, Press of Brandow, Barton &
Co.

The events so graphically narrated in this handsome volume are none the less worthy of the place given them in the history of our country, because they relate simply to one individual regiment. The author is particularly modest, and hints to his readers the possibility of their wishing his name had been enrolled among the list of "killed in battle," rather than on the title-page of such a book. But his work has been so well done that we think his readers should be congratulated on the fact that his life was spared. Beginning with the journey to Washington in 1861, the movements and experiences of the regiment are traced through the Bull Run campaign, the James Island campaign, to Newport News, Pope's campaign, the Maryland campaign, Antietam, the battle of Fredericksburgh, the Vicksburg campaign, the Jackson campaign, the East Tennessee campaign, the Wilderness, and Spottsylvania. Every chapter abounds in incident and anecdote. This regiment saw active service almost perpetually. While on the march from Mississippi to East Tennessee it was encamped on one occasion near a company of two thousand Confederate prisoners on their way North in charge of some Ohio troops. The author says: "Most of the poor fellows were hungry, and we shared

our crackers with them; they had been living principally on flour rolled into dough and baked on stones before the fire, or toasted on the ends of ramrods. Their gray uniforms were in fair condition, but they had no extra clothing. Considerable amusement was provided when some of them asked if there were any 'Mass'chusetts men' in our command. They had 'heerd tell about Mass'chusetts men,' and were anxious, apparently, to see whether they really did wear horns and tails! We explained matters to the men of the Thirty-sixth Massachusetts, and soon a half dozen of the tallest of that regiment—one, whom we had dubbed the 'Infant,' being nearly seven feet, while his companions were all over six feet tall—were presented to the Confederates, with an apology for being compelled to show the *small ones*, the big fellows being at that moment away on some special duty!"

The list of engagements in which this regiment participated number twenty-eight. The narrative is continuous, flowing easily, and is absorbingly interesting. To appreciate the book, however, it must be read.

THE BOOK OF ELOQUENCE: A Collection of Extracts in Prose and Verse, from the most Famous Orators and Poets: Intended as Exercises for Declamation in Colleges and Schools. By CHARLES DUDLEY WARNER. 12mo, pp. 452. Boston, 1886. Lee & Shepard.

Excellent service has been rendered all students in the art of oratory in our educational institutions by this admirable collection of extracts suitable for declamation. Mr. Warner says, "Of the many compilations of a similar design in print, some are utterly unfit for their intended purpose, by reason of the too great length of the selections, and nearly all having been long in use, have become irksome to the student; thus it has been my special endeavor in this work to present new and spirited extracts." Mr. Warner has not, however, lost sight of the master-pieces of eloquence, which, though familiar, never grow old, and we find them marshaled in tempting array within this handsomely-printed volume. He has given ample space to American eloquence, in one hundred and sixty-six examples. European eloquence, ancient and modern, appears in eighty-nine examples. The selections of poetry, numbering one hundred and nine examples, are the best for the purposes intended we have ever seen. The book is issued in good taste, and has no superior of its kind in the English language.



MAJ. GEN. HENRY WATER BUTLER
1811-1877
FROM A PAINTING IN POSSESSION OF GENERAL GEORGE W. BUTLER.

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ONE NEW ENGLAND THANKSGIVING



OT one of our annual holidays bears a name so suggestive of genuine hospitality as Thanksgiving. To the New Englander of a former generation and remote locality it meant vastly more than a religious festival, although services in the sanctuary were the most conspicuous feature of its observance. It was a social family reunion, to which for months relatives and friends looked forward with joyful anticipations. Much has been written concerning this time-honored holiday in the way of brilliant generalities,

but the world outside of the charmed New England region has still only vague notions as to its true significance. The sympathies it awakens are of the kind to be felt rather than described, hence we need not wonder that it is so imperfectly understood in its details. The sons and daughters of New England, in whatever portion of our vast country they may have planted their homes, are ever found turning their faces New England-ward at the thanksgiving season. It was estimated in 1858 that from New York City alone at least ten thousand persons returned to the New England States to spend the beloved day. Of such very few will fail to appreciate the picturesque simplicity and genuine romance which characterized thanksgiving festivities in the olden time. The more remote from cities and large towns the homestead, the richer the field for the artist who wields either pen or pencil in description.

My personal acquaintance with Thanksgiving day in New England was formed at an early period in my history. Its recollections inspire this brief sketch. The host and hostess were Puritans of the old school, the typical grandfather and grandmother of blessed memory. The host had been a brave soldier in the Revolution. The ancestor of the hostess was

a passenger to America in the *Mayflower*. They were united in marriage November 27, 1788, a few months prior to the inauguration of Washington as the first President of the United States, and this particular Thanksgiving day under review was to them their wedding anniversary as well. They had immediately after their marriage made themselves a permanent home in a new Massachusetts township in the wilderness, where settlers were few and discomforts many, and erected a commodious and substantial dwelling-house. The bride was twenty-five years of age,

a tall, queenly, well-informed woman; the bridegroom a handsome, energetic young man of twenty-eight, whose features retained their peculiar manly beauty through a long life of upwards of ninety well-rounded years. Their house was a unique example of the early domestic archi-



THE WOODED HILLS OF THE NEW TOWNSHIP.



THE NEW ENGLAND HOMESTEAD OF THE PIONEER.

tecture of the Puritans. It is still standing hoary with age, and yet no ruin, but a comfortable habitation. These early American homes are in the superlative degree interesting, since they vividly illustrate the practical adaptation of principles of domestic architecture, culled from all ages and countries, to the climate and conditions of a pioneer life in a new and progressive community. Built on high ground, the structure, if too tall, would be at the mercy of high winds and blizzards in the winter; thus the extensive ground-floor and sharp-pointed roof so much in vogue in country places at the beginning of the present century. The cellar in this instance was almost as large as the house itself, and from its centre arose an enormous chimney, extending to the roof, and occupying nearly as much space as an ordinary dwelling of modern times—a feature considered as an important element of architectural strength.

In its outward effect nothing could have been more simple and unpretending than this old mansion, painted in dark red, with its secure foundation and solid masonry. Entering it through the front door (on stately occasions), two spacious square rooms attracted the visitor's notice on either side of the entrance passage. But you would naturally choose the other and more familiar entrance at the gable-end of the dwelling, and find yourself presently in the broad living room, or kitchen, running the whole length of the house, excepting where space for bedrooms and pantries had been clipped off at each end. Here was where the family congregated. The immense fire-place, the broad hearth-stone—a perpetual curiosity to immature eyes—the tall clock in the corner, like a thing of life indeed, and the spinning-wheel and the dye-tub, belonged in those early days specifically to this apartment. There was, however, a second kitchen beyond, in a sort of rear wing that appeared to be an afterthought of the builder; and just outside one of its windows was the moss-covered well-bucket of song and story, suspended from an old-fashioned well-sweep. The chambers of the house were numerous and roomy, and beyond them was a genuine garret reached by a ladder.

A smaller house, occupied by the man and his family who took care of the farm, was built close by, so near, in fact, that the corners of the two structures almost touched each other. Barns and outhouses sprung up and multiplied in various directions; the tallest and trimmest trees of the forest were planted on each side of the roadway approach, like sentinels on duty; fruit orchards were cultivated, and vegetable gardens were laid out with painstaking care. The rich table land, so wisely selected by the young pioneer, soon gave abundant evidence of thrift and prosperity. Neighbors were few and scattered, but they made up in quality what they lacked in numbers. The families who gradually settled in this remote town among the hills, were superior in mind and character to the average people of their time. They founded a church when as yet they could only count fourteen members, and paid their first minister two hundred dollars a year—and he thought it was all his preaching was worth. He was a man of great learning as well as piety, and remained with the parish not less than fifty years. He helped to build the sombre meeting-house that lifted its belfry into the sky—with its hospitable row of horse-sheds as a body-guard on one side—and was instrumental in awakening more frequent revivals of religion in his church than were ever chronicled in half a century in any other town in Massachusetts. He also taught a classical school in his own house, charging the boys one dollar per week for board and tuition, and fitted many bright pupils for a noble manhood.



THE OLD-FASHIONED FIRE-PLACE.

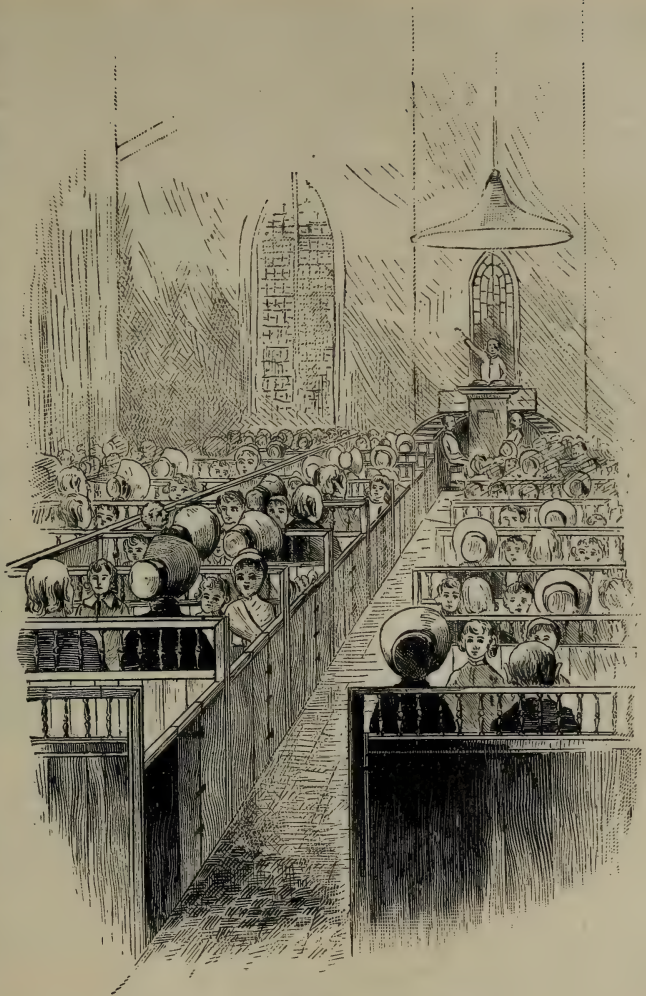
amid other scenes—for important trusts, indeed, in church and state in all parts of our own and other lands. As years rolled on his children as well as the children of our host and hostess were children no longer, and troops of children's children were coming from other places to the ancestral homes at each return of Thanksgiving, making the old walls echo to the ringing music of their merry voices.

Our party arrived, after a tiresome drive, on the night before the day big with the fate of many fowls. Sent early to bed, we were prepared for Thanksgiving breakfast at the regulation hour, where the delicious chicken served so bountifully was but the foretaste of what was to follow as the day progressed. Then came family devotions, each person present, old and young, participating in the service by reading two verses of Scripture, and kneeling while the prayer was offered, in which these words were uttered: "It is both the duty and the privilege of a Christian people to recognize their obligations to the bountiful Giver of all good, and to recognize the fresh and continued evidence of the divine favor and forbearance during the past year." The host, at this date, was a portly, well preserved,

warm-hearted man, of some fourscore years, whose eyesight (without the aid of glasses) was perfect, but who walked with crutches, one foot having been destroyed. He was a most delightful story-teller, and was ever in his best and happiest humor with a group of grandchildren clustered about him—one usually occupying the place of honor on his sound knee—listening with bated breath to the stirring accounts of his exploits in the Revolutionary army. He was just fifteen years of age when hostilities began, and his diverting narrative of how he skipped behind his uncle at the battle of Bunker Hill, to escape being shot by the enemy, brought him very close to the heart of his juvenile audience. He grew older and of more consequence as the war advanced, and was engaged in serious work. Tragic, indeed, was the story of how he was four days without food in the woods of Maine, wandering from the Penobscot River, up which his sloop had been chased by the British, through the wilderness to Boston. All his varied experiences were, for us, most exciting and bewildering.

The hostess, who as we have seen was his junior by three years, was exceedingly tall, commanding in appearance, and very grave and earnest in conversation. She was kind and gentle and lovable, but rarely laughed with us. When we claimed her attention, she explained to us the true character of the Thanksgiving festival, and said it ought always to be regarded as a strictly religious celebration. She told us that it was originally suggested by the Hebrew feast of tabernacles, and was not unusual in Europe before the discovery of America; that such a day was observed in Leyden, Holland, on the 3d of October, 1575, the first anniversary of the deliverance of that city from siege; and that her ancestors who came over in the *Mayflower*, in 1620, held the first New England Thanksgiving within ten months after landing at Plymouth. Looking into her sweet, deep-blue eyes and animated face while these words fell from her lips, we could almost, with but slight help of the imagination, see the far-away light on the Atlantic coast, as Governor Bradford's four men came back from fowling to rejoice and be thankful all together. One grandchild, lifted suddenly among the clouds of fancy with the thrilling idea, ran screaming through the house: "I can touch the first Thanksgiving in the world! Our dear grandmother was there just after she came over in the *Mayflower*, more than two hundred years ago, and I can put my hand upon her living hand, and kiss her beautiful white hair!" The check to such an ambitious flight came quickly, and the severe and well-timed rebuke for inattention and inaccuracy was singularly effectual. Just then a rollicking rover brought sensational news from the kitchen, to the effect that a big conflagration had broken out in the

brick oven, that six puddings were filled with plums, and that "Lady Jane Grey, Queen Elizabeth, and Marie Antoinette, with their heads cut off, were being dressed for dinner!" We were wisely restrained from inquisitive questioning and from individual investigation, by the order to make ready for church. When the adult visitors were also equipped, it was found that a part of our juvenile delegation had moved on in advance, perched hatless and cloakless on the back of a quaint little white pony some three and a half feet high, belonging to one of the party. Such boisterous proceedings suggested far too much levity for the



ATTENDING CHURCH ON THANKSGIVING DAY.

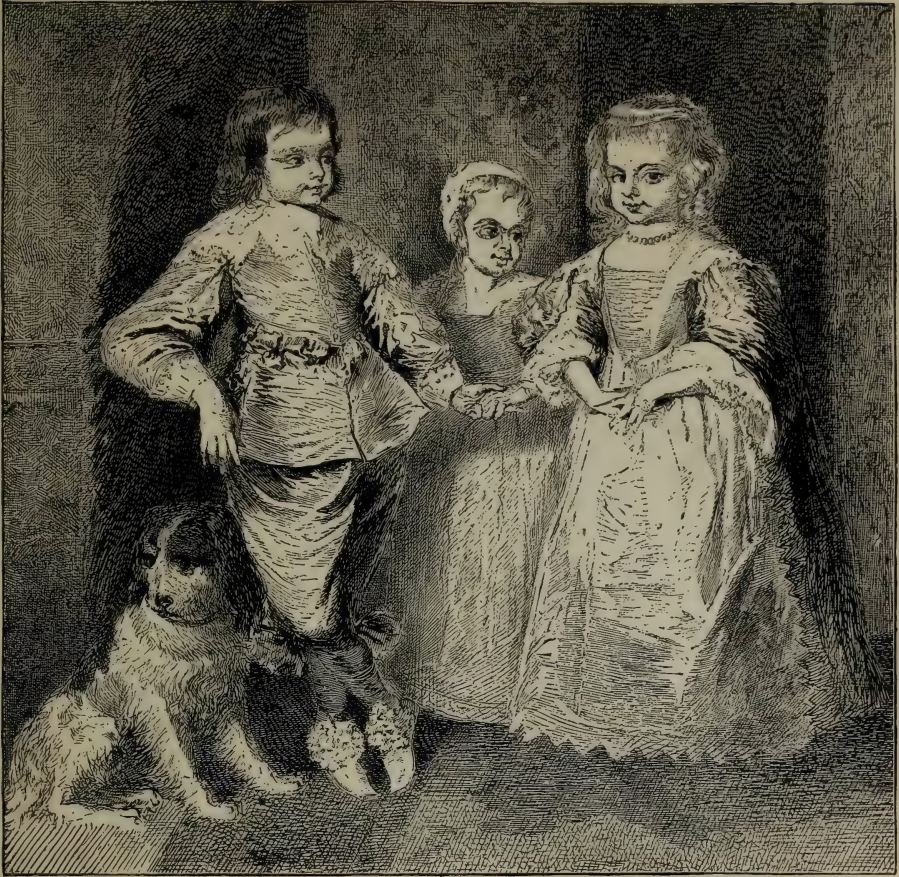
solemn and important occasion, and we were called back and dismounted, to our infinite regret, and to the apparent dissatisfaction of the notable pony, with his oval-shaped ears standing up as straight as church spires above wicked-looking eyes, for he was never averse to a frolic. But every trace of mirth and irreverence was subdued before we reached the sacred edifice, which we entered with as much gravity and somewhat of the dignity of our elders. This old meeting-house, fashioned after a pattern never

much known beyond New England and long since obsolete was a custom in its way. Its joys were square-like homes and the family when seated on all sides of one, quietly assembled a sleigh-riding party—the children and other unimportant persons being placed with their backs to the minister. The pulpit was high and straight, and over the head of the preacher was suspended an immense sounding-board. The deacons had a pew to themselves in front of the pulpit, and the choir nearly filled the great galleries extending across three sides of the building, suggesting to the very young mind the old picture of Jesus and his hosts—especially in using to sing a hymn with the leader transfixing his enormous tuning-fork. When the choir sang the congregation stood also. The Thanksgiving service to which we listened was most impressive. The learned pastor infused into it the best of his own enthusiasm, the full measure of his own gratitude for blessings received. There was no ambiguity in his expressions, no confusion in his own thoughts of how much to attempt or how to discriminate. His style was simple and direct, his speech as spontaneous as that of an ingenuous, impetuous boy; his piety as transparent as glass. On reaching home our solitary hostess catechised us as to the text, and what we had learned at the morning service that we could always remember? The following response came from the youngest of our number, and must have surprised her: "I don't know true how it begins, but it goes this way:

"Till we be carried o'er the seas
Or fiery sea of ease,
While others fight us with the price,
And all through bloody war."

Thus the choir on that particular occasion furnished the child a germ of thought, one that was to mature subsequently into a pillar of strength, and prove as helpful as to cause its possessor to feel oftentimes like celebrating Thanksgiving every day in the year.

Then we in turn catechised our entertainer, and elicited much best information about Thanksgiving observance in America since that initial celebration of the Pilgrims in 1621. We learned that the first national appointment of a Thanksgiving day was in 1789, by President Washington, the very next year after our grandmother's marriage and establishment in her new home. She told us how thankful she felt on that particular morning, and what a personal matter she made of the occasion, although its special purpose, as recommended by Congress, was to give thanks for the adoption of the Constitution. In 1795, President Washing-



THE CHILDREN OF CHARLES I.

[From the sketch by Vandyck in the Louvre.]

ton issued a second proclamation for a national day of thanksgiving, that time on account of the suppression of an insurrection. Going backward a century and more, she explained to us that days of thanksgiving had been appointed in Massachusetts in 1633, in 1634, in 1637, in 1638, in 1639, in 1651, in 1658, and in 1680, about which time it became an annual State custom. She said that occasional days of thanksgiving were appointed by the Dutch governor of New York, as early as 1644, and in many of the years later on. But until the present century had considerably advanced, the official recommendations for the observance of the Thanksgiving festival were mainly confined to the New England States.

The irrepressible company were finally dismissed for their own entertainment, and with flying feet went in pursuit of information of a different character. The mystery of mysteries was the cooking of the Thanksgiving dinner. To most of us, at that period, the long crane in the monster fire-place was a novelty, and the iron kettles of varied shapes and sizes hanging upon it with their boiling and stewing contents, of greater moment than the British Museum has ever been to us since. Steaming pies, mince, apple, and pumpkin, coming from the brick oven, together with a regiment of puddings, whetted our appetites marvelously; and chickens roasting before the fire in a movable tin bake-oven were declared "done" by a self-appointed committee a dozen times or more before the banquet hour arrived. The chicken pie, without which no New England Thanksgiving could have been complete, we did not discover until we were served to it at the table. But we had secret advices from our cheery host that it was baking, with a friendly caution against indecorous interrogation where so many amateur cooks were concerned; and while we waited, with a polite exhibition of excessive patience not very cordially felt, he charmed us with another invoice of captivating stories. He told us about the Kings of England from James I. to George III., describing each in his personal and domestic relations; the tragic fate of Charles I. stirred our quick sympathies for his children, as they stood before us in a copy of the old painting in the Louvre to which we were introduced. He lighted up his accounts of George III. with humorous anecdotes, and, as never before, we gloried in the struggle which had given birth to a government of our own. In the mean time, he taught us other things worth knowing, as, for instance, that man is equal to his aspirations and can obtain whatever he labors for; that study would open a thousand avenues for our future happiness; that we could acquire lessons of value from observation, if we were not too dull to comprehend the fact that we were to go through life with our eyes open; that the art of thinking, the cultivation of memory, and the use of words were three branches of knowledge we particularly needed; and that for people of good sound sense life was really worth living. Perhaps we enjoyed the delicious Thanksgiving feast all the more when it was at length announced for the mental nourishment and encouragement we had received. It would be a pleasure to chronicle the bill of fare under which the table groaned, but the reader has caught a few glimpses already, and the actual statistics would occupy too much space. It was a dinner unlike any offered at the present day—and such an one as would have been difficult to find outside of New England in that long ago. The evening was devoted to varied amusements in which all participated—fathers, mothers, aunts, uncles and cousins,

as well as the children—and games of every description even to “blind-man’s-buff” and “my ship has come from India” followed each other in rapid succession. At nine o’clock precisely, tea, cake, pie, fruit and nuts were served in magnificent proportions, and the party retired to dream of grandfathers and grandmothers and that genuine old-fashioned New England Thanksgivings had no end.

The spirit of the Thanksgiving festival is, however, and should be, the same in all periods and decades. It can never, in its observances, be to the children of other States and climes just what it was and is to the children



THE THANKSGIVING DINNER.

of New England. Yet the sentiment breathing through the latest proclamation of the Governor of New York for the observance of November 25, 1886, is not so very different from those early proclamations of our forefathers. It opens as follows :

“Let there be thanksgiving and prayer to Almighty God for the abundant harvest and the blessings of health and peace with which the year has been crowned. Let there be prayer for a continuance of all the tender mercies and the watchful care which have been divinely granted to us in the past.”

Martha J Lamb

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE'S LITERARY EXECUTOR

THE FIRST SHAKESPEAREAN REVIVAL

There is one Anglo-Saxon heritage which we of this side "the mournful and misty Atlantic" certainly have retained equally with our brethren who never came out from under domination of the British crown. The great Shakespeare, at least, knew nothing of an America that was not England; and, in all that goes by his name, there is no hint of a dividing ocean. Both sides of this ocean to-day, as then, are owners of his undying works. And both sides ought to remember gratefully any hand which helped to preserve, in unbroken line from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, this heritage.

Whether connected with William Shakespeare by any natural tie or not, certainly, Sir William Davenant was the nearest approach to a literary executor that William Shakespeare ever had. And that it was he, and he alone, who carried William Shakespeare through a cycle which cared nothing for him, but (as Pepys's and Evelyn's diaries sufficiently evince) preferred artificial Frenchiness and libertinism, ought to be remembered.

After Davenant's death, Dryden wrote a preface to his own and Davenant's version of *The Tempest*, in which he says, "Sir William Davenant did me the honor to join me with him in the alteration of this work. It was originally Shakespeare's, a poet for whom he had a particularly high veneration, and whom he first taught me to admire." And we shall see there is plenty of other proof of Sir William's sturdy, and—as it had to be in that age,—stubborn loyalty to the great poet of all time—of every time, it seems, except that one.

Young William Davenant, after some preliminary schooling, entered Lincoln College in 1621. But he scribbled poetry instead of studying, and soon left without taking any degree. He attracted the attention of the gay Duchess of Richmond, and for a while became her page, from which service he entered the household of Sir Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, who had been a friend of Sir Philip Sidney, and was himself something of a poet. When Lord Brooke died, in 1628, Davenant was left unprovided for, and began to earn his livelihood by his pen alone. His bent was for dramatic poetry, probably the most remunerative sort of verse at that time, as now. At any rate, he produced a lot of plays, all of which were

successful. Among the first were *Gondibert*, *The Just Italian*, and *The Cruel Brother*. In 1637, Ben Jonson, the then poet-laureate, died. Davenant was appointed in his stead, with a salary of £100, but the "butt of sack" was, for some reason, withheld. Davenant now became one of that brilliant throng who, in the days of Charles I., the Parliament, and Charles II., surrounded the varying fortunes of the royal family. His associates and literary contemporaries were Waller, Carew, Sir John Suckling, Dryden, and Abraham Cowley. Thomas Hobbes, the philosopher, Lords Somerset, Clarendon, and Jermyn were his intimates. When Waller, Hobbes, and Suckling fled to France, in the troubled last days of Charles I., Davenant followed in the train of the wandering Queen Henrietta Maria. A dramatic poet, he was especially hated by the play-hating Puritans. In 1641 he was charged in Parliament with having taken part in a conspiracy to raise an army; was imprisoned, liberated on bail, forfeited it, and succeeded in reaching the shores of France, from whence he published an ineffectual memorial pamphlet addressed "*To the Hon. the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of the House of Commons assembled in Parliament.*" Commissioned by the queen, he returned to England with supplies for the royal army; saw active service at the siege of Gloucester in 1643, as Lieutenant-General of Artillery, and there received the honor of knighthood at the royal hand.

He again returned to France, resumed his place in the court of Queen Henrietta Maria, and while there became a Catholic. After Charles's execution he headed a colonizing expedition to Virginia, with the queen's sanction, but his ship was captured, and he was thrown into prison at Cowes, becoming for the second time a parliamentary prisoner. From here he wrote, in imminent prospect of decapitation, "But 'tis high time to strike sail, and cast anchor—though I have run but half my course—when, at the helm, I am threatened with death, who, though he can visit us but once, seems troublesome." He was released, however, and pardoned, owing to Milton's interposition (a favor he was able to reciprocate after the Restoration, when Cromwell's secretary, Milton, in turn, was threatened). After his release from the Tower he bade a long farewell to politics—in whose service he had endured almost everything except actual decapitation—and resumed his calling as a dramatist. He opened and managed, until his death in 1668, the Duke of York's Theater in Portugal Street, London. He was honored in death by burial in Westminster Abbey, under the inscription on his grave, "O rare Sir William Davenant." Such was Sir William Davenant's history: the history of a man of letters of those reckless and fitful days of anarchy and

social upheaval; no higher, perhaps, but certainly no less illustrious than that of any of his compeers. We come now to the peculiar and memorable service he rendered not only England, but the transatlantic world—every world, indeed, which reads to-day its Shakespeare.

We need not pause to glance here at the uprising of the Puritans, their war on the drama, and the return volleys fired by the theatre in the shape of a license it taxes language to express—a license which, when the Restoration allowed it full swing, became so extravagant that even the laxest of readers to-day shudders at its bestiality. In those days almost all literature was commonplace, except the drama, and that was carrion. Shakespeare was too pure and clean for the days of Charles II. He had to be done over by such men as Dryden, Ravenscroft, and Tait, to suit the ladies and gentlemen of whose doings Pepys and Evelyn kept diaries. But it is interesting to see how Davenant at once managed to keep the works of his master, Shakespeare, alive in the swim, and to avoid financial martyrdom in the process.

The great plays, we have seen, were dead—deader than they have ever been since. We happen to be able to realize precisely the difficulties experienced by Sir William in his crusade against the prurient and vitiated taste of the day, and the appetite and license which came back again with the restored king. John Evelyn, born in 1620, a courtier who had followed the royal fortunes, and at the Restoration had become a favorite at court—one of “the mob of gentlemen who writ with ease”—kept a diary of these days. This Evelyn diary gives, among other things which interested the diarist, very full lists of the plays the court witnessed; and bristles with evidence that, even for Davenant's sake, Charles II. could hardly be prevailed upon to sit out Shakespeare. “The old plays,” says Evelyn (apropos of *Hamlet*, which he saw February 28, 1666), “begin to disgust this refined age since his majesty is so long abroad.” A much more methodical diarist than Evelyn was Mr. Samuel Pepys, and his record is to the same effect as Evelyn's, exhibiting—if anything—even more emphatically, how utterly the Shakespearean plays were caviare to the general; and out of taste in the period of which he wrote.

Sept. 29th 1662—To the King's Theatre, where we saw Mid-summer Nights' Dream, which I had never seen before, nor ever shall again; for it is the most insipid, ridiculous play that I ever saw in my life.

Jan. 1, 1663-4—Saw the so much cried up play of Hen. VIII., which, though I went with great resolution to like it, is so simple a thing, made up of a great many patches, that besides the processions in it, there is nothing in it good or well done.

Aug. 15, 1667—To the Duke's House, where a new play; the house full; so we went to the King's, and there saw the *Merry Wives of Windsor* which did not please me at all, in no part of it.

Nov. 1, 1667—To the King's House, and there saw a silly play and an old one: *The Taming of the Shrew*.

1663-4—Jan. 5th. I saw the *Indian Queen* acted, a tragedy well written, so beautiful with rich scenes, as the like had never been seen here, or haply except rarely on a mercenary theatre.

And he notes also that Aug. 1, 1666, he saw *Othello*, "which, having lately read *The Adventures of Five Hours* it seems a mean thing," though he liked Davenant's *Macbeth*, with its music and dancing. And, when spending some money in books, Evelyn makes a note that he looked over Shakespeare, but finally chose "*Hudibras*, the book now in greatest fashion for drollery."

The result was that Sir William, finding that his patrons would not come and see Shakespeare as he was, to save himself from bankruptcy, bethought him of adding to their representation the charm of music and dancing, in the French mode, and of putting certain of the speeches into verse and setting them to scores. In other words, Davenant first introduced what we call Opera into England, if he did not actually invent opera itself. Nine of the Shakespeare plays were thus kept in commission by Davenant, either represented in "runs" or alternately with others. In those days of vicious tastes such a course would hardly have been persisted in by a man seeking to repair a fortune depleted by the long civil disturbances, had he not cherished a strong personal regard for the memory of the great dramatist, or inherited a taste for something better than the very weak and slim pabulum then monopolizing the stage, like the *Indian Queen*, or *The Adventures of Five Hours*, which Mr. Diarist Pepys found so delightful.

Plays were rendered, even at this date, with very little aid from movable or "practicable" scenery. A sign announced the name of the new play, and served as programmes or bills of the play do now. Another sign—frequently replaced—denoted the scene. There were a few scenic trees, rocks, a broad traverse to conceal the balcony in the rear of the stage, and a trap-door appears to have been invented as early as the days of Dekker, perhaps by Dekker himself. The incessant changes of scene called for by the original stage directions of the Shakespeare plays themselves, indicate very clearly this poverty of scenic contrivances. Their representation would have been almost impossible had a stage to be cleared and refurnished at each. But what the Shakespearean stage lost by its uninvented accoutrements, we of this age have gained. The rich pictorial diction, the noble descriptive

passages over which we gloat to-day, were necessary then to carry to the spectator's eye what, in these times, would be expressed by the scene-painter in rough distemper. Take, for instance, "Shakespeare's Cliff" in *King Lear*. Here, the scenic effect being entirely wanting, the idea of vast headlong distance was necessary to be conveyed in words, by describing how the

"crows and choughs, that wing the midway air,
Show scarce so gross as beetles. Half way down
Hangs one that gathers samphire,—dreadful trade !
Methinks he seems no bigger than his head :
The fishermen that walk upon the beach
Appear like mice ; and yon tall anchoring bark
Diminish'd to her cock ;" etc.

All this nowadays would be expressed with carpentry and canvas, and our libraries would be losers to just that extent. Nor was Shakespeare himself without a deep sense of the scenic imperfections of his day. The chorus in *Henry V.* constantly says to the audience, "Play with your fancies, and in them behold," etc.; "Suppose that you have seen," etc.; "O do but think you stand upon the rivage, and behold," etc.; "Or may we cram, within this wooden O, the very casques that did affright the air at Agincourt?" etc.

Davenant, however, determined to secure both. That is, he retained the word-painting, and called in both "carpentry and French." Up to his time a divided curtain, attached to rings running on a rod, was pulled apart when the show began. He substituted the drop curtain we now possess, widened the stage from the cramped box strewn with rushes (or, on rare occasions, with tapestry carpets) to the broad proscenium of the present style. He changed the hour of performance (always by daylight in Shakespeare's time) to evening. It seems beyond dispute that about all we have of "practicable scenery," and the contrivances which add so much to the modern stage, began abruptly with Davenant's determination to rescue the Shakespeare plays from limbo, and put them on a plane to at least compete with the prurient and palsied trash the appetite of his day preferred to them. The claim is a bold one, but is fully warranted by the record: and is of note, since therefrom it appears that to the influence of William Shakespeare and his memory we owe, not only all that is best in the text of the English drama, but what is best in its stage setting as well.

In the course of his endeavor, Davenant associated with himself one of the most interesting minor characters in English history of that period—Inigo Jones. Inigo Jones was born in London in 1572, eight years later

than William Shakespeare. We know nothing of his career until, at a date not certain, Pembroke, attracted by his genius, sent him to France, Germany, and, above all, Italy (then, as now, the home of graphic art). While in Venice, he was attracted by the works of Palladio, and on his return introduced his style, which seems to have completely dominated him, into England. We have, however, no record of his life until about 1605, when James I. employed him to devise scenery for the masques of Ben Jonson. It will always remain one of the stumbling-blocks of Shakespearean study, that great Shakespeare, the alleged favorite of two courts, wrote none of these masques; whereas Ben Jonson, his lesser light, was always employed at them. (It is claimed, indeed, that the *Midsummer Night's Dream* is a masque devised for courtly representation, although the court records of Elizabeth and James give no color to the claim.)

But certainly it is only a lesser marvel than the non-acquaintance of Shakespeare and Bacon, this inability to trace any coincidence of career between the former, the leading stage-manager, and Inigo Jones, the leading scenic artist and designer of costumes of those days. So great was Jones's repute, such the extreme confidence placed in him, that, in preparing the bodily part of Jonson's *Masque of Blackness*, Jones was allowed by the government £10,000 (present value of money) for his disbursement, with no account to be made thereof. In the same year he was summoned to Oxford to superintend three spectacles, and in the next year he worked at the splendid *Masque of Hymen*, planned to celebrate the marriage of Essex and Frances Howard. On this occasion one of the Jones contrivances was a globe, large enough to hold all the masquers, arranged in tableaux, and to turn on its axis in a horizontal plane without any machinery of support visible to the audience. Jones and Jonson long continued in a sort of Gilbert-Sullivan partnership, but finally quarreled. Townshend, Carew, Shirley, and Heywood afterwards became, for short periods, Jones's coadjutors, though we know nothing of their joint product. But, in 1634, a masque, *The Temple of Love*, was presented by the queen and her ladies at Whitehall, written by Davenant and contrived by Jones. Five or six other masques had followed this (indeed, it is said that Davenant owed his first favor at court to his services as libretto writer to Jones). So these two were by no means unacquainted, when, in his series of Shakespearean revivals, Davenant secured, as employé rather than as coadjutor, the services of the veteran artist, and Betterton was dispatched to Paris to study the details of arrangement of the French stage. The result was an impressive "opening run," and Sir William would certainly have been warranted had he advertised (as our own

managers do) that "positively no expense whatever had been spared to make this Shakespearean revival a complete success."

The opening piece chosen for this first "Shakespearean Revival" on record was *The Tempest*, as re-written by Dryden and Davenant. Two innovations—the placing of the orchestra band between performers and audience, and the giving of the female parts to women—signaled the occasion. The latter novelty was stormed and hissed at, the manager was cursed, and the actresses insulted. But, as the interest of the play progressed, the audience first deferred their indignation, then acquiesced, and finally forgot all about it. The next day there were a few mutterings, but they blew over, and so the change grew into a success, and audiences soon came to wonder that they had ever been contented with anything else.

The play, as Shakespeare left it, was re-enforced with the character of Hippolyto, who had never seen a woman (to offset Miranda, who had never seen a man), and Miranda was given a sister, Dorinda. To this succeeded altered versions of *Julius Cæsar*; a burlesque on *Antony and Cleopatra*, entitled *All for Love*; and *A Law against Lovers*, in which Dryden and Davenant welded up together *Measure for Measure* and *Much Ado About Nothing*. In this latter, Shakespeare's Claudio is the sinner; Angelo (out of *Measure for Measure*) is made a brother of Benedict, and Beatrice his ward. The situation turns on Benedict's and Beatrice's love, but mutual objection to matrimony, and Angelo's determination that they shall come together in lawful wedlock or not at all. The comic parts are supplied by the rebellion of the nursery-maids, wet-nurses and milk-women against a law which will depopulate the country. The scene is laid in Turin; Benedict, Beatrice, and Viola (who is made Beatrice's sister) come on with songs and dances, and the "Disguised Duke" is the universal friend who makes everything turn out right in the end. A brief allusion to one other of Davenant's successes in this rehabilitating of Shakespeare must suffice for our purpose. There is, as everybody remembers, a famous scene in *Robert le Diable*, where the graves in the Campo Santo at Pisa open, the dead arising slowly in their cerements, when, all at once, these cerements fall away, and the whole scene transforms into a brilliant ballet. Something of this sort appears to have been introduced by Davenant into *Macbeth*. He made the witches to appear in larger groups than the original three, and used them in precisely this way—making their ghostly machinery vanish, their witch rags drop off, whereat they become *coryphées*, and the stage a brilliant fairy piece. Even the finical Pepys had to admit that he liked this sort of thing vastly!

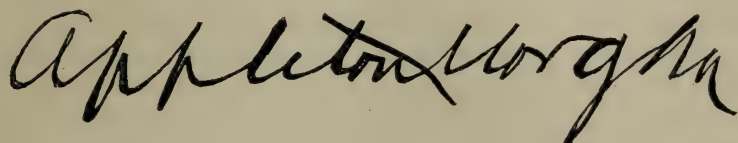
In 1679, John Dryden by himself remodeled *Troilus and Cressida*. He called it *Truth Found Too Late*. In his preface (dedicated to the Earl of Sutherland) he says he found the style of Shakespeare "so pestered with figurative expressions that it is as affected as it is obscure; the author seems to have begun it with some fire, the characters of 'Pandarus' and 'Troilus' are promising enough, but, as if he grew weary of his task, after an entrance or two he lets 'em fall, and the latter part of the tragedy is nothing but a confusion of drums and trumpets, excursions and alarms. The chief persons who give name to the tragedy are left alive. 'Cressida' is left alive and is not punished." "I have undertaken to remove that heap of rubbish. . . . I new modeled those characters which were begun and left unfinished, . . . made, with no small trouble, an order and connection of the scenes, and . . . so ordered them that there is a coherence of 'em with one another, . . . a due proportion of time allowed for every motion, . . . have refined the language," etc. Mr. Dryden's process of "refining the language" was to make this *Troilus and Cressida*, or, *Truth Found Too Late*, one of the smuttiest plays ever read. Every suggestive situation in the original he enlarged upon and elaborated. He made the action of the play to consist, not of the pathetic story of a brave warrior palsied in the midst of crashing arms by the falseness of a heartless harlot, but of the actual commerce of the two, as watched through a keyhole by Pandarus, and described by him, as Chorus, to the audience. But Davenant, in spite of his own excesses, will be found to have touched the text more tenderly, adapting it only just as little as necessary to the salacious taste of the time, and with much more honor and decency always. He had the heart for better things, at least. If he were not custodian of the works of the man he claimed as a parent, then they had no custodian, and—son of Shakespeare as he claimed to be, poet as he was, laureate as he became—in an age of which he was neither the worst nor the worthiest, he deserves grateful remembrance forever for being the first to bring back from oblivion, to the English stage they have never surrendered since, the dramatic works that once held the stage of William Shakespeare.

In the rooms of the Garrick Club in London there stands a memorial at once of Shakespeare and of Sir William Davenant, whose value is beyond estimation. It is the bust now known as the "Devonshire Shakespeare." It seems that, in 1737, sixty-nine years after Davenant's death, his structure on Portugal Street, known as the Duke's Theater, ceased to be used as a play-house, and was altered into the china warehouse occupied by Spode and Copeland (whence the "Copeland," well known of china col-

lectors). In 1845 this old warehouse was in its turn torn down, to make room for enlargement of the Museum of the London College of Surgeons. In the course of demolishment—which rendered the ground-plan of the old theater plainly visible—a terra-cotta bust fell from some concealed niche. Put together, the fragments made a passable bust of Ben Jonson, and fitted a bracket on one side of an old door-frame. Search for a corresponding bracket, on the other side, led to one being found, not only, but, standing securely upon it, a bust of William Shakespeare. In the course of its subsequent history, this bust was purchased by the Duke of Devonshire for three hundred guineas, and by him presented to the Garrick Club. For ourselves, at least, we believe it to be a representation of Shakespeare. Nor can we imagine that Sir William would have displayed in his theater an inadequate or poor likeness. At any rate, if genuine at all, it is the most valuable portraiture we possess; showing Shakespeare after middle-age maturity, and possessing a circumstantial authenticity which the death mask can only be conceded by many grains of allowance. The face is that of a man who might have been a very unpleasant creditor, and certainly looked more like a capitalist than a poet: just such a stern, kindly man of affairs as we have come to believe Shakespeare was; a man with too high a sense of justice to let his neighbors defraud him, even in the matter of payment for “malt delivered;” who went into the plays for the same reason that he went into the Stratford tithes—because he saw a profit in them; and who, to his last moments, showed, as a man, the manly elements which determined and enabled him, by hard personal work, to relieve the rigorous penury of his family, restore them to affluence, institute legal proceedings to recover the maternal estates surrendered in duress of poverty, buy his father a grant of arms, and make solid investments in metropolitan properties. There certainly is no richer trait in William Shakespeare’s private character than the firmness of purpose which, even in stress of poverty, held him to his determination to spend his last days in affluence in the home of his youth, and his final accomplishment of it in the teeth of envy, jealousy, and even courtly disfavor. It is the *justum ac tenacem propositi virum* that is lineated in every groove and furrow in the face of that Devonshire bust.

Davenant, of course, had both enemies and traducers in plenty. Richard Flecknoe wrote, in 1668, his pamphlet, *Sir William Davenant’s Voyage to the Other World*, to ridicule him (of which, however, nothing at all is remembered to-day). But, by his contemporaries who knew him best, Davenant seems to have been held in constant esteem, admiration, and affection. The *Biographica Dramatica* says that “honor, courage, grati-

tude, integrity, and vivacity were the prominent features of his mind," and Dryden cannot estimate too highly his literary excellence. "I found him," says Dryden, "of so quick a fancy that nothing was proposed to him on which he could not quickly produce a thought extremely pleasant and surprising—and those first thoughts of his, contrary to the old Latin proverb, were not always the least happy; and as his fancy was quick, so likewise were the products of it remote and new. He borrowed not of any other, and his imaginations were such as could not easily enter into any other man. His corrections are sober and judicious, and he corrected his own writings much more severely than those of another man, bestowing twice the labor and pains in polishing which he used in invention." In these days we do not estimate men according to their ability to "produce a thought extremely pleasant or surprising," or as their fancies are "remote and new." But the quotation serves to show that Davenant was abreast of the culture, and passed muster in the opinion, of the best of his contemporaries. Nor should we, ordinarily, demand more than this. We must remember that the centuries, so far, have hardly developed more than one man who "was not for an age, but for all time." And after all, say what we will about Davenant, we must not lose sight of the fact that he was the god-son, even if not the son, of an immortal Shakespeare!

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Appleton Morgan". The script is cursive and fluid, with the first name "Appleton" written in a slightly larger, more formal hand than the last name "Morgan". The signature is positioned centrally below the main text block.

OHIO AS A HOSPITABLE WILDERNESS

PIONEER LIFE ON THE WESTERN RESERVE

It was native New England thrift that sent the early settlers of the Western Reserve across the wooded solitudes of New York and over the mountains of Pennsylvania, to locate in this north-eastern corner of Ohio, which their struggles and intelligence have made well known the world over. The possessions which Connecticut had gained in this portion of the Ohio wilderness led her sons, and their neighbors of the other New England States, to make use of lands in which they had a natural inheritance, or could purchase on easy terms from companies of which they had a personal knowledge. The Connecticut Land Company, and the smaller corporations growing out of it, sent surveyors to the Reserve, and laid out townships which, in their entirety, or in divided form, could be purchased for small sums and on easy payments. The result was that a tide of emigration began to flow westward in the closing days of the last century and the early part of this, and among those who were borne along were the sons and daughters of the patriots of the Revolution, the direct descendants of those who had sought freedom of conscience in the New World.

Perhaps there never has been a movement, in the migrations of people, that in its most striking features bore a resemblance to this. There can be none hereafter, since the railroad has opened the way along which the restless world now crowds forward into the wilderness. The fruit and flower of New England life was that which came here, as only that could bear the hardships of the journey, the western wilderness, or the rigors and dangers of the new life. It was no ignorant peasantry, but the best brain and highest culture of which any portion of America was then capable, that mingled freely in the westward-flowing stream. The needs of religion and education were recognized as among the first things to be considered in each new settlement. A striking illustration of the tone and temper that pervaded the whole movement west is found in the fact that when Connecticut, in 1786, was preparing to place this property in the market, her legislature made provision that in the sale of each township five hundred acres of "good land" should be reserved for the use of the public in supporting the gospel ministry, and five hundred more for the sustenance of schools; and that two hundred and forty acres in each township be granted in fee-simple to the first gospel minister who should settle in such town.

This plan was not adhered to in the final disposition of the land, although its principles, in the educational line, were carried out in another form.

The hardships with which the early settlers had to contend, the perils surrounding them, and the courage with which they met want, sickness, depredations of wild beasts, and the constant expectation of Indian attack, are among the most thrilling features of our early history. The journey from the East was in itself a terrible experience. Not only were the railroad and canal unthought of then, but the stage-coach and the road along which it was to be drawn were still in the future. The springless wagon or the sled, loaded with household goods, farming implements, weapons of defense, and food, with wife and children stowed in corners, were the chief vehicles of transportation, and the road a mere path through the woods, or a trail, along which room for passage must be cut through the trees. Months were often consumed in this tiresome journey, and its discomforts uncomplainingly borne. Incidents without number, in illustration of the above, are held as household legends in all parts of the Reserve; and some of the pioneers who are still spared tell touching tales of the sufferings they, as children, regarded as matters of course, like the rains and snows and chills of winter. Among the first to settle in these woods was Amos Loveland, who had been a soldier of the Revolution, and was engaged in surveying on the Reserve as early as 1798. He selected a piece of land in what is now a corner of Trumbull County, and decided to locate upon it. He returned to Vermont in the fall of the year, and in December started westward, with his family of seven, and all his worldly goods packed on two sleds, each of which was drawn by a team of horses. They traveled days and encamped at night, when better accommodations did not offer. They crossed the Susquehanna River on the ice, and when the snow disappeared soon after, the sleds were traded for a wagon for the rest of the journey, which occupied, altogether, four months. It was April before he arrived at the piece of woodland he expected to transform into a farm; on this a small log-cabin had previously been erected. Less fortunate a neighbor, who was under the necessity of building a house after arrival, and for several weeks sheltered his family in the box of his wagon. Jacob Russell came from Connecticut to Cleveland with an ox team, his wife riding their only horse. Leaving her here, he returned for their children, and one of them, in recently relating their adventures, said: "Our journey was attended with the greatest suffering. My youngest sister was sick all the way, dying three days after our arrival. Father was then taken down with ague, so our house was built slowly. With the greatest difficulty mother hewed with an adze the stub ends of the floor boards, and put

them down with the little help father could give her. We moved toward the close of November, our house possessing neither door nor window. At that time two of the children were sick with ague. Father worked when the chills and fever left him for the day, putting poles together in the form of bedsteads and a table."

The Morgan family came in a covered wagon drawn by a yoke of oxen and a span of horses. A girl eight years of age rode one of the horses, and guided the lead-team the greater part of the way between Albany and Cleveland. The road was simply a trail through the woods, the underbrush between the trees having been cut away sufficiently to allow a wagon to pass. Three months were consumed in this journey, including a two weeks' stop because of sickness. In 1801 Timothy Doane reached here, and was followed by his wife and children, whom he had left in Buffalo. The description given by one of the sons, who was then three years of age and is still living, illustrates one of the methods of traveling. "Besides the four children," he writes, "mother was accompanied by an Indian and several white men, whom she had hired to assist us on the journey. When I say we came by water [Lake Erie], one's mind naturally reverts to a steamboat or sailing-vessel, but it was in neither of these that we came. It was an ordinary row-boat, propelled by oars most of the way, but frequently by a tow-line in the hands of the Indian, who walked along the bank. It was a slow method of traveling. Every evening at dark the boat was grounded, and the party went into camp on the shore for the night. The Indian was much disgusted at the mode of traveling, especially when he had to tow the boat." At the mouth of Grand River their boat was overturned, and loss of life was prevented only because the water was shallow at that point. Other families came in two-wheeled carts, some in small wagons to which but one horse was attached, while occasionally the horse, without the vehicle, would be the style of transportation employed. Streams had to be crossed by any means that could be improvised, dangers guarded against, and much suffering endured. It was not unusual for a team to give out, and a week or even a fortnight be allowed for recuperation. The facilities for going about from settlement to settlement or house to house, after the location had been made, were of the most primitive character. When the Morgans desired, as late as 1814, to attend a school entertainment in a log-house on what was then the Newburgh Road, but now Broadway, in the city of Cleveland, the father, mother, and three children found safe but crowded accommodation on the back of one horse. Roswell Scovill, of Lorain County, in the flight caused in 1812 by the false alarm that a body of British and Indians were

moving on the settlements, tied a feather-bed on the back of a pet but unbroken colt, placed his wife and babe, the latter but three weeks old, upon it, and in that manner conveyed them in safety to Hudson, thirty miles away.

When the rough journey from the East was completed, the next thought was for providing a shelter. The log-house, for so many years the only structure seen or attempted in pioneer settlements, has often been described. In one recorded instance the family dwelling contained one room eighteen feet square, with greased paper for windows, a door of split boards with strips across and wooden hinges (not a nail in the whole building). A puncheon, or split log, floor covered about one-half the ground included in the four walls, no upper floor, and no chimney except a stone wall built up five feet to keep the fire from the logs. The protection against intrusion from the outside world in one cabin is thus graphically pictured by the pen of one of its inmates: "We hung up a quilt, and that, with a big bulldog, constituted the door." When the four walls of the home were up, the settler proceeded to "chink" the openings between the logs, using pieces of wood on the inside, and plastering them with mortar on the outer. During the leisure of the evening the inner sides of the logs would be hewed down, and the bark removed from the joists above. Often there was an upper loft, and even stairs leading to it, but usually a ladder was the means of communication. In rare cases a sleeping-room would be partitioned off on the ground floor, but generally the bed stood in one end of the sole room, under protection of chintz curtains, which would often disappear as the question of clothing became more and more pressing. The bedstead was made of round poles shaved to smoothness, while elm bark served as cords. Seats, tables, and shelves were made as time and the skill of the occupants would allow, while occasionally these articles appeared among the relics saved in the breaking up of the old home in the East.

The domestic economy within this family temple was of the most primitive character. A "Dutch oven," a couple of kettles, and a spider were considered essentials, although many an outfit did not begin to touch this idyllic completeness. Judge Robert F. Paine, of Cleveland, recently used these words in describing the home accommodations of his boyhood, in Portage County: "We possessed few dishes of any kind. There was a man in Trumbull County who made them of wood, and his advent into a neighborhood would cause more excitement than the establishment of another national bank in Cleveland to-day. We ate on what we called trenchers, a wooden affair in shape something like a plate. Our neigh-

bors were in the same condition as we, using wooden plates, wooden bowls, wooden everything, and it was years before we could secure dishes harder than wood, and when we did they were made of yellow clay." Theodore Wolcott and Gad Hart spent the winter of 1806 in Farmington township. Desiring straw with which to fill their beds, they marched to Mesopotamia, five miles away, and as the woods were so dense that their bundles could not be carried through, they were compelled to travel out of their way for a long distance, going along the Warren path to Grand River, and then coming back on the open highway afforded by its ice. The first bed on which Heman Ely, the founder of Elyria, slept, on his arrival in this section, was made of the cloth covering of the wagon in which he came, and filled with straw brought with the greatest difficulty from a barn located miles away. The question of food was naturally one of the greatest moment, and much could be written of the privations experienced in that direction. The skill with which the pioneer mother made the means at her command fill the place of those to which she had been accustomed was remarkable. "The first mince-pie I ever ate on the Reserve," once said Joshua R. Giddings, "was composed of pumpkin instead of apple, vinegar in place of wine or cider, and bear's meat instead of beef. The whole was sweetened with wild honey instead of sugar, and seasoned with domestic pepper pulverized, instead of cloves, cinnamon, and allspice, and never did I taste pastry with a better relish." While such makeshifts were possible in some directions, there was one in which they were not. Salt they had to have at any price or any cost of daring and toil. There was a salt spring nine miles west of Youngstown, where people would repair from all parts of the Reserve and manufacture their own article, carrying a kettle with them, or trusting to good-fortune for the obtaining of such an article at the spring. The "Old Salt Road," as it is yet called, that leads from the mouth of Conneaut Creek at Lake Erie into Trumbull County, was so called because the demand for this staple article was one of the chief causes for its laying out. The salt from the manufactories of Onondaga, New York, was brought to Buffalo by the lake, and then transported onward by ox team. By the time it reached Trumbull County it cost twenty dollars a barrel. It was also brought from Pittsburgh on pack-horses at great trouble and expense. Sugar was costly, and had to be used sparingly, but the maple variety could be made easily and cheaply, and there was little privation in that line. Corn bread was the staple article of diet, and one pioneer, who has traveled in many lands, and partaken of great varieties of fare, has been heard to lament, "Would that it

still were." The meal dough was spread on a clean board, kept specially for that purpose, and then placed before a roaring fire, with one of the younger members of the family detailed to watch it. When the side next the flame was well baked, it would be turned around, and careful tending soon finished the process. When beautifully browned and smoking hot, it was placed on the table, in company with a bowl of milk and a wooden spoon. In contemplating this picture, a hungry man can somewhat understand the lamenting outburst quoted above. The grinding of the grain was a matter of no small difficulty and labor. A hollow in an oak stump, and a rude stone pestle dependent from a spring-pole, comprised the simplest machine employed. Then came the rude hand-mills that most of the settlers used prior to 1800, which took two hours of steady grinding to supply one person with food enough for the day. In a sketch of the Doane family, it is recorded that for two or three months all their food was supplied by a young son who had two attacks of fever and ague daily, and who walked to the house of a neighbor five miles distant, with a peck of corn, ground it in a hand-mill, and then carried it home. He adjusted his labors and his shakings to a system. In the morning, on the ending of his first attack, he would start on his journey, grind his grist, wait until his second spell was over, and then set out on his return. One of the children of that day, while recently relating her experiences, drew this touching picture: "The only flour we could get had become musty, and could not be eaten unless one were driven by extreme hunger. I was eight years old, and not sick, and was therefore compelled to satisfy my hunger with it, and give to those of the family who were suffering a better chance at the scanty corn-meal rations. The bread made from this flour was hard as well as unpalatable. I could only eat it by crumbling it into pellets and swallowing them whole. I often wondered why father cried as he sat down at the table and looked at the food, as the johnny-cake and mush looked so attractive to my hungry eyes." The venerable John Doane, in giving his testimony recently, said: "In those days we ground corn in little hand-mills. There were two stones about two and a half feet in diameter, one above the other, the upper one being turned with a pole. The corn was poured in through a hole in the upper stone. When a larger quantity of meal than could be ground in one of these mills was wanted, I was sent to Willoughby, ten miles away, to mill. I began when eight years old. Three bushels of corn and myself would be placed aboard a horse, and I would start early in the morning and get back late at night." In 1799, Joel Thorp's family found themselves out of provisions, and he started to a point in Pennsylvania twenty miles distant, to replen-

ish his stock. While he was absent, his wife and three small children were reduced to a condition of dire necessity. They fed on such roots as they could find. The eldest son remembered to have seen some kernels of corn in a crack in one of the logs of their cabin, and passed several hours in an unsuccessful search for them. The mother emptied the straw of her bed on the ground and picked it over to obtain what wheat she could, and that little handful she boiled and gave to her children. She had been taught to handle the gun, and when she saw a wild turkey providentially approach her cabin door, she took down her husband's rifle, and discovered there was but one charge in the house. With her heart beating high in the excitement of hope and fear, she crept near the fowl and luckily killed it, thus providing means to keep her little ones alive until their father should return. In 1797, the first settlers of Canfield, Mahoning County, brought all their provisions and other necessities from Pittsburgh, being guided on the way by nothing plainer than marked trees. When William Sager, a pioneer of Bristol, Trumbull County, desired to purchase some wheat, which could not be had at home, he rode to Mesopotamia to obtain two bushels, and consumed a whole day in doing so. On the next morning he started for the nearest mill, at Warren, and spent the day in getting there. His grist was ground in the evening, and the next day occupied in the return home. Ichabod Terrell tells of purchasing salt in Cleveland at forty dollars a barrel, and hauling it to Elyria at the rate of three miles per day, cutting a road through the woods a large portion of the way. In 1807, one family was compelled to subsist for three days upon boiled beech leaves, while the father was away after food. "On the fourth day," relates one of the sons, "my brother, twelve years of age, came hurrying in, and cried, 'Give me the gun! I believe I can shoot a deer!'" From its high place on the wall, mother handed it to the eager boy. She bade us hush and listen. Soon came the report, and the boy's shout of joy told us of his success. Then mother and children ran out to see. There was the quivering, prostrate form of the deer. The tears fell from mother's eyes. Was it pity at the large, sad eyes of the doe? Nay, but the thought that the All-merciful Father had not left her little ones to starve. That night our father came home with some wheat." At one time the few families living in Harpersfield were so reduced that but six kernels of parched corn were allowed daily to each person, and life was only saved through the heroic efforts of two young men, who tramped through deep snow and over frozen rivers to Elk Creek, Pennsylvania, where they obtained two sacks of corn, which they carried home on their backs, making several like journeys during the winter. The grain grown was at the expense of much

trouble and care. The spot of wood once chosen for a cornfield, the large trees would be girdled and left standing, while the smaller ones were cut down and burned. Holes were then made in the ground by means of a hoe or pickaxe, and into each of these a few kernels of corn were dropped; no cultivating or hoeing followed, except to cut down the largest weeds. Where buckwheat was sown, the boys of the family, in many cases, were compelled to watch it all day long, to keep the wild turkeys from destroying it.

The next gradation in the scale of necessity was that of clothing. The Eastern cotton and woolen fabrics were too expensive, and beyond the reach of the pioneers, who had little money and practically no market for their produce. Home ingenuity was called into play, and flax and buckskin were the bases upon which it built. Flax was early introduced and the loom soon set up. Sometimes the fiber of the nettle was gathered, and on being spun could be woven into garments that might be worn with comfort until after they had been washed, when they would rasp any portion of the body with which they came in contact. To remedy this annoyance, the boys would often roll their clothing into a ball, when unseen, and laying it upon a stump, pound it back to the desired softness. "A buckskin suit over a flax shirt was considered full dress," declares one of the pioneer authorities. When the coat of hide became hard and stubborn, from long using, it was washed, scraped, and pounded to the requisite pliability. A small patch of land would be planted with flax, and at the proper time the crop would be pulled, dried, bleached, and hackled. It was then beaten into shape for the spinning-wheel. Raw cotton was imported and exchanged for flax or wool. This had to be hand-picked and carded, and then, like the flax, given to the women of the household for spinning. Many of the settlers had a few sheep, whose wool was treated in a manner similar to the cotton. Summer clothing was made of cotton mixed with flax, while in winter wool was used in the filling. Leather was expensive and difficult to obtain; therefore the men went barefoot when they could, while the women carried their shoes to church, sitting down on a log near the "meeting-house" to slip them on.

Even in the wilderness the art of pleasing and the sway of fashion were not altogether abandoned. The following has been given as a pen-picture of a belle of those days: "A smiling face, fresh but dark, a full head of smoothly combed hair tied up behind in a twist knot, a dress, made out of seven yards of linsey-woolsey, closely fits the natural form and reaches to within six inches of the floor. It is fancifully and uniquely striped with copperas, butternut, and indigo, alternating. The belt is made

of homespun, but is colored with imported dye, 'and a row of buttons down the back are also set on a bright stripe. Heavy cowhide shoes conceal substantial feet and shapely ankles. That is the pioneer young lady." The late Dr. Jared P. Kirtland, the scientist, in describing the costume, in 1810, of a young member of the family to which Governor Tod belonged, said: "She wore a home-made mixture of linen and cotton, cut after the fashion of the female disciples of Ann Lee, with no plaits and few gores, unmodified by either corset or bustle. The lower margin was adorned with a two-inch stripe of madder red, followed next by one of indigo blue, and by a third one of yellow." Many houses held the great looms in which the homespun cloth was woven, and day after day they could be heard pounding away, the treadles going up and down, and the shuttles flying swiftly to their task. The mother of the family was a busy and useful woman through every hour of her pioneer life.

There was a social side to this severe life in the woods, and it was cultivated with a simple zest that made a success of each homely gathering. Of a ball held in Warren, in 1803, it is recorded: "We began to dance at two o'clock on Monday afternoon, and left the room a little before sunrise on Tuesday morning." The first gathering of that character in Cleveland was held July 4, 1800, in Major Lorenzo Carter's cabin, on the hillside. About thirty couples were present, and they were compelled to dance on a rough puncheon floor, and their only beverage was whisky, sweetened with maple sugar. Courtship was at times carried on in the face of difficulties, but the strong-limbed and broad-shouldered young man cared little for the distance that lay between his home and that of the desired fair one. Aleck McIlrath, of Cleveland, was wont to tell of walking fourteen miles through the mud for the purpose of borrowing a pair of trousers, in which to make his Sunday-evening call on his lady love, his own, of buckskin, having become soaked by the rain and shrunk to such dimensions that he could not get them on. There was an admirable promptness about the wooers of those days, that made courtship a matter of short negotiation. The Hon. Harvey Rice, President of the Early Settlers' Association, relates the case of Mr. Kingsley, a widower, who helped a young lady school-teacher across the Chagrin River, stopped to talk to her, proposed to her, and was accepted, although they had never met until that day. She proved a helpmeet to him indeed, for when he was confined to his bed by rheumatism, she not only attended to the weaving, spinning, and housework in-doors, but also cleared land, plowed, sowed, and performed the labors of the farm. The weddings partook of the simple character of the less important social occasions. The first couple married in Poland,

Mahoning County, in 1800, were John Blackburn and Nancy Bryan, and when their decision was made, the great difficulty was to secure some one to perform the ceremony. They were anxious to have the important matter settled before the Eastern men, who were in that section surveying, should return to their homes. There was no minister anywhere near, and a justice of the peace was one of the adjuncts of civilization not then thought of. The young couple finally agreed that they would rest upon the legal right to perform the ceremony of Judge Kirtland, a neighboring settler, who had held some kind of an office before leaving Connecticut. Then came the further difficulty that no notice had been posted, as the law required. A prompt and ready-witted surveyor said he could soon remedy that, and accordingly wrote four notices, and posted one on each side of his log-cabin. Judge Kirtland produced an Episcopal prayer-book, and found the marriage ceremony. A stool covered with white cloth was placed before him. He laid the book upon it, and was about to proceed, when some one in the audience proposed that they should all take a drink of whisky. The suggestion was unanimously agreed upon, and after the general libation was concluded the judge again attempted to proceed, but found that some wag had purloined his prayer-book. Being a man of ready resource, he asked the couple if they agreed to accept each other in the marriage relation, and when they assented he duly pronounced them husband and wife. All parties were satisfied, and no one ever thought of questioning the legality of the ceremony. The earliest wedding in Northfield was that of Henry Wood and Esther Cranmer, while the justice who tied the knot walked from Hudson, some thirty miles away, and received one dollar and a half for his services. One couple, too poor to pay even that sum, started on foot to the house of the justice, hoping that he would perform the ceremony as an act of charity, or, at least, wait for his pay; but on the way the groom luckily caught a coon, and with its hide discharged the dreaded obligation. In 1805, two young millwrights became engaged to the daughters of their employer, and the time was set for the wedding. On the day previous it was discovered that the nearest person who could perform the ceremony resided in a town fifty miles distant, reached only by a bridle-path through the forest. Two men were hurriedly dispatched on the important errand. They rode all night and all the next day, and returned at midnight of the second day, bringing not only the necessary papers and the justice, but his constable as well. The purpose of the latter official was not explained, unless it was to fill his master's place if he should fall by the way. Another couple who called upon a justice, and had nothing to offer in payment for his services, finally compromised on a young dog

owned by the groom and coveted by the official. The wedding journey was usually performed on horseback or on foot, and had for its beginning and ending the place in which the ceremony was solemnized and the cabin which was to be the future home. There was no lack of hearty hospitality in the reception of the bride by her new neighbors, even though the arts of civilization could not be made use of in emphasizing the welcome. When John Weikert went after his bride, and his brother, who had kept bachelor hall in company with him, determined to surprise them by an elaborate supper on the home-coming, he was compelled, among other makeshifts, to churn the butter in the coffee-pot for lack of a better utensil—but that fact only gave zest and a touch of humor to the feast.

Sickness and death came also, and it was in the emergencies they presented that the line of comparison between the old life of the East and the new life of the western woods was most clearly drawn. When Champion Minor's child died in Canfield township, in 1798, a woman friend came on foot from Youngstown, a dozen miles distant, to prepare it for the grave. A coffin was made of split wood pinned together, and the little one was laid away in the side of a knoll a few rods from the cabin, and no religious services could be had to console the parents in their grief. At the first burial in Collamer Cemetery, the oldest on the Reserve, the body of the dead was conveyed to the churchyard upon a sled drawn by oxen, the mud being too deep for any other vehicle. We read of one coffin being made out of rude slabs split from a walnut log, and that two women spent a night in assisting the man who was fashioning it, that it might be ready for the hour of burial on the following day. As the Wolcott family were slowly working their way through the woods to their new home in Farmington, the daughter Mary, in attempting to cross a small stream upon a log, lost her balance and fell into the water. She was soon taken with a severe cold, and all the simple remedies at their command were of no avail. She fell into a quick consumption, and died soon after reaching their destination. A few trees were felled to make an open place, a grave was dug, and she was laid away in the solitude, where the voices of nature and the sharp ring of the woodcutter's axe, or the echo of the hunter's gun, were the only sounds that broke her rest. A rude stone was set at her head, and even yet, in the village burial-place that grew up about this early grave, may be read the following, in crude lettering thereon :

“ Parents and friends, a long adieu ;
I leave the wilderness to you ;
My body lies beneath this stone—
The arrests of death you cannot shun !”

In 1796, James Kingsbury, of Conneaut, was compelled to return to New Hampshire on a matter of business, leaving his wife alone in an old cabin abandoned by the surveyors. He was detained by sickness, and did not return until the dead of winter. On reaching his home, he found his wife in a critical condition. Her new-born babe had died, and she was compelled to bury it unaided. "This she did," says Hon. Harvey Rice, "as best she could, beneath the drifted snow and forest leaves near the cabin, and then betook herself to her comfortless bed, with the expectation that she too must soon die. On the very first night after burying her child she heard a footstep, and then a rap at her cabin door. She was startled, but unable to rise or answer. She then heard a voice that she recognized as that of her husband. The moment he opened the door she sprang, wild with delight, from the bed to meet him, and then fell to the floor from exhaustion." Her life was saved, and she lived to recount again and again the wonderful story of her long suffering alone in the heart of the wilderness.

Every township in the Reserve has its choice wolf or bear story, and to recount a tithe of them would overflow all possible limits. There is a touch of monotony about them, also, as bears are bears and men are men the country over, and their encounters in one spot very much resemble those in another, and it sometimes seems to the reader of pioneer literature as if the early settler, when he had nothing else to do, gave himself exercise by allowing Bruin to chase him up a tree. Rev. Joseph Badger, the first minister in this section, spent one night in the top of a tall tree, tied to a limb by his bandana, lest he might fall during sleep, while a bear kept company with his horse at the foot of the beech. The rain fell and the wind blew, and the position of the veteran minister was anything but pleasant. Towards daylight the bear shamled off, not having offered harm to the horse. Joshua Danforth, of Farmington, when returning from a day's chopping in the woods, met a big black bear, and, not caring for an open fight, mounted a log and began to chop, the chips flying in the animal's face. Not relishing this mode of warfare, Bruin soon trotted off. Mrs. Abner Fowler, of Fowler Township, heard the howl of wolves near the house, and, after hastily putting her children to bed, lighted a torch of hickory bark and sallied forth. She found their few sheep huddled in a group in the pasture, and saw the dark forms of wolves skulking around. The sheep followed her home, where she built a large fire in front of the house, and thus kept their savage foes at bay. Mrs. Norton, of Southington, in the absence of her husband, burned gunpowder in a spoon held through a crevice in her log-cabin, to frighten the wolves away. While Stephen Curran was at work in the woods, he saw a bear at his dinner-pail. He went

to the defense of his property with an axe, and the bear retreated. Curran followed, and as the bear nearly reached the settlement, grasped it by the tail and hung on. The scared and wondering animal finally shook him off and escaped into a ravine, just as the crowd came rushing out to capture it. One pioneer mother tells of keeping her spinning-wheel going at night, so that her little ones would not be scared by the howling of the wolves; while another relates that when she was a child these hungry animals would come up and look into the house through the holes between the logs.

The church and the schoolhouse were not forgotten, and as soon as the things absolutely essential to physical life were provided, steps were taken for the support of the Gospel and the instruction of the young. The missionary was followed by the itinerant minister, and he in turn by the settled pastor, as soon as the strength of a community would permit. The stipend of the latter was of an uncertain quantity and a very indefinite quality, as it came of the commodities of the day and region, with a very small percentage of cash. In one ancient subscription list, where the people of five townships banded together for the support of a minister, we find the following pledge:

"We do by these presents bind ourselves, our heirs, executors, and administrators firmly, to pay the sums annexed to each of our names, without fraud or delay, for the term of three years, to the Rev. Giles Cowles, the pay to be made in wheat, rye, corn, oats, potatoes, mess pork, whisky, etc., the produce of farms, as shall be needed by the said Mr. Cowles and family, together with chopping, logging, fencing, etc. We agree, likewise, should any contribute anything within said term of three years toward the support of the said Mr. Cowles, it shall be deducted according to the sum annexed to each man's name. We likewise agree that the preaching in each town shall be in proportion to what each town subscribes for said preaching." Probably the first sermon ever delivered on the Reserve was by Rev. William Wick, of Washington County, Pennsylvania, who held services at Youngstown on September 1, 1799. Some of the ministers of the day were educated, sincere, and devout, while others were uncouth, careless, and not always sure to square their practices with their professions. Of one we are told that he was grossly addicted to the use of tobacco. It was no uncommon thing for him while preaching to take a bite from a huge "plug," and on one occasion he paused in the midst of his sermon, walked down to the seat of an elder, borrowed his tobacco, satisfied himself with a large mouthful, and then calmly proceeded with his discourse.

One of the earliest schoolhouses has been thus described: A log-cabin

with a rough stone chimney; a foot or two cut from the logs here and there to admit the light, with greased paper over the openings; a large fireplace; puncheon floor; a few benches made of split logs with the flat side up, and a well-developed birch rod over the master's seat. A teacher who, as late as 1813, received ten dollars a month, payable in produce, was looked upon as receiving good wages. An ambitious young man of Lorain County, who desired higher instruction than the neighborhood afforded, rode over one hundred miles before he could find a Latin Dictionary. Even books of the commonest character were not to be had in abundance, and in one of the schools the letters of the alphabet were pasted on one side of a small wooden paddle, and the multiplication table on the other. It was passed from hand to hand for the purpose of study, and often, when not in use as an educational factor, was converted into an instrument for the enforcement of obedience. Rude and uncouth were a majority of the pupils, and not always lettered was the master, yet a grand moral and mental foundation was there, and out of those little gatherings came some of the greatest men of the nation, and the system was a forerunner of one of the most comprehensive and perfect to be found anywhere in the world. It was the Western Reserve that in the formative days gave moral and mental tone to Ohio, and within its borders originated the common-school system of this State, that has become a model for so many of the commonwealths of the West.

In this brief review of the things with which the pioneers were forced to contend, and of the methods they pursued in working out the small but vexing problems of daily life, there is no dearth of illustrative material, as every township in the Reserve could furnish its unique event or remarkable adventure. Possessed of all the desires and needs that had been taught them in civilized life, they found themselves in the heart of the wilderness, with nature as the one reservoir from which all supplies must be directly drawn, and Yankee ingenuity the chief tool to be depended upon. Their success in all directions is one of the marvels of America's development. Means and circumstances were made to fit where they could, and when that was impossible a new order of things was evolved, and old methods relegated to the past. This held good in public as in private affairs. When the mail-carrier tramped from Pittsburgh to Warren, along a trail that led through great solitudes of forest, he cumbered himself with no heavy mail-bag, but carried his bundle of letters in a pocket-handkerchief. When the settlement through which his route led possessed no postmaster, the carrier seated himself on a log or stump, sorted out the mail marked for that neighborhood, left it in care of the

nearest cabin, dropped his budget of gossip from the outside world into the hungry minds of those about him, and trudged away upon his lonely journey. Cleveland's first postmaster transformed his hat into an office, carrying the mail therein, and delivering it to its owners as he met them or had time to seek them at their homes. The first merchandise sold in Trumbull County was brought by a trader up the Mahoning River in a canoe. He poled his craft slowly, along, and, when he came to a cabin, blew a lusty blast on a great tin horn, and the people came down to inspect, and, when able, to buy.

There was no lack of patriotism among these sturdy men, and they demonstrated it grandly when war with England was declared in 1812. Independence Day was loyally observed when possible, the first recorded celebration thereof on the Western Reserve being in 1796, when General Moses Cleaveland and his party of surveyors halted at the mouth of Conneaut Creek, flung the American flag to the breeze, partook of a banquet of baked pork and beans, fired a rifle salute, and proposed toasts which were drunk in more than one pail of grog. The means of celebration were not always equal to the patriotic intent. In 1800 a gathering was held on July 4, at the residence of Captain Quinby, in Warren, and although there were provisions and liquids in abundance, there was a lack of musical instruments. A drummer and fifer studied the difficulty, and finally surmounted it. The one sought a suitable branch from an elder-bush and soon transformed it into a fife. The other cut down a hollow pepperidge-tree, and with only a hand-axe and jack-plane made a drum-cylinder. With the skin of a fawn he made heads for the drum, and corded them on with a pair of new plow-lines. The procession was then enabled to move, and whatever the music lacked in harmony it made up in volume and intention. On these patriotic occasions, as in all social gatherings, the whisky of the home-made still was brought into free use, and the man who declined it was the exception and not the rule.

The same simple freedom of manner that was seen in the home and social gathering held sway in matters of greater moment. The first court on the Reserve was held at Warren, in the open air, between two corn-cribs, through the slatted sides of which the prisoners looked out and listened to the proceedings. The earliest murder trial was that of the Indian Omic, whose fate was sealed under a tree on what is now Water Street, in the city of Cleveland; and when the day of execution arrived and the prisoner grew obstinate, the sheriff coolly coaxed him with a glass of whisky, to go up "and be hanged like a gentleman."

Withal, there never was a people in the most polished age the world

has witnessed, whose hearthstones proved so well the right meaning of hospitality. Wherever the wanderer through the forests found a cabin there he found a home. When white man met white man each hailed the other as friend, and made good his professions in his deeds. The latch-string on the heavy wooden door was out, in literal truth, and he who touched it and came in was welcome to all the humble cabin could command. Settlements a score of miles apart drew close to each other in a union of fraternity, and the story of mother or babe sacrificed to the brutal wrath of the red foe would cause a hundred resolute men to spring forth in deadly purpose, to follow and strike and die as heroes have died ever since the world began. The forests yet standing could whisper the names of brave men, in homespun and buckskin, who beneath their branches gave up life as grandly as did their fathers on the fields of the Revolution, and many dark legends are yet told by men and women who received them from the lips of those who had part therein, or on whom a portion of their shadow fell. And as these brave fathers and patient mothers suffered together and held each other close in the bond of human sympathy, so shall they together share the love and veneration in which their memory is held.

J. H. Kennedy.

CREOLE PECULIARITIES

Although much has been said, of late, concerning that little-understood branch of the American family, the Creole, the subject is not exhausted. If it presents a fruitful theme to the novelist, it is not a less interesting study for the philosophical mind, which is not satisfied with the mere existence of facts, but goes beyond, and seeks the why and wherefore of whatever is strange or puzzling. Here we have a class of American citizens with a language and manners and customs peculiarly their own, and differing widely from the *national* language, manners, and customs—if such things exist—which, excepting the language, is questionable. It does not follow that these people are inferior to other Americans, or that their peculiarities should excite only mirth or contempt. Ere we pass judgment upon them we should make sure, at least, that we understand them.

Owing to certain circumstances, such as the steady increase of the Anglo-Saxon element in Louisiana, the introduction of the American public-school system, and the changes—political and social—that have followed the civil war, the Creole is fast losing the characteristic peculiarities which have made him an object of curiosity. He is becoming Americanized in his ways of thinking and his habits; and the day is not far distant, perhaps, when the name “Creole” shall provoke no curious inquiry, but be accepted in its true and original sense, “the descendant of a colonist.”

In point of fact, the descendants of Penn, of the Pilgrim Fathers, or of the Cavaliers, might have just as good claim to the name; but it has been confined to the sons born to European parents in the French and Spanish colonies, save in the British island of Jamaica, where it is used (or was, not many years ago) to distinguish the native Jamaican from his brother Englishman from across the sea. And even this exception is explained when we remember that Jamaica was a Spanish possession ere it became English, and that a large number of French Creoles emigrated there from Hayti after the negro insurrection.

The designation is supposed to be of Spanish origin: *Criollo*—probably from *criar*, to give existence, to bring up, to “inspire and imbue one with our principles and manners”—a definition perfectly applicable to the new race begotten in a new world, and jealously educated in the ideas, language, and customs of the old. The young scion, growing in this virgin soil, must

retain the characteristics of the parent stock, yet have a name of its own, for who knows what the future may hold in reserve? The French saw the analogy, and, if they did not invent the word, were not slow to adopt it, modifying it, however, to *Créole*—as good a derivation, by the way, from their verb *créer* as *criollo* is from *criar*. It was in use in all the French colonies except Canada.

As the inhabitants of the British colonies called themselves "Americans," even before their separation from the mother country, so did the inhabitants of Louisiana, whether born on the soil or in France, call themselves Creoles when the colony passed under the rule of Spain. They were, and are, just as proud of this distinctive name as the descendants of the New England Puritans, New York Knickerbockers, and Pennsylvania Friends may be of their respective origin. The iniquitous transfer of Louisiana to the King of Spain was a cruel blow to the colonists; they protested against it; they proclaimed their fidelity and devotion to the King of France, and so compromised themselves by their opposition to Ulloa, the first Spanish governor, that the lives of some of the most eminent were forfeited when O'Reilly took possession. The name Creole had received its baptism of blood.

The Louisianians were no longer French. The Creoles became a distinct race. Their number was increased during the Spanish rule by the accession of children born in Louisiana of Spanish fathers and native mothers. The short-lived retrocession to France did not affect their status, and when the territory was purchased by the United States, there was no distinction made between French and Spanish Creoles. The people, this time, accepted the new *régime* without protest. They had no love for Spain, and the ties which bound them to France had been severed by the incapacity of Louis XV. True, their hearts had throbbed with exultation as they heard of glorious victories won by France over combined Europe, and they had hailed the hoisting of the tricolor flag on the *Place d'Armes* with something of their old enthusiasm for the *Fleurs-de-Lys*, but the ceremony was but the prelude to bitter disappointment and humiliation. They were sold! Twice robbed of their nationality, without their consent, without even previous notice, they clung to their name of Creoles, as the down-trodden children of Israel, without a country they can call their own, have clung, through ages, to their name of Israelites.

Yet, apart from this natural feeling of humiliation, they were glad of the change. The old leaven of republicanism, noticed by some historians as existing in the colony at the time of the first cession to Spain, had not died out. The War of American Independence had revived the hopes of

the patriots, and as they watched the consolidation of the republic, they foresaw whence deliverance would come. It did come, not by some glorious feat of arms, as they had hoped, yet they were proud to become a part of this free, prosperous, and powerful nation. They were free at last.

The vast extent of territory known at that time as Louisiana was divided into four territories, destined to become four great States. We have to do with only one, that which retained the old name. If the people of Arkansas, of Illinois, or of Missouri do not present the peculiarities for which the Creoles of Louisiana are noted, it is that the main settlements of the French and of their successors, the Spaniards, were at New Orleans and in the adjacent country; in the more distant points of the old colony there were only small trading-posts, whose populations were too insignificant to preserve their characteristics; they were absorbed by the tide of emigration from the States. The people of Louisiana proper retained their language, their creed, their manners and customs, and even their laws—at least, their civil laws—for the treaty of purchase stipulated these privileges. They lost nothing, and gained additional guaranties—thanks to the wisdom of Edward Livingston—by the substitution of the English penal code to the complicated and oppressive criminal laws instituted by the Spaniards. An era of prosperity now commenced for the Louisianians. Emigration brought an activity in enterprise very different from the old sluggish ways of the Spanish period. The resources of the soil were developed; trade received a new impulse; the population and the wealth of the State increased rapidly—yet there was something wanting. People with different languages, creeds, and customs do not harmonize easily; and then, the Louisianians felt humiliated when they thought that they had not won by their own efforts that liberty which had brought them so many blessings. Then came the War of 1814, and the fraternal union was finally sealed on the plains of Chalmette. The Plauchés, the Peires, the Lacostes, the Villerés—worthy of their patriotic ancestor, O'Reilly's first victim—led the Creole phalanx to victory under the Stars and Stripes, and won the praise of Andrew Jackson. They had redeemed the ignominy of the sale and barter of their allegiance. From that glorious 8th of January, 1815, only, they felt that they were indeed American citizens.

How is it, then, that they have never completely assimilated with their new countrymen, but have remained so different that they are an object of wonder, and their city, gay New Orleans, is dubbed, even at this late day, "the least American of all the cities in the Union"? The two questions are intimately connected. As we study the peculiarities of New Orleans, and read her history in the architecture of her houses, the names of her

streets and her municipal boundaries, we shall arrive at a better understanding of her people, and we may even come to look on certain peculiarities as quite natural.

Here we have, as it were, three distinct cities, marking three distinct eras in the history of New Orleans. As we stand in the old *Place d'Armes*—now Jackson Square—facing the cathedral, we are in the center of the French quarter, that “narrow strip of ground stretching along the river bank,” where, in 1719, Monsieur de la Tour traced the plan of *la Nouvelle Orléans*. The streets cross each other at regular distances, so as to form squares “fifty fathom front.” These squares or blocks are called *îlets*, a name that puzzles the stranger, for he fails to discover it in the dictionary. It is old French, and means a small island, an islet. Monsieur de la Tour had caused deep ditches to be dug round each square of ground, “to serve as a drain for the river water in time of inundation,” and, as water was always plentiful in and about New Orleans, these ditches were full most of the time, and the city appeared to be composed of so many little islands.

The old boundaries are still clearly defined. The city proper commenced at St. Phillip Street—the third street from the cathedral, on our right—where a fort was built from which the street took its name. Below this fort, the Ursuline nuns, who came over in 1727, erected a convent and school for girls on what is still known as Ursulines Street. This old building, I believe, is still standing. The nuns occupied it for more than a century, when, finding themselves in the very center of a growing city, they moved to a quieter spot, three miles below the boundary. They used to have charge of the military hospital situated just beyond their convent; hence the name Hospital Street. Next comes Barracks Street, where the soldiers had their quarters, and Esplanade Street, where they held the parade. This was the lower boundary. Above the cathedral the third street was also protected by a strong fort, after which it was named—Fort St. Louis—and formed the upper limit. The city extended only half a dozen streets from the river front. It ended at Rampart Street—a name which reminds us that New Orleans had ramparts once upon a time. Just beyond this, at the foot of St. Louis Street, was the cemetery, a portion of which is still preserved, with its crumbling brick tombs and quaint epitaphs.

Such was the original configuration of New Orleans. After a time the city stretched out as high as Canal Street. Within these narrow limits the streets all bear French names: Condé, Chartres, Royale, Bourbon, Dauphine, Bourgogne, Conti, Orleans, Toulouse, recall to mind the

France of ante-revolutionary times. Not a name has been changed. Substantial buildings occupy the sites of the rude constructions erected by the first settlers. Some are quite modern, but there are many still in this old French town that have withstood the elements for over one hundred years. The greater number belong to the descendants of the original settlers. What property has passed into other hands has been purchased principally by Frenchmen. Hence we hear only French spoken as we stroll down the streets, and, if we mingle with the inhabitants, we find their manners and customs very different from what we are accustomed to see in Anglo-Saxon homes, yet possessing a charm other than that of novelty. There is, or was, in the Creole, for I speak of forty years ago, a genial urbanity, a warm hospitality, which no stranger could resist. It was more than the conventional French politeness. The stranger was welcomed with open doors and open hearts; once admitted under the hospitable roof, he was looked upon as a friend, and treated with the familiar *abandon* of friendship. This custom was inherited; it dated from the early days, when the colonists, far from their beloved France, exiled, as it were, from the civilized world, hailed with delight the arrival of every new-comer, for it broke the monotony of colonial life, and brought them fresh tidings of the outer world. The stranger, to-day, may not meet with this ready hospitality, but it will not be because it has ceased to be a Creole characteristic.

The Spaniards who came during the Spanish rule settled principally below the lower boundary, in what is known as the Third District. Here we see Spanish names on the street corners: Casacalvo, Galvez, Miro, Spain, mark the second era in the city's history. On the other hand, the Americans, during the first half of the present century, built up the commercial section above Canal Street, whence all the enterprises that have helped to make New Orleans the great Southern mart were started. Still later, the agglomeration of German settlers farther up the river bank led to the creation of a Fourth District; so that, passing through certain streets, as one goes from one end of the city to the other, he may hear four different languages, and notice such striking differences in race characteristics, that he will almost fancy he has passed through four distinct cities. This anomaly has at least one advantage—the children of the present generation of Orleanians are born polyglots; they speak two or three languages ere they have learned to read.

We have seen that each successive wave of immigration settled round the old French town, leaving it undisturbed. So with the Creole population. The new elements were not homogeneous, and did not mingle with it. That the Creoles did not take very readily to speaking English when

they became American citizens is not at all surprising. Individuals coming to live in a foreign country must perforce learn the language of its people. Here the case was very different. The Louisianians—or the Creoles, since we have admitted the distinction—were a people—small, no doubt, but still a people—born to the soil, with a creed, a language, and manners and customs of their own, which they had inherited from one of the most civilized nations in the world. A minority in this American nation that had suddenly absorbed their nationality, they were, for many years, a majority in their own State, and, above all, in their own city. No pressure was brought to bear upon them, no sacrifice was asked of them, when they became Americans. What reason, what incentive, could they have to change their ways or their language? Time alone could teach them, first, the advantage, then, the absolute necessity, of their acquiring the English language.

Their origin made the task more difficult. Of all the Latin nations, none more than the French retain their identity in despite of surroundings, examples, or even compulsory measures. France has lost many colonies, which for more than a century have enjoyed peace and prosperity under British rule; in not one of them have the French manners and customs disappeared, or the French language been forgotten. Wherever the soil was once French, the characteristics that distinguish the Gaul have taken root, and they outlive even the memory of their origin, in cases where the scattering of the family and intermarriage with another race have confused the tradition. Where the original population was compact and numerous enough to retain its integrity amid new surroundings—and this was the case with Louisiana—the stranger might fancy himself in some French province, where nothing has changed in these hundred years, except the style of dress. The Canadians, to this day, while protesting their fidelity to the British crown, avow openly their love for France. They might be designated by the anomalous title of “French subjects of an English queen.”

Here the Creoles of Louisiana differ widely from the Canadians. While they have retained the language and most of the customs of their French forefathers, they do not profess to love France any more than the descendants of the heroes of the American Revolution profess to love England. Their sympathy with the French does not go beyond that which arises from a common language. The reason of this difference is that Canada was conquered, but Louisiana was bought. The former regrets her misfortune; the latter remembers her shame. Notwithstanding the peculiarities of language, tastes, and habits, which have been accounted for, the

Louisianians are sincerely attached to the republic; even at that period, now remote, when their patriotism expressed itself in broken English, it could not have been questioned.

But we should not judge a people simply by characteristics so apparent that they strike the most unobserving visitor, who is amused or interested according to the bent of his mind. What is the true character of the Creole? He has his faults—what people are faultless?—due principally to those two great factors, race and climate. The inherited Gallic vivacity, overheated by a tropical sun, has endowed him with violent passions. He is quick to take offense and slow to forget that the law, not the individual, should avenge injuries. The *duello* was a favorite institution of his. It is infrequent now, and we should rejoice in its disuse, but we cannot help admitting that while the “Code of Honor” ruled in Louisiana we did not hear of those assassinations and street fights whose frequency in late years has justified the charge of lawlessness against a too high-spirited people. The Creole is just acquiring the American go-aheadativeness, for the want of which he has lost so much. This want was injurious to himself, not to others. He was always capable of wonderful activity and endurance; yet, in questions of interest, in the pursuit of the “almighty dollar,” he was often distanced, for he was very apt to shrug his shoulders philosophically, and repeat the favorite old saw he learned from his fathers, “The game is not worth the candle.” Even now he may not make great headway in the mad race for wealth. He is not lazy; he is an unambitious, easy-going, pleasure-loving creature, such as a tropical climate often produces.

Another cause has had much influence in developing his vices and qualities. Says a French writer, speaking of Athens: “The freeman, the citizen, fought, voted in the *Agora*, assisted in the tribunal, but would have considered it debasing to work with his hands. He had slaves do his work. These slaves attended to all household matters, and plied most of the trades, concurrently with a certain number of foreigners, who, protected by the laws of Athens, caused industry to prosper in the city on condition that they would not meddle with politics. . . . One is tempted to inquire whether this abominable institution of slavery was not closely allied to the existence of the ancient democracies, and if it was not, in the main, the basis of political equality between all the citizens? In ancient times no freeman depended for his living on another freeman. He received a salary from the republic only, and, his slave being his *thing*, he might well say that he needed nobody’s help. . . . Some advantages, essential to a democracy, resulted from this state of things; the citizens, leaving all manual and debasing occupations to the slaves, were, in a measure, free to turn

their whole attention to public affairs; and the discussion in common of great subjects tended to elevate their minds to a loftier train of thoughts." These remarks might, in a degree, apply to the social condition of the Creoles of the last generation. Slavery was introduced into the colony at a time when negroes were not looked upon as human beings, but as a superior order of beasts of burden. It was retained, as a necessity, after the master had learned to recognize a fellow-creature in his slave. But the old colonists were not harsh masters. There is a familiar kindliness in the French character which invariably leads to reciprocal good-feeling between the superior and the inferior, and begets the confidence—often the devotion—of the latter. Witness the relations between the landlord and the peasants in the provinces, and those of officers and soldiers in the army. The slave felt his bondage less, perhaps, in Louisiana than in any other slave-holding State.

These remarks are not made in justification of "the institution;" they are a plain statement of the facts that have helped to make the Creole what he was and what he is. His abhorrence of manual labor and petty trade—which stood in his way even before slavery was destroyed—the false pride which made him a passive spectator of his own ruin, while strangers were growing rich round him, and supplanting him even in the public offices which he considered his by right, were due to the long habit of superiority and command in which he had grown—not to his incapacity. On the other hand, this freedom from petty cares permitted him to follow the bent of his inclination, which tended principally to the liberal arts and professions. Louisiana has her authors, her poets, and musicians, better known in France than at home. Charles Gayarré, the eminent historian and novelist, is, I believe, the only Creole writer whose name is familiar to the American public. The bench and bar of New Orleans were, admittedly, of a high standard; the Maurians, Mazureaus, Canonges, Bermudez's would have done honor to any country. The medical profession might be justly proud of a Lambert, a Chopin, a Landreaux, a Faget. Nor should we forget those old mercantile houses whose unblemished names may still be read in the old French town: the Forstalls, the Kernions, the Romans, D'Acquins—the list is long.

P. J. deBourmay

A THANKSGIVING LEGEND

All day the hungry cattle roamed the bleak November hills,
The scattered grass-blades, sere and dry, crushed crisply to the tread,
The gushing springs, that leaped so oft to swell the eager rills
And clothe the fields with velvet garb, before the drought had fled
No corn lay nestling in the stack, no meal the closet bore,
The harvest shrunk beneath the blast of that fierce summer sky,
No hay the barren mows upheld, empty and bare the floor,
And now the dreary winter months were hastening all too nigh.

Pale Famine, gaunt and fever-marked, stared boldly through the pane,
And manly hearts, that owned no fear, before the secret dread
Like very cowards turned away, but turned away in vain;
One question spoke in every face—"Where shall we look for bread?"
The days still fly as they have fled, no succor meets the gaze;
The thirsty ground no answer gives, the barren air no sound;
The birds flit silent 'mid the groves, and in the forest maze
The savage beasts, by hunger tame, rove fearlessly around.

The gen'rous main yields scanty fare, though brave men struggle hard,
The very fish lie under ban, while children cry for food,
The sandy beach, whose fruitful breast with jealous care they guard,
Responds not to their pressing need, but sleeps in solitude.
Hearts strong in purpose and in hope, who ne'er have faltered yet,
Who ne'er have known unmanly fear, sink down in mute despair;
A foe upon the battle-field with worthy stroke were met,
But who with hunger shall contend, or want's grim forces dare?

Old Mother Earth, that gave them birth, and, with her lavish wealth,
Till now has answered all their toil, turns from their cry away;
While Famine, with her brood of woes, creeps on no more by stealth,
But boldly, in broad sunlight, stalks to seize her gasping prey.
The sea refuses to give up the store it holds in trust,
Nor yields in glad obedience now to man's—the master's—hand,
The air becomes his enemy, the earth it is but dust,
And still the straitest search reveals no help in all the land;

And man, who as a monarch stood, with proud, imperious will,
To claim the bounties Nature holds in her exhaustless breast,
Now pleads, in helpless impotence, his empty barns to fill,
But pleads in vain; the stubborn soil refuses his behest.
And must they perish, these frail ones? Call they in vain for aid?
Does God, the All-omnipotent, leave them to strive alone?
Has he, in his great heart of hearts, no way of safety made,
And will he not his wondrous power, in wondrous ways, make known?

All human help has vanished quite, the last hope almost fled,
While now, upon the bended knee, they seek their God in prayer,
Will he, who for them gave his Son and brought him from the dead,
Look coldly on their agony, and now refuse his care?
“O God, whose ear the fathers heard, hear thou the children’s prayer!
Thou, at whose word earth’s treasures lie, in whose right hand is power,
Look down in mercy on our woe, and in our blank despair,
Be thou our strong deliverer, our refuge in this hour.

“There is no help in human arm—we look alone to thee—
The mightiest are thy servants, all the weakest thou canst save;
In olden time thy people walked securely through the sea,
And in the furnace-flame thine arm the glad deliverance gave;
Thou leddest Israel as a flock—from heaven came angels’ food—
And badest, from the flinty rock, the living waters leap.
Has thy strong arm its vigor lost? Is thine a changeful mood?
Are we not thine, and wilt thou not thine oft-made promise keep?”

The strong man bows in trusting faith—the woman bows in tears—
The children look in wonderment—they, also, look and pray.
Will he not visit their distress, and calm their many fears?
Will he not open now their path, and from the night bring day?
Look yonder—see that glittering speck far out upon the main!
And eager eyes are all aflame—up springs the bended knee!
The fiercely throbbing hearts are mute—the flashing eyeballs strain—
And yet, ’tis but a tiny star that dances on the sea.

And now it lifts upon the wave, now sinks again from sight;
It sparkles like a royal gem, then for an instant hides;
But swiftly flies before the breeze, a messenger of light,
And soon, the cry, “A sail! a sail! Blest be the hand that guides!”

Oh, joy, for that bright gleam of hope which yonder vessel bears,
The swift returning pulses beat with forceful life again;
Impatient flows the blood of youth—age that impatience shares,
Both wait because they needs must wait, as parched earth waits for rain.

And now the strange bark nears the strand, the rushing cables hiss,
The pond'rous anchor plunges sheer, and grasps the ground below;
Hand meets with hand in manly clasp—the tear greets many a kiss—
For each, though ne'er before they met, finds none a stranger now.
The tale is ended—throbbing breasts resume their even flow;
Hunger and want give place to cheer, at the replenished store;
The future drops its heavy frown, and, with refulgent glow,
Flies open, like the gate of heaven, and with new hope runs o'er.

Strong men lift up exultant song—wife, children, all unite,
To bless the gracious Providence, that failed them not at last.
“Thanksgiving to the Lord of Hosts, the God of glorious might,
Whose strong right hand wrought safety from the dangers of the past!
Thanks to his name, who ne'er forgets the children of his love,
But in the hour of peril proves a firm and sure defense!
He came, and darkness fled apace, the skies shone bright above,
He bade the trembler courage take, and drove our terrors hence.

“Thanksgiving for the mercies past, and for the future good;
For, though he guides in unknown ways, the end is always sure!
Our Lord, the ever-faithful God, gives to the hungry food,
And never fails his children while his promises endure.
Praise, then, from joyous hearts, we bring to him on bended knee,
And thanks for that deliverance which he has wrought this day;
And, year by year, glad hearts shall sing a welcome jubilee,
While children's children lift the strain, and grateful memory pay.”

Gilbert Nash.

THE "SWAMP ANGEL"

THE GUN USED IN FIRING ON CHARLESTON, 1863

The entrance to the harbor of the city of Charleston is formed by Sullivan's Island on the north and Morris Island on the south. Morris Island is a low sandy reef, about three and three-quarter miles long, and varies from twenty-five to one thousand yards in width. Its area is some four hundred acres. The outer end of the island, that nearest the bar, is separated from Folly Island, a sand reef of the same general character, by Light House Inlet. Across this stream at daybreak, July 10, 1863, the successful bombardment and assault of the Confederate batteries was made by the Tenth Army Corps, under Major-General Quincy A. Gillmore. This fight secured to the Union forces about three-fourths of Morris Island; a half mile from the inner end of the island Fort Wagner stretched from the sea-shore to Vincent's Creek, which with another sand fort, called Cummings' Point Battery, gave the Southern troops a foothold on the island. Let me remark in passing, that this last-mentioned battery is the one which fired upon the *Star of the West*, January 10, 1861, and all descriptions of the bombardment of Fort Sumter which followed that event, call it an iron-clad fort. During this campaign it was made simply of sand, more impregnable indeed than if covered with bars of railroad iron, or erected of the heaviest masonry. This point is exactly 6,616 yards, about three and three-quarter miles, from the wharves of Charleston. Morris Island is made up of sand ridges the highest thereof being twenty feet, while just in front of Fort Wagner they are but two feet, and in the spring the tide here breaks entirely across the reef. It is separated from James Island by deep and almost impassable marshes from one to three miles in width. Crooked and often very deep creeks or bayous traverse these marshes in every direction. Indeed Morris Island as well as the islands adjacent are but deposits of sand made by the sea and wind upon the surface of these salt marshes.

On the 16th day of July, 1863, General Gillmore directed Colonel Edward W. Serrell, First New York Engineers, now General Serrell, the distinguished civil engineer of New York City, and Lieutenant Peter S. Michie, United States Corps of Engineers, now Colonel Michie, a professor in the Military Academy at West Point, to examine these marshes to ascertain if a battery could be placed on our left front within range of the

city of Charleston. For several days they continued their reconnoissance, accompanied by Lieutenant Nathan M. Edwards, of Colonel Serrell's regiment, and they reported its feasibility. Soundings were made in the marsh with an iron rod thirty feet long and three-quarters of an inch in diameter. They found the mud about twenty feet deep, the weight of the rod carrying it one-half the distance, and it was easily pushed the remainder of the way with one hand. The bottom of the marsh was apparently



GENERAL QUINCY A. GILLMORE.

sand, while the top was covered with wild grass and reeds some four feet high, but with such little root as to furnish no sustaining power whatever. Two men standing on a plank on the surface of the mud, and throwing their weight from side to side made waves of mud, vibrating like jelly, for many yards around. Several trials of the sustaining power of this mud were made. A platform was erected and loaded with sand-bags. It sustained about six hundred pounds to the square foot, but on increasing the weight to nine hundred pounds, the pile upset and most of the sand-bags

vanished in the mud. A man of one hundred and fifty pounds' weight sank in the marsh eighteen inches at every step, if he moved rapidly. A witty officer, when ordered to do some work in this swamp, sent in his requisition to Colonel Serrell, asking for a detail of "twenty men eighteen feet long for duty in fifteen feet of mud."

It was decided to locate the battery about half-way between Morris and James Islands, at a place in the marsh where a deep creek flowed in front and to the left side. It was just 7,000 yards to the lower end, and 7,410 yards, or nearly four and a quarter miles, to the heart of the city of Charleston. It was in easy range of Forts Hascall, Simkins and Cheves, and indeed of all the batteries on James Island. This made it necessary, of course, that the work should be done at night. An estimate of the labor required in the construction of the battery was made on the morning of the 2d of August, and the order was immediately issued for its erection. Large working parties commenced felling trees on Folly Island, and men were employed day and night making and filling sand-bags. A pile-driver could not be used had one been at hand. Two platforms were at first placed on the surface of the marsh. The log to be driven into the mud, sharpened at one end, was fastened crosswise to a long pole by taking a bight thereto with a rope. The short end of the pole was then attached to one of the platforms which had been loaded with sand-bags, and five men on the other platform pulling at a rope adjusted to the long end of the pole pressed the log down to the solid substratum of sand. As soon as enough piling to make sufficient standing room had thus been driven down in two places on opposite sides of the proposed battery the log was attached to the center of the pole, and then parties on each end thereof pressed the pile down as before.

Cheerfully, with great enthusiasm and very rapidly, the men worked, exposed every moment to shelling from the rebel batteries. When the foundation was thus constructed, cross-beams, or, to speak technically, a grillage of large yellow pine logs was bolted together strongly thereon. Thirteen thousand sand-bags, more than eight hundred tons in weight, were then carried by the soldiers from the Engineer camp, over a mile and a half distant, and a parapet, with a return or epaulement, constructed in form like one-half of a hexagon. A road two and a half miles long, made



GENERAL EDWARD W. SERRELL.

of logs and sand-bags, was also built from this place to our left batteries in the approaches to Fort Wagner, and another around the left flank to the edge of the creek before alluded to. Over these roads the entire arma-



LIEUTENANT CHARLES SELLMER.

ment of the battery was carried. About this time, August 12, boats armed with naval bow-howitzers commenced to picket the streams leading to James Island and Charleston, and heavy log booms were fastened across the streams a little distance from the battery, to obstruct, if possible, the approach of the enemy from the harbor. A mock battery was also built

by the soldiers of boards and sand-bags, to draw the fire of the James Island batteries, and in this it was to some extent successful.

An eight-inch Parrott rifle-gun, 200-pounder, was, on the 17th of August, ordered by the commanding general to be mounted in the battery. This gun, I may add, is often confounded with the great 300-pounder which battered the walls of Fort Sumter. The gun erected in the swamp never fired at Fort Sumter, the ten-inch rifle, or 300-pounder, the only one of



LIEUTENANT PETER S. MICHIE.

that calibre at this time in the department, never fired into Charleston. The latter gun was in position at Fort Strong, on our left batteries, and the muzzle was blown off by the premature explosion of a shell. It threw nineteen thousand pounds of metal at the gorge wall of Fort Sumter. The gun in the marsh was manned by a detachment of the Eleventh Regiment Maine Volunteers, Lieutenant Charles Sellmer commanding, who is now a first lieutenant of the Third United States Artillery.

On all official papers it is spoken of as the "Marsh Battery," but the

soldiers called it the "Swamp Angel," and I have also heard it referred to by them as the "Marsh Croaker" and the "Mud Lark."

At nine o'clock on the morning of the 21st of August a communication was sent by General Gillmore to General Beauregard, commanding the Confederate forces at Charleston, demanding the surrender of Fort Wagner, and assuring him that unless it was done the city would be bombarded from batteries "established within easy and effective range of the heart of the city." Of course General Beauregard laughed at General Gillmore's presumption, and took no heed thereto. That night the order of General



THE BATTERY IN THE SWAMP AFTER THE BURSTING OF THE GUN.

Gillmore reached Lieutenant Sellmer, and the "Swamp Angel" was ranged for the steeple of St. Michael's Church, in Charleston. Heavy woods on James Island, near Fort Simkins, hid the city from the view of the men in the Marsh Battery. An elevation of $31^{\circ} 30'$ was given the gun, sixteen pounds of powder was the charge, and one hundred and fifty pounds the weight of the projectile. At half-past one on the morning of the 22d the firing commenced.

" . . . Through the air, with a rush and a yell,
With a screech and a roar went the howling shell,"

and the fiery missile was pitched over the James Island batteries, the harbor, and into the city. As we lay on the sand hillocks watching its flight,

it seemed to go up among the very stars, and its burning fuse lit up its track as it descended on its course of destruction. The ringing of fire-bells, the screaming of whistles from tug-boats in the harbor, told us truly that it had reached the city. Fifteen shells, at this time, were fired, and the Charleston dispatches of that day to the department at Richmond reported "twelve shell as having fallen into the city." Just at daybreak General Beauregard sent a message to General Gillmore, telling him that his firing "with the most destructive missiles used in war upon a city filled with sleeping women and children, would give him a bad eminence in history." General Gillmore replied very briefly, and on Sunday night twenty more shell were fired into the city. All the batteries which could obtain that night the range of the "Swamp Angel," commenced a furious cannonade. But still our shell kept flying in the midst of their iron hail-storm. It was a wild night, and the whole army corps watched and listened for each report from the gallant little party in the marsh. On the thirty-sixth discharge the entire breach, just behind the vent, blew out, and the gun was thrown forward on the parapet. The band which always encases the first re-enforce of Parrott guns, was split, and became entirely separated from the piece.

The Parrott projectiles were the only kind ever used in this gun. Some were called incendiary, and contained port-fire mixed with the explosive material. Some of the shell also contained "Short's Solidified Greek Fire," and some were filled with powder alone. The Greek Fire was encased in tin tubes three inches long and three-quarters of an inch in diameter, closed at one end. These tubes were placed in the shell and the interstices filled with powder. As near as I have been able to ascertain, ten



THE GUN ON THE MONUMENT IN TRENTON.

[From a Photograph.]

of the fifteen shots fired the first night contained each some twenty pieces of this Greek Fire.

After the bursting of the eight-inch rifle, no more guns were placed in the Marsh Battery until after the surrender of Fort Wagner, September 7, 1863. Afterward two ten-inch sea-coast mortars were placed there for the purpose of drawing the fire of the James Island batteries whenever the navy made any attack on Forts Sumter or Moultrie.

Immediately on the surrender of Cumming's Point, General Gillmore had guns mounted thereon, calling it Fort Gregg. There is a record of one of these guns on Fort Gregg, a thirty-pound Parrott rifle, which threw more than four thousand six hundred shell, four thousand two hundred and fifty-three of which were seen to fall into the city.

The steeple of Saint Michael's Church in Charleston was not struck by the shells, but the church itself received some injury. The first gun mounted on the Marsh Battery in its broken condition was sent with other condemned metal after the war to Trenton, New Jersey, to be melted up, but having been identified was placed on an appropriately inscribed granite block, and was erected as a monument on the corner of Perry and Clinton streets, in Trenton. An accurate drawing of the fractured gun will be found on Plate XXXIII of General Gillmore's exhaustive work on the *Engineer and Artillery Operations Against Charleston*, edition 1865.

No very great military results were ever expected from the erection and firing of the "Swamp Angel." As a difficult problem in engineering, as a severe testing of heavy guns, as a novel method of damaging an enemy's city, over the heads of its army and their fortifications—the result, as we have seen, was highly successful.

William L. Stryker

MISUNDERSTANDINGS

HALLECK AND GRANT

Grant opened his Shiloh article in the *Century Magazine* (February, 1885) with the statement that he had been unjustly treated by Halleck after the capture of Fort Donelson; and his *Personal Memoirs* contain the same charge, and, in addition, are laden with adverse criticism of Halleck. The leading article in the *North American Review* for December, 1885, by Colonel F. D. Grant, is entitled "Halleck's Injustice to Grant;" and for weeks after its appearance large posters were displayed from the news-stands in New York City, bearing, in conspicuous type, the words "*Grant Vindicated from Halleck's Slanders*;" by Colonel F. D. Grant."

It is proper to state that Colonel Grant disclaims responsibility for the heading of his article, and while he presents official documents which suggest, but do not prove injustice, he merely disseminates, without comment, his father's sentiments concerning Halleck; and though he speaks of having taken the documents from his father's files, they are to be found in their proper places in the *Records of the Rebellion*.

Grant and Halleck are dead. Though not equally successful, they were equally earnest and patriotic, and both deserved well of their country. Halleck's lot was disappointment and premature death.* Fair-play demands that all questions of justice between him and Grant be treated according to their merits, apart from the comparative military ability, eminence, and popularity of the two great men.

Without going into tedious details, it may be assumed that the charge of injustice has one main and four subordinate specifications. The first is, that after the capture of Fort Donelson, February 16, 1862, Halleck sought to promote C. F. Smith to a major-generalcy over Grant, and thus give Smith the honors of the victory.†

This is the one specification of real substance to prove Halleck's injustice to Grant. *Halleck is not guilty of it.* All three of the authorities just cited, General and Colonel Grant and General Badeau, have failed to present one essential telegram upon the subject. They set forth the fact that on the 19th of February, 1862, Halleck telegraphed McClellan: "Brigadier-Gen-

* Halleck died January 9, 1872, aged 57.

† *Personal Memoirs*, vol. i., p. 328; *North American Review*, December, 1885, p. 522; Badeau's *Military History of General Grant*, vol. i., p. 54.

eral Charles F. Smith by his coolness and bravery at Fort Donelson, when the battle was against us, turned the tide and carried the enemy's works. Make him a major-general. You can't get a better one. Honor him for this victory and the whole country will applaud;" and leave it to be understood that by this telegram Smith was recommended instead of Grant, and to the neglect and prejudice of Grant. The truth is that Halleck by telegraph recommended Grant for a major-generalcy on the 17th of February, two days before he recommended Smith. This dispatch (vol. vii., p. 628, *Records of the Rebellion*) is plainly of record. It reads: "Make Buell, Grant and Pope major-generals of volunteers, and give me command in the West. I ask this in return for Forts Henry and Donelson." Grant's name was promptly sent to the Senate, and the fact was announced in the newspapers of the 18th. It is not necessary to quote more than one. The New York daily *Tribune* of February 18, 1862, announced Grant's nomination with the heading, "Honor to the brave!" and its Washington correspondent on the same day wrote: "the Senate in executive session to-day unanimously confirmed Grant as major-general." Halleck recommended Grant by telegraph on the 17th; the President's nomination of Grant was announced in the morning papers of the 18th. Halleck would naturally be watching for the announcement, and it is safe and fair to say he knew of the nomination on the 18th—certainly by the morning of the 19th, the day on which he recommended Smith. But be that as it may, he recommended Grant, and Grant was nominated and confirmed before Smith was recommended; which is conclusive as to what Halleck sought to do.

Badeau, ignoring Halleck's prior recommendation of Grant, and assuming that Halleck designed to honor Smith at Grant's expense, says, vol. i., p. 54: "Neither did the government agree with Halleck that Smith should receive the honors of this victory. The Secretary of War at once recommended Grant for a major-general of volunteers, and the President nominated him the same day." This version of the transaction given in Badeau's book, published in 1867, is misleading, and is unjust to Halleck. Though the foregoing statement is not specified by Grant as one of the "facts" relating to Donelson which Grant says in his *Memoirs*, p. 328, "General Badeau unearthed," it is probable that he accepted it as a fact, and died in the belief that Halleck tried to give Smith the honor and reward for Donelson. As the minor or incidental matters of this supposed grievance have been presented formally, they must be considered.

The first of them is that failing to get Smith promoted to rank Grant, Halleck, nevertheless, gave Smith command of an expedition up the Ten-

nessee early in March, 1862, and left Grant at Fort Henry, as Grant states it, "Virtually in arrest and without a command."*

On the 15th of February, 1862, Halleck gave Grant command of the "District of West Tennessee," "limits undefined." He sent a telegram on the 1st of March, directing Grant to move his column up the Tennessee River to destroy railroad bridges. Halleck did not designate the commanders for the sub-columns into which the expedition was to be divided for the work to be done. He merely said: "General C. F. Smith, or some very discreet officer, should be selected for such commands;" and "that competent officers should be left to command the garrisons of Fort Henry and Donelson in your absence." He intended Grant to go with the expedition. But soon after Halleck made the order for the movement, he heard—as he reported to McClellan on the 3d of March—that Grant had left his command and gone to Nashville without authority, that great disorders in the army had occurred during Grant's absence; and coupling these accounts with his failure to get reports and returns from Grant, and with a rumor that reached him on the 4th—published as one of the telegrams in Colonel Grant's article—that Grant had "resumed his former bad habits," Halleck on the 4th telegraphed Grant, "You will place Major-General C. F. Smith in command of expedition, and remain yourself at Fort Henry," In speaking of this affair in the winter of 1885, Grant said that Halleck left him at Fort Henry "in arrest." I remarked that I thought he was in error about the arrest, but he adhered to his assertion. His Shiloh article for the *Century Magazine* had then been written but not published. When it appeared, it contained the statement that he was "virtually in arrest." That statement is repeated in the *Personal Memoirs*, and is strengthened by the addition that he was "without a command."

The facts upon this point are, that McClellan, in a dispatch of March 3d, authorized Halleck to arrest Grant, but Halleck answered on the 4th that he did not "deem it advisable." There was no order of arrest, no report or return indicating arrest; and no restriction of Grant's authority. The telegram directing him to remain at Fort Henry, was the only order in the case. Grant's authority over the entire District of West Tennessee, including the expeditionary force under C. F. Smith, was uninterrupted and unlimited. No one has ever pretended to show any order or instruction to the contrary. The *Records* abound in proofs that Grant was continuously on duty and in full command of his district and troops. On the 5th of March he issued formal orders for Smith to take command of the expedition, and gave him instructions for conducting it, saying, "I will

* *Personal Memoirs*, vol. i., pp. 327-8; *Century Magazine*, February, 1885, p. 594.

remain at Fort Henry and throw forward all the troops that can be provided with transportation." On the 6th he reported to Halleck, "all transports here will be loaded and off to-day, if the gunboats arrive to convoy them. One gunboat has gone to Savannah. The transports here will not take all the troops in readiness to move. Your instructions contemplated my commanding expedition in person. Dispatch yesterday changed it." On the same day he reported to Halleck: "Union City is said to be garrisoned by rebels. I will keep a lookout to prevent a surprise from that direction while the garrison is weak here." On the 7th he wrote to "General S. A. Hurlbut, commanding fourth division: "Embark your forces on the transports now awaiting you as rapidly as possible." . . . Signed "U. S. Grant, *Major-General, Commanding*." On the same day and over the same signature he issued an equally peremptory order to "Colonel R. I. Oglesby, commanding U. S. forces, *Fort Donelson, Tenn.*" On the 9th, he telegraphed Halleck, "I will do all in my power to advance the expedition now started . . . I renew my application *to be relieved from further duty*." Showing that he was on duty. On the 9th he made to Halleck a statement of the forces in the district: those composing the expedition, 25,206; those at Fort Henry awaiting transportation, 5,740; those at Clarksville, 1,173; those at Fort Donelson, 2,328. On the 10th he telegraphed Halleck, "Third Iowa Infantry just arrived. Effective strength, 676; ordered to join General Smith. Advance of expedition started last evening;" and also on the 10th to Halleck, "To-morrow is the day when all persons of proper age are to be enrolled in this State in the rebel army. Troops are now in Paris to enforce the orders of Governor Harris. I am concentrating the small force under my command on the west bank of the river, to defeat their object as far as lays in my power." On the 11th, he wrote as follows: "General C. F. Smith, commanding expedition to Upper Tennessee. Send back steamers as rapidly as possible to enable us to forward troops . . . U. S. Grant, *Major-General, Commanding*;" and on the same day, 11th, he telegraphed Halleck, "I shall run down to Paducah to-night." These dispatches and others of like import, showing Grant to have been constantly on duty, are in *Records of Rebellion*, vol. x., part ii., pp. 3 to 29. They prove that he was not in arrest of any sort, that he was not without a command, and that he was exercising command loyally and efficiently over his entire district, including the forces under immediate control of C. F. Smith.

It is true, that Grant's detention on duty at Fort Henry grew out of Halleck's disapprobation. The detention itself, however, would not have been a grievance if it had not been based upon special causes. Halleck

had required Sherman, who was Grant's superior officer, to remain a few miles in the rear and push forward men and munitions to enable Grant to capture Forts Henry and Donelson, but Sherman did not complain that he was virtually in arrest or without a command. The order for Grant to remain at Fort Henry was, in fact, of no practical disadvantage to him. It was made on the 4th of March. On the 9th, only five days afterward, and before anything of importance had been done up the Tennessee, Halleck terminated the effect of the order by telegraphing to Grant to be ready to take the advance (vol. x., part ii., p. 27, *Rec. Reb.*).

This notification was given on the very day that the advance of the expedition, as reported by Grant, started from Fort Henry; so that, practically, Grant was not left behind at all. The notification was repeated on the 11th, and again on the 13th, Halleck saying upon the latter date, "I wish you, *as soon as your new army is in the field*, to assume the *immediate* command and lead it on to new victories." By directing Grant to assume *immediate* command, Halleck recognized that Grant had been continuously exercising *general* command. Under this authority, and fixing his own time for starting to the front, Grant proceeded up the Tennessee and reached Savannah on the 17th of March. Not having been relieved from command by arrest or otherwise, he issued no order assuming command on reaching Savannah, but continued in the exercise of the authority conferred by his assignment of February 15th, to command of the District of West Tennessee. As already stated, Grant's detention at Fort Henry, while his new army was getting ready for the field, was not in itself a grievance. But the next specification of Halleck's injustice to Grant rests upon the causes which led to the detention. Grant specifies as follows: "Halleck reported to Washington that he had repeatedly ordered me to give the strength of my force, but could get nothing out of me; that I had gone to Nashville beyond the limits of my command without his authority, and that my army was more demoralized by victory than the army at Bull Run had been by defeat." (*Personal Memoirs*, vol. i., p. 327.)

Halleck did not say that Grant's army was *more* demoralized—in fact, he did not say that it was demoralized at all. He said, "it *seems* to be as *much* demoralized by the victory of Fort Donelson as was that of the Potomac by the defeat of Bull Run." It is true that Halleck called upon Grant for reports and returns; and that he reported the failure to get them to McClellan, who, as well as Halleck, wanted the information. Some of Halleck's calls did not reach Grant, and some of Grant's reports did not reach Halleck. In a telegram to Halleck of March 24th, Grant says: "I have just learned to-day that your dispatches to me after the taking of Fort

Donelson, reached Fort Henry—some of them at least—but were never sent to me. What has become of the operator then at Fort Henry? I don't know." There was no explanation that covered the case of "Returns," for Grant did not make them. In telegram, March 9, he said to Halleck: "You had a better chance of knowing my strength whilst surrounding Fort Donelson than I had. Troops were reporting daily by your orders," etc.

As the general-in-chief was calling upon Halleck for information concerning Grant's force, there is no ground for serious complaint because Halleck reported his inability to get it from Grant. No one disputes that Grant went to Nashville without Halleck's authority. On the 25th of February he notified Cullum, Halleck's chief-of-staff, then at Cairo, that he would "go to Nashville immediately after the arrival of the next mail, should there be no orders to prevent it." It is not known when the next mail arrived; but Grant went to Nashville by boat, arriving there on 27th February. Hearing that he was in the city, Buell went to Grant's steamer to see him, and had an informal conversation with him. During the day Grant wrote a note of no special importance to Buell, and left in the evening. He claimed, and Halleck after investigation admitted, that the trip was made from a "desire to subserve the public interests;" and there is no purpose here to question the propriety of it, but it cannot be said, fairly, that it was unjust for Halleck to mention this trip to McClellan in explanation of failure to get reports and returns from Grant. In his *Memoirs* (vol. i., p. 326), Grant contradicts Halleck's assertion that Nashville was beyond the limit of Grant's command, saying, "that place was not beyond the limits of my command, which it had been expressly declared in orders were not defined." The limits of Grant's district were not defined, but Nashville was beyond the limits which Halleck had a right to go, and beyond the limits he could empower Grant to go. Furthermore, Nashville was in Buell's command and in his possession, and Buell, by the President's order, was independent of both Halleck and Grant. The exigencies of the occasion as Grant saw them, no doubt, required him to go to Nashville just as he did; but there was nothing in the fact of the limits of his district being undefined which brought Nashville, then belonging to the territory of, and actually occupied by an independent army, within the limits of Grant's district.

If Halleck did Grant any injustice in the causes which led to the latter's detention at Fort Henry, it was in saying that "Grant's army seems to be as much demoralized by the victory of Fort Donelson, as was that of the Potomac by the defeat of Bull Run." That, evidently, was not intended as a specific allegation. It was an ejaculatory expression of Halleck's dis-

pleasure at the irregularities of which he complained. The ground for it was that he could get "no reports, no returns," that Grant had "gone to Nashville without authority," and that serious disorders in his army had occurred during his absence. Halleck received, and on the 6th of March transmitted to Grant a copy of a letter addressed to Judge David Davis, then President of the Western Investigation Commission. The writer's name was not given, but Judge Davis vouched for him as "a man of integrity and perfectly reliable." The letter (vol. x., part ii., p. 13, *Rec. of Reb.*), charged various frauds and irregularities among officers and men after the capture of Fort Donelson. Grant had tried to correct the irregularities, and did not deny them; in fact, his orders go to prove them (*Rec. Reb.* vol. vii., pp. 599, 633, 650), and his letter to Halleck of March 18th, with characteristic frankness, distinctly admits some of them. He says: "I have found that there was much truth in the report that captured stores were carried off from Fort Henry, improperly;" and on the same day he issued a general order, saying: "A better state of discipline than has heretofore been maintained with much of this command is demanded, and will be enforced." (*Rec. Reb.*, vol. x., part ii., p. 47.) On the 24th of March he said in a telegram to Halleck, upon this subject: "I most fully appreciate your justness, general, in the part you have taken" (p. 63); and on the 28th of March he said, referring to another species of disorder in his army, to which Halleck had called his attention: "I acknowledge the justness of your rebuke in this respect, although I thought all proper measures had been taken to prevent such abuses, and will see that no such violation occurs in future;" adding, in the same dispatch, "the conduct of the Twenty-first Missouri, on the way up here, has been reported to me as infamous." These evidences of a bad condition of affairs in Grant's forces after Donelson are reproduced, not as a reflection upon Grant, but in justice to Halleck, as the explanation of his displeasure. There had not been time and opportunity for Grant to organize and discipline the raw levies hurriedly sent to him for that early campaign. But in the interest of the discipline which Halleck knew must be established as soon as possible, for the sake of what remained to be done, it was none the less his duty to rebuke disorders even in Grant's victorious forces. The War Department, in a letter of March 10, to Halleck, directed him to make a formal report, of what he had mentioned by telegraph, concerning Grant's absence at Nashville, and his failure to make returns, etc. Halleck investigated the subject, and as early as March 15, made a full report to Washington, saying, among other things: "General Grant has made the proper explanations. As he acted from a praiseworthy, although mistaken zeal for the

public service in going to Nashville and leaving his command, I respectfully recommend that no further notice be taken of it. There never has been any want of military subordination on the part of General Grant, and his failure to make returns of his forces has been explained as resulting partly from the failure of colonels of regiments to report to him on their arrival, and partly from an interruption of telegraphic communication. All of these irregularities have been remedied." (*Rec. Reb.*, vol. v., p. 683.) Before this report was made, Halleck had ordered Grant up the Tennessee. He promptly sent Grant a copy of the communication from which the foregoing extract is taken, and also a copy of the communication to which it is an answer. In a letter dated March 24, acknowledging these copies, Grant said: "I most fully appreciate your justness, general, in the part you have taken." Halleck, no doubt, felt that he had been generous. In that way the affair was closed. But after the war the case was re-opened by Badeau, in his *Military History of General Grant*, and more recently by both General and Colonel Grant.

Re-opening this case has given rise to what is treated in this article as Grant's third subordinate specification of Halleck's injustice. The complaint, as stated by Grant in his *Personal Memoirs*, is, that Halleck forwarded "a copy of a detailed dispatch from himself to Washington, entirely exonerating me; *but he did not inform me that it was his own reports that had created all the trouble. I never knew the truth until General Badeau unearthed the facts in his researches for his history of my campaigns.*"

The complaint here is not based upon the contents of the dispatch, which Grant assumes "created all the trouble," but upon Halleck's omission to send Grant a copy of that dispatch; or, "its concealment from me when pretending to explain the action of his superiors," as Grant puts it. (*Personal Memoirs*, vol. i., p. 328.) It is by no means certain that Halleck's dispatch "created *all* the trouble;" but aside from that, the trouble having been ended, neither duty nor expediency required Halleck to re-open it. The wound was healed by the report of March 15, and Halleck knew that Grant's usefulness would probably be increased by keeping it healed. He is not chargeable with "concealment," because he did not tell Grant in 1862 all that passed then between Halleck and McClellan. That was not required either by army regulations or custom of service. If that charge were just it would lie against Grant as well as Halleck. After Grant gained confidence and power, he sent dispatches to Washington, speaking unfavorably of other generals; but he is not chargeable with wrongful concealment because he did not tell the subordinate what he had said to the superior. He did simply what he thought duty required. A brief ex-

planation of the dispatch which Grant says was concealed from him and unearthed by Badeau, is, however, necessary. It was from Halleck to McClellan, March 3, and reads as follows: "I have had no communication with General Grant for more than a week. He left his command without my authority and went to Nashville. His army seems to be as much demoralized by the victory of Fort Donelson as was that of the Potomac by the defeat of Bull Run. It is hard to censure a successful general immediately after a victory, but I think he richly deserves it. I can get no returns, no reports, no information of any kind from him. Satisfied with his victory, he sits down and enjoys it, without any regard to the future. I am worn out and tired with this neglect and inefficiency. C. F. Smith is almost the only officer equal to the emergency." Badeau says in his *History* (vol. i., p. 65), this telegram "was not left on file in the War Department, but was obtained by me after long research and repeated efforts."

But in an official report to the Secretary of War, from the War Records office, it is stated that "Halleck's telegram of March 3, 1862, to McClellan, was found in package No. 96, United States Military Telegraph Records, filed in *War Department*. The reply of McClellan bearing the approval of the Secretary of War was found in volume of 'Telegrams sent by Major-General McClellan and staff, March 1st to 10th, and September 1st to 16th, 1862, ib., vol. 3.' That 'volume was in *War Department files*. A copy of McClellan's reply was also found in package No. 96, referred to above.'" From this it seems that Halleck's telegram was on file in the War Department. The statement in Badeau's *History*, published in 1867, that this telegram was not left on file in the War Department, but was obtained by Badeau after long research and repeated efforts—was, in fact, "unearthed," as Grant expresses it in his *Memoirs*, implied that somebody had concealed it, and probably made upon Grant's mind and fastened there an impression unjust to Halleck. The injustice to Grant involved in this telegram of March 3, had been corrected by Halleck's full report of March 15, a copy of which had been sent to Grant. The foregoing quotation from the report of the War Records office, shows that no wrong was done to Grant through the concealment of the dispatch; shows, in fact, that there was no concealment. Here the details in refutation of Halleck's so-called injustice to Grant after the battle of Fort Donelson may be closed. But there are some general considerations which bear upon the subject. The campaign of Fort Donelson was made in February, 1862. Halleck was high in authority, being one of the three major-generals of the regular army. Grant, one of Halleck's many subordinates, was but a brigadier-general of volunteers. The operations on the Tennessee and Cumberland, the operations on

the Mississippi and the campaign in Missouri and Arkansas, under Curtis, were all directed by Halleck. Grant was merely the lieutenant in command of one of Halleck's columns. Halleck's reputation as well as Grant's was at stake, and he was necessarily anxious and exacting. As shown further on, Grant understood this, and as late as 1879 announced that he bore Halleck no ill-will on account of the action then taken. In February, 1862, the war was young, and high officers had to be taken on trust. Grant did not possess, nor had he then earned the confidence of the government. If Grant's ability and trustworthiness had had then the foundation of his later career, Halleck's anxiety and fault-finding would have been indefensible. But as matters stood at the time, his watchfulness of Grant, even his doubts and misgivings, were the natural outgrowth of attending facts and circumstances. Indeed, it is remarkable that Halleck should have been so little influenced by personal preference. Sherman and Halleck at that time were devoted friends, and Sherman as well as Grant was one of Halleck's subordinates. Yet Halleck gave Grant, the junior, command of the column on the Tennessee and Cumberland, because he was first identified with the service in that quarter, and held Sherman, the senior, a few miles down the river, while Grant reaped the glory and reward of capturing Forts Henry and Donelson. Sherman made no complaint of injustice. On the contrary, as Badeau says, he wrote Grant February 13: "I will do everything in my power to hurry forward your re-enforcements and supplies; and if I could be of service myself, would gladly come without making any question of rank with you or General Smith."

The last subordinate specification of injustice is, as Grant states it, that a few days after the battle of Shiloh, "General Halleck moved his headquarters to Pittsburg Landing, and assumed command of the troops in the field. Although next to him in rank, and nominally in command of my old district and army, I was ignored as much as if I had been at the most distant point of territory within my jurisdiction." (*Personal Memoirs*, vol. i., p. 370; *Century Magazine*, February, 1885, p. 594.)

This may show bad judgment on Halleck's part, but the facts do not prove injustice. After the battle of Shiloh, Halleck formed his army into the left wing under Pope; the centre, under Buell; the right wing under George H. Thomas, and the reserve under McClelland. Grant, still in command of the army of the Tennessee and the district of West Tennessee, was in addition assigned as second in command, a position without defined duties or specific authority. Nominally, the new arrangement was an honor to Grant—practically it restricted his powers. The Donelson shadow that had been partly cleared away, had reappeared after Shiloh

and hung heavily over Grant. It did not vanish until he captured Vicksburg in July, 1863.

The opinion which Halleck held of Grant's army *a week after the battle of Shiloh* is shown by the following, dated,

"Pittsburg Landing, April 14, 1862.

"To Major-General U. S. Grant, commanding district and army in the field. Immediate and active measures must be taken to put your command in condition to resist another attack. Fractions of batteries will be united temporarily under competent officers, supplied with ammunition, and placed in position for service. Divisions and brigades should, where necessary, be reorganized and put in position, and all stragglers restored to their companies and regiments. Your army is not now in condition to resist an attack. It must be made so without delay. Staff officers must be sent to obtain returns from division commanders, and assist in supplying all deficiencies. H. W. HALLECK, Major-General."

At that time there was a deep and widespread sentiment adverse to Grant. On the 23d of April the Secretary of War telegraphed Halleck: "The President desires to know . . . whether any neglect or misconduct of General Grant or any other officer contributed to the sad casualties that befell our forces on Sunday." This telegram was not due to anything Halleck had reported about Shiloh. He replied: "The sad casualties of Sunday 6th were due in part to the bad conduct of officers who were utterly unfit for their places, and in part to the numbers and bravery of the enemy. I prefer to express no opinion in regard to the misconduct of individuals till I receive the reports of commanders of divisions."

That there was more complaint of Grant than appears in detail in the *Records*, is indicated by Halleck's letter of May 12, 1862, in which he says to Grant: "You certainly will not suspect me of any intention to injure your feelings or reputation, or to do you injustice. . . . For the last three months I have done everything in my power to ward off the attacks which were made upon you."

Fortunately for the country and for Grant, he had the inherent strength to bear his burden, and to remove adverse feeling by his great deeds. Much of the dissatisfaction with Grant after Shiloh arose from the reported surprise of his army on the 6th. Halleck, in that matter, took his lieutenant's part, and boldly denied the surprise, saying in a telegram of May 2, to Stanton: "The newspaper accounts that our divisions were surprised are utterly false;" adding in his formal report of June 15, 1862, "the impression which at one time seemed to have been received by the Department that our forces were surprised on the morning of the 6th, is entirely

erroneous." Time seems to have proved the futility of all denials of surprise, but Halleck's denial was none the less a friendly and a timely service to Grant.

The official records, informal evidence, and Grant's *Personal Memoirs*, vol. i., show that bad feeling did not exist between Grant and Halleck at the close of the war. Grant probably felt during the contest that Halleck, though he had sometimes found fault, had been friendly and just to him. On the 11th of August, 1863, more than a year after what he presents in his *Memoirs* as the Shiloh injustice, Grant said to Halleck in a letter written with his own hand, "I feel under many obligations to you, general, for the interest you have ever taken in my welfare, and that of the army I have the honor to command. I will do the best I can to satisfy you that your confidence has not been misplaced."

In a letter to a distinguished general written on the 16th of February, 1864, Halleck said: "You have probably seen the attempt in the newspapers to create difficulties and jealousies between me and Grant. This is all for political effect. There is not the slightest ground for any such assertions. There cannot, and will not, be any differences between us. If he is made lieutenant-general, as I presume he will be, I shall most cordially welcome him to the command, glad to be relieved from so thankless and disagreeable a position. I took it against my will, and shall be most happy to leave it as soon as another is designated to fill it."

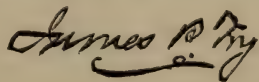
In a letter dated July 16, 1864, to the same officer, Halleck said, speaking of Grant, who had then been put over Halleck's head: "While the general himself is free from petty jealousies, he has men about him who would gladly make difficulties between us. I know that they have tried it several times, but I do not think they will succeed."

Immediately after Lee's surrender Grant went to Washington, and Halleck from Washington to Richmond for duty. On the 17th of May, 1865, Secretary Stanton telegraphed to Halleck: "General Grant is here with his wife. It is not safe for him to be at the hotel, and he is reluctant to go into a private family. He would go into your house for a while if agreeable to you. Will you write him to do so while your family are absent?" Halleck at once telegraphed Grant, "There are two servants and most of the furniture and bedding in the house I occupied in Georgetown. I suggest that while your wife is with you, you move right in and make yourself comfortable. My family will not again occupy it, and I do not require the furniture here, at least for the present. During the hot weather you can make yourself much more comfortable there than in Washington." Grant promptly accepted this friendly offer, telegraphing

Halleck, "Your very kind dispatch, placing your house at Mrs. Grant's disposal during her stay, is received. I have not seen Mrs. Grant, but I know that she will be delighted to get out of the hotel for the few weeks she remains here." Halleck's house was occupied by General and Mrs. Grant. This offer and acceptance of hospitality was supplemented by the following expressions of friendliness and courtesy. Telegram from Grant to Halleck, May 26: "I understand that Mrs. Halleck is expected in Washington. If you will let me know when to expect her, I will be glad to meet her at the wharf with a carriage, and have Mrs. Grant entertain her during her stay in this city." Halleck to Grant, May 27: "Mrs. Halleck will not visit Washington till she goes north for the summer. The house will therefore remain entirely at your disposal."

The foregoing communications show that Grant entertained feelings of friendship and respect for Halleck at the close of the war. And there are favorable expressions from him of a much later date. John Russell Young, in his book *Around the World with General Grant* (1879), quotes Grant thus: "In the early part of the war Halleck did very good service for which he has never received sufficient credit—I mean in his civic administration. Some of his orders were in anticipation, I think, of those of Butler, which gave him so much fame in New Orleans" (p. 465, vol. ii.), . . . "he was in addition a very able military man. Halleck had intellect and great acquirements outside of his military education. He was at the head of the California bar when the war broke out, and his appointment to the major-generalcy was a gratification to all who knew the old army. When I was made lieutenant-general, General Halleck became chief-of-staff to the army. He was very useful, and was loyal and industrious; sincerely anxious for the success of the country, and without any feeling of soreness at being superseded. In this respect Halleck was a contrast to other officers of equal ability, who felt that unless they had the command they craved they were not needed. Halleck's immense knowledge of military science was of great use in the War Office to those of us in the field" (p. 216, vol. ii.). . . . "After Donelson I was in disgrace, and practically without a command, because of some misunderstanding on the part of Halleck. *It all came right in time.* I never bore Halleck ill-will for it. He was in command, and it was his duty to command as he pleased" (p. 452, vol. ii.). Grant's unkind feeling toward Halleck appears to have been engendered quite recently, and was due probably to misunderstanding of the facts arising from Grant's inability to search the *Records* thoroughly for himself.

NEW YORK CITY, December 15, 1885.



FROM CEDAR MOUNTAIN TO CHANTILLY*

IV

GROVETON, SECOND DAY—CHANTILLY

The forenoon of Saturday, August 30, passed quietly. The weather was fair and warm. Our army occupied most of the advanced ground which it had gained the day before, except on the left, where Hatch had been driven back. Even there the enemy had retired from our front.

For two days our troops had been almost destitute of food, and our cavalry and artillery horses of forage. No re-enforcements had come forward. General Fitz John Porter, impelled by the peremptory command of the preceding evening, brought his corps upon the field, but not the whole of it. Griffin's Brigade of Morell's Division went off to Centreville, and took no part whatever in Saturday's battle. The strong, fresh, and well-equipped army corps of Franklin and Sumner came as far as Centreville during the day, but approached no nearer. Had the entire Army of the Potomac been brought forward, the Battle of Antietam might have been fought on this day and this ground, as it should have been.

General Lee's army had all arrived upon the field, except Anderson's Division, which was near at hand. Generals Pope, McDowell, and Heintzelman fell into the delusion that the enemy was retreating. Jackson had quitted some of his positions on the left, and Hood had disappeared from the front of Hatch's Division. Prisoners taken from us on the 29th, and afterwards paroled and allowed to return to our lines, declared that the enemy was quitting the field. Misled by all this, Pope assigned to McDowell "the command of the pursuit." Porter's corps was directed to push forward on the turnpike, followed by the divisions of Hatch and Reynolds. Ricketts was to lead off on the Haymarket Road, followed by Heintzelman. These orders were issued at noon. Sigel and Reno, not mentioned in the written instructions, were to remain in reserve.

As to whether the enemy was retreating or not, or what his plans were, Sigel was not sure. He therefore, as usual, undertook to investigate the matter for himself, and sent out a cavalry reconnaissance to our extreme left, with instructions to explore the country in that direction. Lieutenant-

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Colonel Nazer, with the Fourth New York Cavalry, was selected for this purpose, and set out about noon. At the same time Sigel sent a regiment of Schenck's Division to the left of our position to observe the enemy's movements.

In the course of an hour Nazer reported to Sigel—and also to Buford, whom he passed on the extreme left—that the enemy, with cavalry, infantry, and artillery, was *advancing against our left*. This information Sigel communicated at once to General Pope.* Meanwhile General Ricketts, on the right, sent word that he had been feeling the enemy's lines, and that, so far from being able to advance, he was by no means sure that he could hold the ground he then occupied. The illusion of Confederate retreat was completely dissipated. Jackson still clung to his railroad embankment, clear down to the turnpike, and on the heights at his right eight Confederate batteries had been posted, under Stephen D. Lee. Farther to the right Longstreet's Corps was massed in the woods. While Pope was moving the bulk of his forces north of the pike against Lee's center and left, Lee was preparing a grand assault upon Pope's weakened left flank, south of the pike.

The position of our army, though not especially strong, was a favorable one. With the center advanced and the flanks retired, our formation resembled somewhat that with which the Army of the Potomac afterwards fought at Gettysburg. We held the interior lines, which was extremely fortunate, as the sequel proved. Our center and most advanced front lay on the turnpike, south of which the ground was high and commanding. Two hills, known as the Henry House Hill and the Chinn House or Bald Hill, were the Round Top and Cemetery Hill of this battle. North of these hills, and close by them, the turnpike passed through a deep valley. The Sudley Springs Road lay between them. As positions of defense against the assault about to be made on our left they were invaluable.

Up to 4 o'clock P.M. hostilities were limited to skirmishing, maneuvering, and artillery dueling. Heavy blue masses of the National troops moved in fine array into the open ground to the right of the turnpike, and there rested. These were the army corps of Reno and Fitz John Porter, and Hatch's Division of McDowell's Corps. Reno was in reserve, and Porter and Hatch were waiting the signal to advance. Sigel's Corps lay behind

* The correspondent of the *New York Tribune* wrote from Centreville, August 31: "I was at General Sigel's headquarters. That general was certain the enemy intended to turn one or the other of our flanks, and said we must ascertain which, or the result was, at best, doubtful, for his scouts had just reported that Lee, with the entire remainder of the rebel army, had come up, and assumed command. The scouts were correct," etc.

Dogan's farm, to the right of the turnpike. Banks' Corps was yet guarding the trains and stores south of Manassas.

Seeing Porter's Corps coming between himself and the enemy, and not comprehending that movement, Sigel sought an explanation. He continued to receive reports from his scouts that the enemy was moving against our left, and it occurred to him that we ought to anticipate and thwart that movement by an attack from our right. He therefore proposed to Porter (who asked him for information about the ground) to shift his (Porter's) corps farther to the right, so as to unite with Ricketts and Heintzelman in falling upon the enemy's left flank and rear. This producing no change in Porter's dispositions, Sigel went to Pope with the same suggestions, and urged further that Porter's attack in the center would encounter the enemy in his strongest position, with his artillery massed on commanding ground; and that we ought not to attack from the center, but from the right or left. Pope replied impatiently:

"You never understand me; I do not wish to *turn* the enemy's left, I wish to *break* it."

Sigel replied that Porter's attack would not strike the left, but the center of the enemy's lines, where he was strongest. This remark of Sigel's was based upon his experience of the day before, and upon the fact, gathered from his scouts, that Longstreet had crowned the hills in rear of Jackson's right with batteries. But all this seemed to make no impression upon General Pope. Sigel therefore inquired what he should do with his own corps.

"I shall command it myself," replied Pope.

"This," says Sigel, "was the last I heard or saw of Pope until the battle of that day was over, except that I received from him an order to send a brigade to the Bald Hill."

Porter's Corps rested, at this time, in front of the Dogan house. Morell's Division—two brigades*—held its advance, and to the left and rear of Morell, and fronting the village of Groveton, Sykes' Division was drawn up as a reserve. To his rear, behind the Dogan farm, Sykes stationed as his own reserve his smallest brigade, comprising two regiments and two batteries, under General G. K. Warren.

Reynolds' Division, covering the Bald Hill, held Pope's left, and, about 4 o'clock, took the first step in the general advance. Moving into the thick woods in his front, Reynolds encountered vigorous resistance, and soon discovered that the enemy was massing his forces to turn our left.

* Griffin's Brigade had gone to Centreville, as already noted.

He reported this back to McDowell, who directed him to retire at once to the Henry House Hill.

To connect his line with that of General Reynolds, Sigel had already sent the Fifty-fifth Ohio and a battery to the Bald Hill. He now, by Pope's direction, sent a brigade (McLean's) to occupy and hold that position.

About the same time that Reynolds began his advance above-mentioned, Porter and Hatch moved to the attack. Porter attacked only with Morell's Division, which was led by General Butterfield, Morell having gone to Centerville with Griffin's Brigade. Directly a request came from Porter to McDowell to "push Sigel forward." Thereupon Sigel advanced Schenck's Division to the Dogan farm, and soon afterwards Schurz took a position behind Schenck, with Schimmelpfennig's Brigade on the right, Koltes' on the left,* and Krzyzanowski's in reserve. Dilger's Battery was posted on the crest of a hill to the right, not far from Dogan's. The enemy's batteries had by this time become very active, and the First Corps, though not engaged, suffered severely from their fire. A battery placed upon the high ground quitted by Reynolds enfiladed Schurz's brigades, and was particularly annoying—"opened a most disagreeable fire," as Schurz states it. Captain Dilger therefore shifted his guns farther to the left, and gave to the obnoxious battery his special attention.

Simultaneously with Butterfield, Hatch pushed forward, with his division drawn up in seven lines, and soon Jackson became so hotly engaged as to feel obliged to call for re-enforcements, thereby retarding Longstreet's intended movement, already mentioned, against our left. In the face of a heavy fire of musketry and artillery our assaulting columns dashed forward once more to the railroad embankment, but this time they did not pass that obstacle. Hooker, on the right of Hatch, entered the woods and drove the enemy a short distance, but that seems to have been all that was accomplished by Heintzelman's Corps. Along Hatch's front the struggle was obstinate and bloody. General Hatch was severely wounded, the troops on his right made no headway, and those on his left were repulsed. Butterfield's regiments recoiled under the concentrated fire of Stephen D. Lee's batteries, coupled with heavy volleys of musketry. Hatch's Division was obliged to withdraw, and Butterfield's troops, falling back in disorder, passed to the rear through Sigel's lines.

Pursuing Butterfield, the enemy rolled heavily upon Warren's Brigade, which had moved up to occupy part of the ground vacated by Reynolds. McLean's Brigade and Stahel's also soon became hotly engaged. At this

* Koltes' Brigade and Dilger's Battery had that morning been attached to Schurz's Division.

critical moment Reynolds' Division (except one brigade—Anderson's) was ordered to quit the high ground which it occupied, and march to the rear of Porter's Corps as a support to Butterfield's routed division. This was alike unnecessary and unfortunate. The elevated positions occupied by Reynolds were the key-points of the whole field, and they were no sooner quitted than the battle rolled to the left, developing the enemy's real plan of attack. Warren's little brigade was crushed, and a battery of four guns was lost. Anderson's Brigade made unavailing resistance, and was driven steadily back. Stahel's Brigade of Schenck's Division was obliged to give ground, and McLean's Brigade, left by Reynolds' withdrawal without support, was assailed in front and flank. Milroy, hurried over by Sigel to McLean's assistance, found a favorable position in the wash-out of a wagon road, and from the shelter of this ditch his brigade poured volley after volley into the masses of Confederates as they came rushing out of the woods. With fierce energy and splendid effect, Milroy's men reciprocated their bloody repulse of the day before.

But the enemy quickly availed himself of the commanding positions quitted by Reynolds, and from thence poured upon us an enfilading fire with his batteries. At the same time his infantry spread out over the high, wooded ground in front of McLean's Brigade, and on the flank and almost in rear of our center. Forty pieces of cannon ranged upon the Groveton heights united the momentum of their concentrated fire to the sustained rush of Longstreet's Corps. "The attack," says Longstreet's report, "was led by Hood's brigades, closely supported by Evans's. These were rapidly re-enforced by Anderson's Division from the rear, Kemper's three brigades, and D. R. Jones's Division from the right, and Wilcox's Brigade from the left. The brigades of Featherston and Pryor became detached, and operated with a portion of General Jackson's command."

Such was the assault made upon our unguarded left, and for a time it seemed as if nothing would prevent Longstreet from gaining the turnpike, and interposing between our army and Bull Run. At the turnpike itself a most disheartening scene was presented. A mass of stragglers and retreating regiments and batteries filled the roadway, and the fields on either side were clouded with wounded men and fugitives.* At the same

* From the private diary of Captain Tiedemann, of General Schurz's staff, I am permitted to copy the following :

"An apparently wounded man of Duryea's Zouaves was being carried to the rear in a blanket by four of his comrades when a shell dropped near the party, and the four men holding the blanket let go of it and fled. Some of us ran to assist the abandoned sufferer (?) when, to our astonishment, he jumped up and ran off as fast as his comrades. The Twenty-ninth New York arrested these worthies, and sent them to the front again."

time the enemy's cannon-shot began to fall among our ammunition and hospital trains, parked between Young's Branch and Bull Run, causing a stampede of camp-followers and malingerers, and a rush of wagons for the Stone Bridge.*

The moment was critical, and required the most prompt and energetic action. General Pope, says Strother, for the first time in the campaign, exhibited strong excitement. His directions, however, were ready and prudent. Reynolds' Division was quickly extricated from the wreck of battle with which it had become entangled, and brought back into position to the right of the Henry House. Leaving Reno and Heintzelman to resist Jackson on the right, Pope and McDowell hurried all the troops that could be spared from that quarter over to the strong positions south of the turnpike.

Sigel, left to himself, without orders, was prompt in doing his part to meet the crisis. From his position at Dogan's farm he had witnessed Porter's attack and repulse, and then had seen Reynolds' Division deliberately withdraw from his left, and march over behind his corps. He saw the right wing passive, and had known for hours that the enemy was massing upon our left. He was puzzled and astounded by Reynolds' withdrawal, but he lost no time in doing all he could to retrieve that mistake. On his own responsibility, he sent Milroy to support McLean, but in taking position Milroy left a vacancy of some hundreds of yards between McLean's brigade and his own. Into this vacancy the enemy penetrated, compelling McLean to relinquish, in part, his position on the hill. By Sigel's direction, Schurz sent over Koltes' Brigade to help retake the lost ground, and a few minutes later directed Krzyzanowski to move up the wooded slope and support Koltes. In the face of a terrible artillery fire, Koltes and Krzyzanowski moved to their positions, where they were at once furiously assailed, both in front and on the left flank. From the edge of the woods a Confederate battery suddenly opened an enfilading fire upon Koltes' Brigade. Colonel Koltes called to his men to "take that battery," and while he was leading the charge, and waving his sword, a shell struck and killed both him and his horse. "Krzyzanowski, while showing his men how to face the enemy, had his horse shot under him" (Schurz's Report). The ground was covered with our dead and wounded.

At an opportune moment General Tower, leading his own and Hartsuff's brigades, and Hall's and Leppien's batteries of Ricketts' Division, came up, by McDowell's orders, on the right of McLean. "Tell General

* This harmless stampede at the rear gave rise to newspaper reports that a panic—a "second Bull Run"—had taken place at the front, which was by no means the case.

Tower to stay right where he is," directed General McDowell in the hearing of the writer, and nobly did Tower endeavor to fulfill the command. The combat on the Bald Hill was renewed in the presence of the whole army, and so resolutely was the position held that its defenders were enthusiastically cheered by their comrades on other parts of the field.

But our assailants on the hill were re-enforced, and their superiority of numbers and weight of metal were overwhelming. Generals Schenck and Tower were wounded, and Colonel Fletcher Webster—son of the Massachusetts statesman—was killed. McLean's Brigade was reduced to a shadow, and Koltes' and Krzyzanowski's rapidly melted away. Hood's Division, supported by Evans's Brigade and Kemper's Division, dashed forward again and again, determined to wrest the ridge away from us, and at last they succeeded. Our forces on Bald Hill were obliged to withdraw.

By Sigel's order, Schurz drew back his brigades, under cover of the artillery, and formed a new line on the next range of hills to the rear, behind the Stone House. "They fell back slowly and in good order. Captain Dilger's Battery remained in position to check the pursuit of the enemy, whose infantry rushed upon him with great rapidity. He received them in two different positions, at short range, with a shower of grapeshot, obliged them twice to fall back, and then followed our column unmolested" (Schurz's Report).

Stahel's Brigade, and what was left of McLean's, followed this movement. Schimmelpfennig's Brigade had been held in reserve on Schurz's right, where it was exposed to an enfilading artillery fire. Under this ordeal Schimmelpfennig's men "stood like trees," says Schurz, "until the order to retire reached them." Milroy drew back his regiments without a waver in their ranks, and having replenished his ammunition, took his position on the left of the new line. It is but just to him to say that while he was a nervous and eccentric man, and his excitement in battle sometimes amounted to frenzy, he was brave even to rashness, and at no time during the fighting of this day was his brigade driven from its place; at no time did it retire except in order and by order.

It was 6 o'clock, or later, when our troops quitted Bald Hill. Meanwhile the tide of battle had rolled still farther to the left, and the struggle for the turnpike had centered upon the Henry House plateau. Thither Longstreet rapidly pushed his right brigades through the woods, and thither Pope hurried every available regiment to meet him. Fortunately, the obstinate struggle that was made by the brigades under Schenck, Schurz, and Tower, on the Bald Hill ridge, gave time for bringing over

our forces on the right and center, and putting them into position on the south side of the pike. Returning from their ill-starred movement to the rear of Sigel, the brigades of Meade and Seymour, and Ransom's Battery, of Reynolds' Division, were led into the woods in front of the Henry House, and there, with splendid firmness, checked and rolled back the impetuous current of Longstreet's advance. Buchanan's Brigade, and Chapman's, of Sykes' regulars, had not been engaged in Porter's attack, and after Butterfield's repulse, were called to meet the new emergency on the left. Buchanan's Brigade was deployed, with its right resting at the Henry House, and Chapman's was thrown forward into the woods farther to the left. In these positions Buchanan and Chapman, two veterans of the Mexican War, fought with lion-like valor, and repelled a series of desperate assaults. After three-quarters of an hour Chapman's left flank was turned, and he was obliged to fall back some hundreds of yards.

Then Reno was called. Withdrawn from the center, his division had been massed in squares in support of the left. At the signal to advance it was deployed in two lines of battle, in which formation, with its leader at its head, it advanced with the evenness of a parade through a hurricane of cannon-shot into the woods in front. Immediately a mighty roll of musketry was heard in those woods, and as time passed it resounded with continuous and increasing volume. Four or five furious attempts were made to drive Reno from his ground, but he held it to the last. All efforts to dislodge him failed.

Longstreet's movement was arrested; he had done his worst. The sun went down behind gleaming clouds, and the battle waned, and ceased with the light of day. Our army had really begun its retreat with the abandonment of Bald Hill, and General Pope now gave orders to the various corps commanders to withdraw leisurely toward Centreville. When this order reached Sigel he was discussing with Schurz the meaning of the enemy's quiescence, and the propriety of assuming the offensive. But Pope's command was peremptory, and Sigel drew back his divisions as instructed, "smoothly and with deliberation." His troops, the first to reach the field, were the last to leave it. Schurz, with Schimmelpfennig's Brigade, and Dilger's Battery acting as a rear guard,* crossed Young's Branch about 9 o'clock P.M. The troops moved off in perfect order, turning fiercely upon the enemy whenever he came too near. On the hilly ground, between Young's Branch and Bull Run, Sigel drew up his entire corps, and remained in position until all the other troops, with their trains, had passed

* "For this office [covering the rear] the Sixty-first Ohio was selected, a regiment which throughout the whole campaign had exhibited the most commendable spirit."—*Schurz's Report*.

over the Stone Bridge, which his rear regiments—Schimmelpfennig's—destroyed behind them. Between 1 and 2 o'clock in the morning he resumed the march toward Centreville.

Thus ended the battle of the 30th of August. The Confederates have called it the Battle of Manassas; we have miscalled it Bull Run Number Two. In point of fact, it was a continuation of the action of the 29th, which has been appropriately named the Battle of Groveton. The fighting of the 30th took place on nearly the same ground as that of the 29th, except on the left flank, where the extension of the enemy's right compelled us to prolong our left. This movement shifted the scene of the conflict eastward to the old Bull Run field. Here our positions were obstinately held until our troops abandoned them of their own accord, and moved off, followed, but not pursued. Longstreet's infantry advanced no farther than the Henry House Hill, which we still held for hours after the fighting had ceased. All along the right our lines remained steady to the last. To call the battle "Bull Run Number Two" is therefore misleading and unjust. The name "Bull Run" has become synonymous in the popular mind with panic and rout. It implies that Pope's soldiers threw down their arms and ran away, which is the farthest possible from the truth. To the end, they stood bravely to their places repelling the assaults of superior numbers,* and when they quitted the field, they quitted it, not, to be sure, in the triumph which they had so nobly earned, yet without dishonor. They quitted it deserving as much as brave men can the nation's respect and gratitude.

The next morning (Sunday, August 31) dawned gloomily enough. The sky was black and mournful, and a chilling rain beat cruelly upon our weary and baffled army. A more dispiriting situation it would be hard to imagine than was presented that morning to those who stood drenched, begrimed, ragged, and hungry, in the muddy trenches at Centreville. The army that remained with the colors seemed scarcely so great as the army of sick, wounded, and straggling, which drifted silently, aimlessly, down the turnpike toward Washington.

From General Halleck came the following message to Pope:

"My Dear General: You have done nobly. Don't yield another inch if you can avoid it. All reserves are being sent forward. Couch's Division goes to-day; part of it went to Sangster's Station last night with Franklin and Sumner, who must now be with you.

* General Pope estimates his effective force on the field on the morning of the 30th as follows: McDowell's Corps, 12,000; Sigel's, 7,000; Reno's, 7,000; Heintzelman's, 7,000; Porter's, less the brigades of Griffin and Piatt, which had gone to Centreville, 7,000; total, 40,000.

Can't you renew the attack? I don't write more particularly, for fear the dispatch will not reach you. I am doing all in my power for you and your noble army. God bless you and it. Send me news more often, if possible."

For at least ten days we had been hourly looking for these "reserves" promised by General Halleck, and had they come promptly forward, and heartily co-operated with us, Lee's army would not have gone into Maryland—at least, not that year.

Before quitting the battle-field, General Pope (at 6.30 P.M., 30th) sent an order to Banks, at Bristoe Station, to destroy all public property there and at Manassas Junction, and withdraw to Centreville. In compliance with this, Banks fired several long railway trains loaded with government stores, and, moving *via* Brentsville, reached and crossed Bull Run on the 31st at Blackburn's Ford.

Re-enforced at Centreville by the two corps of Franklin and Sumner—20,000 men—Pope immediately made dispositions to receive another attack, but none was attempted. The enemy had other plans, and, early on the morning of September 1, an infantry reconnaissance * detected Jackson moving around to our right and rear by way of Sudley Springs and the Little River Turnpike. Jackson was followed, at some distance, by Longstreet. Admonished by the Manassas raid, Pope put his army in motion at once toward Fairfax Court-House, whither he sent Hooker, instructed to assume command of all the forces in that vicinity, and push forward to Germantown. McDowell was directed to move back to Difficult Creek, and connect by his right with Hooker. Franklin was to come in on McDowell's left and rear. Reno was to move north of the Warrenton Turnpike, in the direction of Chantilly. Heintzelman's Corps was to take post immediately in rear of Reno, Sumner's on Heintzelman's left, and Sigel's and Porter's in conjunction with Sumner's right.

Shortly before 6 o'clock P.M., Stuart's cavalry, leading Jackson's march, encountered Reno's skirmishers near Ox Hill, a wooded ridge lying a short distance east of Chantilly. At this time, says Jackson's biographer, "the men of the Stonewall Brigade, and their comrades, were lying on the side of the road, hungry and exhausted. . . . Jackson, like many of his men, was asleep. Seated at the foot of a tree, with his chin upon his breast, his cap drawn over his eyes, and his hands crossed on his breast, as though he had fallen asleep while praying, he slept as peacefully as a child. . . . He was soon aroused; duty called him; and, mounting his horse, he took

* "We have no cavalry—not a horse that can possibly perform service—and it may be necessary, in order to obtain the information I desire, to drive off the enemy's cavalry."—*Pope to Sumner*, 5.45 A.M., *Sept. 1*.

the head of his column, and advanced to deliver battle on another field."

Jackson at once deployed his leading division (A. P. Hill's) and moved to the attack. Hill's right rested on the Warrenton Turnpike, and on his left Ewell's Division came in, holding the center. On Ewell's left, Jackson's Division (under Starke) took its place, with its left resting on the Little River Turnpike.

The brigades of Branch and Fields—the latter under Brockenbrough—led Hill's attack, "and as they advanced into action a violent storm roared down, and lashed the woods with a fury which drowned the noise of the guns. Torrents of rain beat upon the troops, rendering it almost impossible to keep their powder dry; and the forest, now shadowy with the approach of night, was lit up by lightning flashes of dazzling brilliance, succeeded by deafening claps of thunder." "Amid this war of the elements," continues Cooke, who is here quoted, "the two brigades [Branch's and Fields'] advanced upon the enemy, and engaged him in a close and determined struggle."

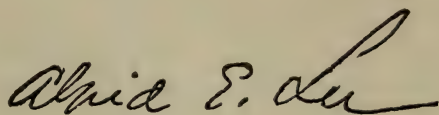
But the struggle was quite as determined on our side as on that of the Confederates, and they were staggered and thrown back by the sturdy and aggressive resistance of Reno's line. General Isaac I. Stevens, commanding Reno's left division, ordered his brigades to charge, but while leading them was struck by a bullet, and fell dead on the field. His division was heavily assailed in turn, and, disconcerted by the loss of its leader, was in the act of falling back in some disorder, when Kearny's Division came up on its left, and the battle was renewed. On the Confederate side, the brigades of Gregg, Pender, Thomas, and Hays were then thrown into the fight, and "the conflict," says Jackson, "raged with great fury," the National forces "obstinately and desperately contesting the ground." Of Kearny's Division, Birney's Brigade came first into action, and it at once became violently engaged. Seeing a vacancy between Birney's right and Stevens's left, and being asked to fill it, General Kearny rode forward to reconnoitre the ground. With his usual disdain of danger, he approached the enemy's lines, and in the waning light of that stormy evening he mistook a Confederate soldier for one of our own. He had no sooner inquired of the man as to the position of one of General Stevens's regiments than he discovered his mistake, and turned to gallop away, but too late. The Confederate fired, and Kearny dropped dead from his horse. Thus fell this brilliant, ever-faithful, knightly soldier, the most illustrious victim of this ill-starred campaign.

After waiting some time for the missing leader, General Birney assumed

command in place of the dead Kearny, and renewed the attack, but the storm and gathering darkness soon put an end to the battle. Birney then, unmolested, buried our dead and sent our wounded to the rear.* The enemy had been repulsed at every point, and some of his brigades had been badly worsted.

In the course of the night Robinson's Brigade and Berry's (under Colonel Poe) came up and relieved Birney. After that, our troops held the battle-field until 3 o'clock in the morning, when they were recalled to rejoin the general movement of the army.

Longstreet came up promptly to Jackson's assistance, but he did not deem it prudent to renew the attack. Next day, by instructions from the War Department, our entire army was withdrawn for rest, re-equipment, and reorganization within the defenses of Washington. The withdrawal was accomplished without interference by the enemy, and thereupon General Pope resigned his command, which was merged at once into that of General McClellan.



* General Kearny's dead body, which was carried off by the enemy, was sent over to us next day, under flag of truce.

MINOR TOPICS

BEAUJEU AND FORT DU QUESNE

I am indebted to Mr. T. J. Chapman for his kind notice of me as the first to make known the name of the French commander who led the attack on Braddock. The notice was not as flattering as that of Rev. E. E. Hale, in *Old and New*, but recognizes the fact. I must, however, differ from him in considering that my old friend, Mr. Parkman, has conclusively shown that De Contrecoeur was still in command of the fort when Beaujeu set out.

When I obtained a copy of the register of Fort Du Quesne, and printed it in my *Cramoisy Series*, I was the first to give the name of the officer commanding the French forces. That Daniel Liénard de Beaujeu was that officer, and that he was commandant of the fort and of the army, are two facts that equally rest on the authority of that register. If the register is not evidence for one statement, it cannot be for the other. It seems to me more than utterly absurd to say that it is evidence for all but the words, "of the fort." The register is a record kept in the fort at the time, and in the custody and control of Contrecoeur when the entry was made, all which facts raise the presumption that he was one of the official witnesses of the interment, and saw the entry. That the chaplain of the fort should qualify an officer who had recently arrived, as "Commandant of Fort Du Quesne and of the Army," without some solid ground, and that in a book in the custody and under the eyes of one who, before the officer's arrival and after his death, was actually commandant, is something that I, at least, cannot believe. Nor can I believe, that Contrecoeur would have allowed the record to stand uncorrected, as it does to this day.

In fact, the register makes the statement twice, in the burial entry and in the marginal note.

The entry in the register is not unsupported. Two of the "French Relations" printed by me in the *Relations Diverses*—that by Godefroy, and that by another participant—style Beaujeu commandant.

The Ursuline nun, "Mère de la Nativité," in her *Annales*, throws light on the subject and confirms the register. This lady was related to prominent men, and well acquainted with public affairs. She states that when the Marquis Duquesne dispatched Captain de Beaujeu to relieve Contrecoeur, he ordered the latter to remain at the fort till after the operations which were confided to Beaujeu. See *Les Ursulines de Quebec*, ii., p. 276. He remained, therefore, by order, and interpreting the spirit of the order, resumed command on the death of Beaujeu; but he saw that the chaplain, in committing that officer to the earth, gave him his full title.

The entry of Friar Denys Baron has been strangely twisted and distorted. The late N. B. Craig translated "*tué*" wounded, instead of "killed." He could not understand the statement that he confessed and performed his devotions the same day, and concluded that he did it after the battle. Yet it was the most natural thing in the world for an officer of very slightly pious feelings to confess and receive communion before going into action. It is not necessary to assume that he confessed when dead, or was not so dead but that he could confess.

Since then the title of "Commandant of Fort Du Quesne," given by Father Baron then and there, in the fort itself, under the eye of De Contrecoeur, July 12, 1755, seems to trouble some people, though I cannot see why. If the evidence of a man in Baron's position is good in part, it must be good in all; if it fails in part, it must fail in all. It cannot be cited to make Beaujeu command the army, and impeached as evidence that he commanded the fort.

JOHN GILMARY SHEA

ELIZABETH, NEW JERSEY.

LINCOLN AND McCLELLAN

Editor of the Magazine of American History :—Here is a little historical item which, as far as it goes, ought to be known in explanation, possibly, of what has been publicly brought against General George B. McClellan as an unpardonable act of rudeness, not to say insult to President Lincoln. This act was the keeping President Lincoln waiting for a considerable time on one occasion when he called on McClellan at his headquarters. Referring to this a few days ago in conversation with General Henry J. Hunt, chief of artillery at the Battle of Gettysburg, and now governor of the Soldiers' Home, near Washington, I inquired if he thought it possible that the story could be true. Hesitating a moment, in evident belief in its falsity so far as General McClellan was concerned, and appearing never to have heard of its publicity, he answered, "Yes—with a reservation." He said that, one day, when he himself called at McClellan's headquarters, he found General Barry there in great rage on account of what he regarded as a gross insult to President Lincoln who had called to see General McClellan, and had been kept waiting in the anteroom; but whether through the fault of the Irish door-keeper, or the neglect of the general, he did not appear to know. He had, however, observed that, when Mr. Lincoln passed up stairs, the door-keeper, or orderly—whatever his appellation—gave a clownish burst of expression, as if in derision of the President!

How can the exact truth ever be known? One thing is certain; instead of going to McClellan, the President should have sent for him to come to the White House whenever he wished to see him; and this, I presume, was his usual custom.

While writing of President Lincoln, I will relate another singular incident not

generally known, I think, and which comes to me on equally undoubted authority. At the beginning of the war, oftener probably than later in the fearful struggle, sometimes, in going into battle, a soldier, who had "never smelt gunpowder," would falter, shrink away, and maybe throw down his arms, utterly unable from cowardice to proceed, thus rendering himself liable to the penalty of death. When these cases came before President Lincoln and the necessity of making an example of such culprits was pointed out to him, he invariably plead off. By way of convincing him not only of the imperative necessity of strictly enforcing the law as a restraining influence against cowardly instincts but also of its reasonableness and justice, it was urged that the soldier, seeing before him two dangers—on the one hand, sure death if he acted the coward, and on the other a reasonable chance of escape if he pressed forward in battle—he would naturally choose the lesser of the two, and thus save his honor, at least, if not his life. But it was all to no purpose—Mr. Lincoln solemnly declaring that he never could consent to sign the death-warrant of a soldier *for failing to go where his legs refused to carry him*; and he never did. He consigned to pigeon-holes, without his signature, scores, if not hundreds, of these cases, where they now lie buried at the War Department. He called them "*Leg Cases*."

HORATIO KING

WASHINGTON, November 11, 1886.

RUFUS CHOATE'S PENMANSHIP

In court Mr. Choate delighted in paying ironical compliments to the judges who blocked his way to the hearts of juries. On one occasion "he asked that a case might be postponed, owing to his engagement in another court. The judge replied that the case was one in which he might write out his arguments. With much solemnity he replied, 'I write well your honor, but *slowly*.' As his handwriting resembled the tracks of wild cats, with their claws dipped in ink, madly dashing over the surface of a folio sheet of white paper, the assembled Bar could not restrain their laughter. Indeed, it is affirmed that he could not decipher his own handwriting after a case was concluded, and had to call in experts to explain it to himself. He congratulated himself on the fact that if he failed to get a living at the Bar, he could still go to China, and support himself by his pen; that is by decorating tea chests."—*Whipple's Recollections of Eminent Men*.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

AN ORIGINAL LETTER FROM MR. MCCOMB TO PRESIDENT VANDIKE

[Vandike was Governor of Delaware before the adoption of the Constitution, a delegate to Continental Congress from 1777 to 1782, and a signer of Articles of Confederation. McComb was the first Governor of Delaware after the adoption of the Constitution, and also a member of Congress.—EDITOR.]

From the Stockton Archives

Annapolis. 18th december, 1783.

Sir.

I wrote your Excellency, in great haste, a Letter by last Post, requesting the favor of you to hurry Col Bedford down. I now, at more leisure, take the liberty of troubling you again. There has been very little business done in Congress since they met here. The time has been chiefly spent in reading dispatches, memorials etc. There have been many Letters received from our Ministers abroad, particularly Mr Adams, who appears to be a man of great industry, and desirous of promoting the welfare of his country. He mentions a conversation which he had with the Prince Stadtholder, who finds fault with Congress for not sending *Ambassadors* rather than *Ministers* to the Courts of Europe, and thinks we ought to assert our right, lest hereafter it may be disputed. He also communicates the substance of a conversation between him and the Sardinian Minister, who is of opinion that it would be respectful, and have a good effect, if Congress were to send Circular Letters to all the Powers of Europe, informing them of our independence. That such Letters would have favorable answers. Mr Adams is of opinion that a connexion with Germany would have a tendency to make us appear more respectable in the eyes of the other powers; but above all recommends that our Citizens should be inspired with proper ideas of their own importance and independence. He informs us that a Treaty between the Emperor of Germany and the Empress of Russia, offensive against the Porte, and defensive against all Christian Powers, had been concluded. That this embarrasses the French ministry, as it was a very serious question whether or not they should involve themselves in a war with two Christian Powers in behalf of the Turks. The Emperor and Empress sent a courier to inform the King of Prussia of their Treaty. His answer was, that he received the information with that sensibility which matters of such high importance merited.

Dr Franklin mentions that Mr Montgomery, of Alicant, had entered into a negotiation with the Emperor of Morocco. That the Emperor was inclined to treat with us, and that a Person was then in Spain on his way to Paris for that purpose.

That in the mean time the Emperor had given orders to his Cruizers not to molest our ships on the open sea. That Portugal, as well as the other Powers, hesitated about Treating, and assigns as a reason the unsettled state of our Government, of which the removal of Congress from Philadelphia afforded an instance. The Pope's Nuncio had sent him a note, of which he enclosed a copy, mentioning Civitta Vecchia, and another Port where we might carry on a beneficial Trade; and requesting leave of Congress for his Holiness the Pope to send over an Ecclesiastical officer by the name of a Bishop or Prefect, tho' the former would be preferred, in order that the People of the Catholic Faith, residing here, might have the benefit of Orders and Confirmation without going to a foreign State. That formerly they depended on such an officer residing in London; but the separation of the two Countries seemed to make a new arrangement necessary. He also enclosed a copy of a Letter which he received from the Grand Master of the order of St John of Jerusalem (to whom he had sent one of his medals) expressing great affection for the United States of America, and the pleasure it would give him to see the ships of this Country at the island of Malta. Mr Laurens, at London, forwarded Brigden's and Walter's second proposition for furnishing the United States with Copper Coin at $147\frac{2}{3}$ P lb. Mr Dana, at Petersburg, communicated an account of the Treaty of Germany and Russia, and mentioned his opinion that France & Prussia were interested in preventing the aggrandizement of the House of Austria—acknowledged the Receipt of his Letters of recall, and were of opinion that an advantageous Treaty with Russia might now be made. He sent a List of the Empress's Army, and a List of dutiable Merchandize imported into and exported from the Empire. Mr Dumas, charge de affairs at the Hague, is of opinion that the British Ministry are endeavouring to detach the Dutch from the French Interest.

I am with great esteem and

Regard, sir,

your Excellency's most obt.

and very hble serv^t

E McComb.

His Excellency

President Vandike. Delaware.

NOTES

WASHINGTON TOASTS KING GEORGE —When Lord Cornwallis dined with General Washington for the first time, Rochambeau, being asked for a toast, gave *The United States*. Washington gave *The King of France*. Lord Cornwallis, simply, *The King*; but Washington, putting that toast, added, *of England*, and facetiously, *confine him there, I'll drink him a full bumper*, filling his glass till it ran over. Rochambeau, with great politeness, was still so French, that he would every now and then be touching on points that were improper, and a breach of real politeness. Washington often checked him, and showed in a more satirine manner, the infinite esteem he had for his gallant prisoner, whose private qualities the Americans admired even in a foe, that had so often filled them with the most cruel alarms.—*The Universal Magazine, London, February, 1782.*

PETERSFIELD

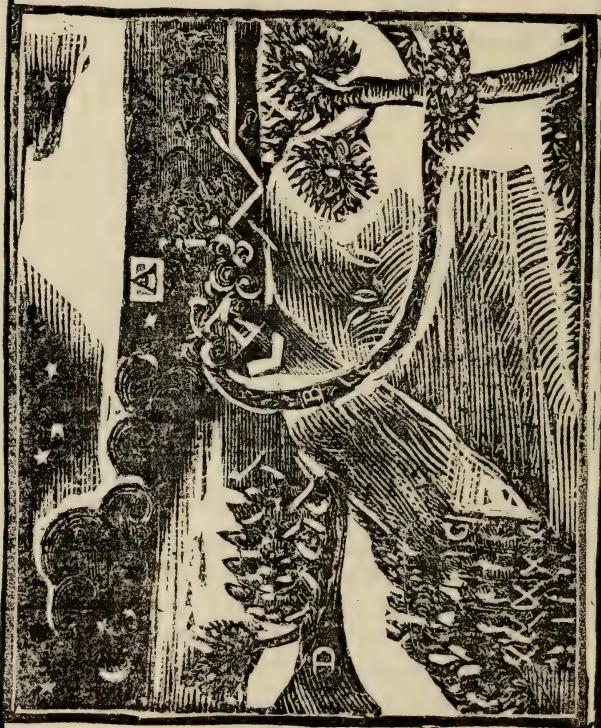
ALASKA VEGETATION—Mr. Charles Hallock, in his admirable work just published, entitled *Our New Alaska*, gives some statistics of interest. He says: "As a matter of fact, the whole coast region is so like a vapor-bath or hot-house, that vegetation grows too exuberantly. There is no room for it, and indigenous plants crowd the economic products. If you fence a garden, or a grave-plot, the fence disappears from view the second year among the overgrowth. The same vegetable phenomena pertain to the interior, but there the summer temperature is inordinately higher, the skies are cloudless, and the supply of moisture

derived from the reeking sub-soils and underlying strata of ice, abundantly sufficient. Wild hops, wild onions, and wild berries grow in profusion. Crab-apples, gooseberries, currants, black and red whortleberries, raspberries, cranberries, strawberries, red and white salmon berries (like raspberries, only four times the size), chicker berries, pigeon berries, and angelica, furnish the native fruit supply. At berries we have to draw the line between Alaska and Southern British Columbia, which can supply the Dominion with choicest apples, pears, plums, peaches, grapes, cherries, etc. One curious feature of Alaska vegetation is, that nearly every flower is succeeded by a berry. In the same latitude of Labrador, on the Atlantic side, the only solitary fruit is a little yellow berry, locally known as "baked apple," which grows among the grass and lichens; and spruce sticks, no more than eight inches in diameter, illustrate the best forest growth. Why don't the Canadian Government remove its two thousand pinched and starving population from Labrador to British Columbia, at the public expense? They would earn their transportation in a year.

CAPTURE OF STONY-POINT—In the rare old *Boston Almanack* from which the following picture has been copied, we find these impressive lines:

"To please some people is a task,
Which doth much time and labour ask;
And to please all one may as soon,
Go fit a coat unto the Moon."

VIEW of the British Fortrefs at Stony-Point, stormed and carried by a party of the Light Corps of the American Army, under the command of Gen. WAYNE, on the Morning of the 16th of July last.



- A** The British fortrefs.
B Abatis in front.
C The Reserve.
D The detached Party who stormed the Works.

First view of the Capture of Stony-Point; or, as stated in the quaint description of the Picture, "An Elegant Representation of the Storming of the British Fortress at Stony-Point on Hudson's River, the 16th of July, 1779.

[From Bickerstaff's Boston Almanack for 1780.]

QUERIES

ORIGINAL PORTRAIT OF COLUMBUS —The following advertisement appeared in the newspapers printed at New York City, September 2, 1823: "AMERICAN ACADEMY OF THE FINE ARTS — The original Portrait of Columbus, lately obtained in Spain, for the government of the United States, is this day, by permission, placed in the gallery for exhibition, and for a very limited time, prior to its being sent to Washington city. As this is the only opportunity the citizens of New-York can have, of witnessing an original portrait of so distinguished a character as the discoverer of our country, it is hoped the public will avail themselves of it. By order,

A. ROBERTSON, Secr'y."

Information is solicited as to the history of this interesting picture, and its present location. W. K.

BERESFORD —On Thursday, June 3, 1784, the Oxford post coach made a very memorable "call" at Bolt forest, London, to take up Doctor Samuel Johnson. The other passengers were James Boswell and "two very agreeable ladies from America." They were going to Worcestershire, where they then resided." Doctor Johnson talked so well on the journey, that Miss Beresford and her mother, who were the ladies, said very cleverly and graphically, "Every sentence is an essay." But, under the counsel of Boswell, Mrs. Beresford did not tell the Doctor that her husband *had been a member of the American Congress*. Boswell feared the only too probable growl of Ursa Major.

Now, I want to ask through your pages, which reach so many men of culture, as to any information they may be able to give us about Mr. Beresford. What Congressional district did he represent, and about the time of his service, and do the family yet live in our country?

It was a memorable journey. He was received at Oxford by Doctor Adams, Master of Pembroke College.

It would be interesting to know whether any traditions of that interview, so long extended, are preserved by the Beresford family. In these days "our own correspondent" would have been on the box or in the boot of the coach, and before Doctor Johnson was through his dinner at Pembroke, the conversation of the road would have been flashed to London. SENTINEL

DELAWARE BOUNDARY — What incident in American history fixed the northern boundary of Delaware in a circular form? What is the exact date for the establishment of the Mason and Dixon line? How far west did it extend?

E. A. CANTLEY

LOGANSPOUT, Ind.

SINTVYCK — *Editor Magazine of American History*: In preparing a volume on the service of New York during the War of the Revolution, I found a bill of Lewis Van Voort, for transporting flour for the use of the Continentals, from *Sintvyck* to Saratoga, thirty-two miles. Where was Sintvyck? Another account speaks of erecting salt

and sulphur works at Andrews Town. Was that the village now known by the name of Andrusville, or Burke Hollow, Franklin County, or where was it? You or one of your readers may be able to

answer these questions, on which neither *Lippincott* nor the *New York Gazetteer* has any information.

FERNOW

ALBANY, November 1, 1886.

REPLIES

NEW YORK POLL LISTS [xvi. 298]—The late Stephen Whitney Phoenix reprinted in 1880 Poll Lists for the election of Representatives for the City and County of New York, for the years 1761, 1768, and 1769. The two former from original manuscripts, and the latter from a printed copy. The edition was limited to fifty copies for private distribution. The originals are with the Phoenix Library, presented to Columbia College. The manuscripts ought to be restored to the official archives, where they properly belong. I think a careful search of the city records would bring others to light. PETERSFIELD

FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS [xvi. 109]—*Editor Magazine of American History*: In the last part of an article, your correspondent, "W. H." speaks of Garrett Noel's house, in Elizabeth, New Jersey, as "once the abode of Colonel Elias Boudinot, the first President of the Continental Congress." Peyton Randolph, of Virginia, was the first President of the Continental Congress, chosen in 1774. Elias Boudinot was not chosen President of the Congress until 1782, and was the ninth person who held that responsible office.

R. W. JUDSON

OGDENSBURG, N. Y.,
November 8, 1886.

ALGEBRA [xvi. 499]—In Spanish the word is used for the branch of higher mathematics, and the art of replacing dislocated members. An *Algebrista* is one who understands and practices the art of setting dislocated limbs.

MINTO

ALGEBRA [xvi. 499]—Prof. Bernard Bigsby, an English philologist, is authority for the following derivation of the word algebra: It comes from *al*, the Arabic article *the*, and a root *gebr*, which means the scales or balances. The science was evidently so named because its principles and formulæ are as exact and unerring as the balances, which stand as the emblem of justice the world over. C. A. HARGRAVE

CENTRAL NORMAL COLLEGE,
DANVILLE, INDIANA.

ALGEBRA [xvi. 499]—In *Forgotten Meanings*, by Alfred Waites, we find the following: "This word (Algebra) we owe to the Arabs, who named the science *él djaber*, *el-mogabelah*; the science of restorations or of re-establishments, of proportions and of solutions, by means of the rule by which they transfer or re-establish a quantity which was negative and which becomes positive, being transported or re-established in the other member of the equation. Thus it is that in the Middle Ages

in surgery, *Algebra* was understood as meaning the art of restoring or of re-establishing members which were dislocated or fractured; and to this day, in Spanish and in Portuguese, *algebrista* signifies a surgeon or bone-setter."

CAUCUS [xvi. 499]—This word, according to a number of authorities, is a supposed corruption of *Calkers*. Gordon, in his *History of the American Revolution*, shows that it was used as far back as 1724, when Mr. Samuel Adams's father and about twenty others met "in caucus" at a place where "all the ship business is carried on." It is supposed that such meetings were first called "Calkers'-house meetings," shortened to calk-house, then caucus. Dr. Trumbull, of Hartford, Connecticut, says: "Its origin is the Indian *cau-cau-as-u*," which means "one who advises, urges, encourages," etc. W. H.

CAUCUS [xvi. 499]—Webster gives the accepted derivation of the word caucus, viz.: Private meetings by Boston citizens just at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War on behalf of some of the Calkers of the town, killed by the British soldiers, the name being corrupted or changed to caucus meetings. But Ogilvie, in his *Imperial Dictionary*, adds: "Another, and perhaps more plausible derivation, however, is from

an Algonkin root meaning to speak, encourage, instigate, whence *kaw-kaw-wus*, a councillor, a caucusser.

W. K.

GERMANTOWN.

CAUCUS [xvi. 499]—In reply to Mr. Thatcher's inquiry in your November number concerning the origin of the word *caucus*.

Bartlett's *Dictionary of Americanisms*, Wells's *Life of Samuel Adams*, Vol. I., p. 3, and McMasters, Vol. I., p. 178, all quote from Gordon's *History* (1774): "The word is not of novel invention, more than fifty years ago Mr. Samuel Adams's father and twenty others, one or two from the north end of the town, where all ship business is carried on, used to meet, make a *caucus*, and lay their plan for introducing certain persons into places of trust and power."

Mr. Pickering's (Timothy, I suppose) comment on this passage of Gordon (quoted by Bartlett) is: "It would seem that these meetings were in some manner under the direction of men concerned in the ship business; and I had, therefore, thought it not improbable that *caucus* might be a corruption of *caulkers*, the word 'meetings' being understood. I was afterward informed that several gentlemen of Salem and Boston believed this to be the origin of the word."

O. W. SHAW

AUSTIN, MINNESOTA.

BOOK NOTICES

PERSIA AND THE PERSIANS. By S. G. W. BENJAMIN. Illustrated. Quarto, pp. 507. Boston, 1887. Ticknor & Company.

This exceptionally handsome volume, printed in large type on heavy paper, and richly illustrated, is crowded with important information respecting the people of Persia and their government. The author, as first minister of the United States to that country—so ancient as to have developed a distinct civilization and a genius for political organization before the star of Rome had begun to cast its rays above the horizon of history—had the best of opportunities for becoming familiar with its present condition. He says: "Persia is still a living power, with a continuous vitality that may preserve her national integrity for ages to come;" that in spite of herself, in spite of opposing circumstances, she is no longer isolated and unknown, but becoming the theatre of events destined to grow in magnitude and weight. The description of the city of Teherân, situated on the great central plateau of Persia, is one of the most interesting features of the volume. This chapter includes graphic pictures of the Shah's grand audience hall, with its famous Peacock Throne covered with gold and precious stones to the value of thirteen millions of dollars, its globe of the world turning on a frame of solid gold, its superb crowns and jeweled coats-of-mail dating back four centuries, and its heaps of pearls dense as the sand on the sea-shore; and of the other palaces and the principal apartments and treasures of the king. The chapter on the "Conditions of Service in Persia" is also one of special note. Mr. Benjamin says nothing can exceed the cunning and dishonesty of the Persian household servants. 'To live comfortably one must exercise a continual watch over them, and although they are good-natured, and bear reproof meekly, they are much given to quarreling with each other. "Mountaineering in Persia" presents many picturesque scenes to the reader, and "A Glance at the Arts of Persia" is a portion of the work containing material of the first importance. The religion, politics, laws, resources, products, and trade of Persia are all brought under critical review. The work is written with much skill and spirit, and in excellent taste, and is delightfully readable from cover to cover. It is fresh, timely, and of real and permanent value.

Mr. Benjamin tells us, that "notwithstanding all that has been written about Persia, the ignorance that still exists about her is yet so general that there is absolutely no correct map of the entire country, and, until lately, it was

asserted, even in scientific circles, that no fossils were to be found in her geology. The fact is, that numerous evidences of extinct animal life are now traced in the strata of the Persian mountains. A curious example of popular ignorance on the subject was afforded me by an English geologist, who, alluding to a scientific lecture on Persia, recently heard by him, asked me if there were any coal formations in that country. A very fine quality of bituminous coal actually abounds there; at Teherân it is used for fuel and steam machinery. In the southwestern part of Persia, near her best ports, the coal mines are apparently inexhaustible, and might easily be made a very important branch of exportation. Lead and iron mines are also found near the coal seams. This is an important fact for the consideration of foreign capitalists, for, if ever railways are to be made profitable in Persia, it must be, probably, by constructing the rails and rolling-stock on the spot."

NEW HISTORICAL ATLAS AND GENERAL HISTORY. By ROBERT H. LABBERTON. Square octavo, pp. 213. 1886. New York: Townsend MacCoun.

This Atlas is essentially new, the plates of Professor Labberton's former work having been destroyed by fire. It contains one hundred and ninety-four progressive maps, beginning with the "Chaldean Ascendancy, 3800 B.C.," and closing with the map of the war centre in the United States, 1861-1865 A.D. These maps are printed in color, and all have been made expressly for this volume. As in his former work, the author has written a concise and connected historical narrative, free from all confusing detail, to accompany the maps, furnishing with the table of contents the bibliography of important periods and subjects. Thus the student may look here for information on many other points in the history of the world as well as for its geographical progress. Over each map is placed the exact date it represents—a feature deserving of special commendation. We have the map of "Europe in 1763," and then "Europe in 1795," showing in imperishable lines the changes that took place within those thirty-two eventful years. A map follows presenting "Europe in 1810," and another of "Europe in 1816."

The various English grants in America, from 1625 to 1649, form, however, one of the most interesting map-illustrations in the volume—unless we except "the Territory of the Thirteen Original States in 1783," with Massachusetts, Connecticut and Virginia, bordering on the Mississippi River. The part of the work re-

lating to the United States has been revised since the former issue of the Atlas, and both the maps and the text greatly improved. Professor Labberton's scholarly interpretation of ancient and European history is of the first consequence to both teacher and pupil, and although his studies in American history do not reveal the same breadth of research, the Atlas should command a very extensive sale. The volume seems to have been materially enlarged in the new issue, in length, breadth, and thickness, and to have fairly earned its title of a "New Atlas." A table of twenty-nine genealogies, occupying twenty pages, has been added to the work, giving the families of all the great sovereigns of the various countries of the world—among others the complete genealogy of the rulers of France from 987 until 1870, and of the House of Bourbon, in all its branches, from 1200 to 1886. The work is also well indexed. The publisher has issued the New Atlas in admirable style; it is printed in large, clear type, on fine paper, and the coloring of the maps it would be difficult to excel.

THE THREE SYSTEMS OF LIFE INSURANCE. By MERVIN TABOR. 8vo, pp. 236. Chicago: Bureau of Life Insurance Information.

In this age, when rival insurance agents and rival companies are putting forward their plans for securing the patronage of the public—when the average intellect finds itself incompetent to grapple with the relative merits of different systems—it is refreshing to encounter a title-page that promises to set forth, on official authority, a statement of the leading plans of insurance. The author of the present volume is actuary of the insurance department of Illinois, and presumably competent to treat of the subject in hand. He divides it into: I. The Level Premium System. II. The Natural Premium System. III. The Assessment System. Under these general heads are treated the different varieties, of "tontine," "endowment," and the rest that have become familiar to the public in name, through lavish advertisements in all the leading publications of the day. Into the different merits of those systems it is not our province to enter, but we take pleasure in referring to Mr. Tabor's book as likely to afford all desired information.

MEMOIRS AND LETTERS OF DOLLY MADISON, wife of James Madison, President of the United States. Edited by HER GRAND-NIECE. 16mo, pp. 210. Boston, 1886, Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

This attractive little volume brings us into close relations with a picturesque figure in

American history. We have all known Mrs. Madison, or think we have, but we find that we become better acquainted with her than ever before, as we turn these charming pages and peruse her private letters, note what she thought and said from day to day, and how she was dressed on different occasions. The story of Mrs. Madison's life is a welcome contribution to our biographical and historical literature. It is a delightful, personal narrative, and it is presented to the reader with excellent judgment and careful discrimination in all its details.

GENIUS IN SUNSHINE AND SHADOW.

By MATURIN M. BALLOU. 16mo, pp. 309. Boston: Ticknor & Co., 1886.

Mr. Ballou has the knack of making popular books with taking titles, or rather, perhaps, of inventing taking titles and making popular books to fit them. His "Edge Tools of Speech," his "Due West," "Due South," and the rest have all possessed this characteristic in a greater or less degree. He has, indeed, the journalist's instinct in a highly developed state. His forty years' experience in connection with the Boston press has not been in vain. The book, Mr. Ballou tells us, is the result of a gradual accumulation of notes concerning men and women to whom the world has ascribed the gift of genius. It is by no means a labored essay, but recounts in a desultory way something about everybody, from John Adams, who heads the alphabetical index, to Zoroaster, whose name is the last on the roll. This index renders the volume available for reference, for we can scarcely believe that either author or publisher seriously expects any one to read it through consecutively.

CHRONICLE OF THE COACH. Charing Cross to Ilfracombe. By JOHN DENISON CHAMPLIN, JR. Illustrated by Edward L. Chichester. 16mo, pp. 298. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1886.

Mr. Andrew Carnegie's coaching tours are well known to the devotees of that somewhat costly and luxurious recreation. About one of them he has himself written a very readable account, and Mr. Champlin now performs a like service for another. The fact that the coach in the present instance was Mr. Carnegie's does not appear in the book itself, and would only be suspected by those who may chance to notice the dedication. The narrative is agreeably written, and presents rural England in a most captivating light. Its pages are by no means devoid of historical suggestions, the most important of which is found perhaps in the chapter on Exeter, where the chronicler chanced to meet a gentleman from Edinburgh who told a curious story to the effect that in August, 1830, some work-

men who were making repairs in the room in Edinburgh Castle, where James I. of England was born, discovered a little coffin containing the remains of an infant in a carefully concealed niche. An examination was made by the authorities, but the whole matter was kept as quiet as possible. Additional evidence has since been discovered, and although the matter has been carefully kept from publicity, there are good reasons for believing that the child of Mary and Darnley died soon after birth, and that another was substituted, who became James VI. of Scotland and James I. of England. Visitors to Edinburgh Castle may to some extent verify the story for themselves, for the secret niche above the entrance door of this apartment is still there, though concealed by the stone removed by the workmen and afterward replaced. The attendants are instructed to say nothing of this affair, but judicious questioning may elicit the fact that they all know about it. The question has often been asked, "How could the child of Mary Stuart and Henry Darnley be such a character as James?" Perhaps this story in the "Chronicle of the Coach" may suggest an answer.

THE VOLCANO UNDER THE CITY. By a VOLUNTEER SPECIAL. 16mo, pp. 350. New York: Fords, Howard & Hulbert.

To those of us who were comparatively young men and women twenty-five years ago the recollection of the draft-riots in New York is as vivid as if they had occurred but yesterday. To the younger generation of to-day the events of that exciting period seem as remote almost as the revolutionary war. Indeed it is not uncommon among school children to find an utter confusion of ideas regarding the civil war and its predecessors, the war with Mexico, and the two wars with Great Britain. Of the reign of terror in the city of New York in 1863, they know absolutely nothing. No more appropriate time could have been chosen to bring out a volume of this character. We have just passed through a presidential contest which at one time threatened to culminate in riot, and more recently through a city and State election which is not without its significance. The elements that for a few days in 1863 held the metropolis at their mercy still exist in greatly increased strength, not only in New York, but in every large city. In 1863 there was a vast army from which a few regiments or divisions could readily be spared. Now there is no such force available. It is true that the National Guard and the police are probably more efficient now than they were then, but the dangerous element is vastly larger and more capable of acting in concert. It is singular that this exceptional chapter in the history of American cities should not before have commanded the services of some able historian, but the "Volun-

teer Special" has the field to himself. He was one of those citizens who volunteered to aid the overtaxed authorities in restoring order and putting a stop to pillage and riot that for a time raged unchecked in the city. He has carefully compared the accounts of the contemporary press, and has had access to the voluminous police records of the time. His personal observation, though of course limited from the necessities of the case, aided him in a clear comprehension of the general circumstances. The author has devoted to the work long and patient research, and the record must startle the most prosaic reader into some appreciation of the perils that then environed every New York household. Let the habitual novel-reader turn away for once from the allurements of fiction, and read a story that is fully as thrilling, and that may be re-enacted with all its frightful details if we do not mend our indifferent and luxury-loving ways.

TRISTRAM DODGE and his Descendants in America. With historical and descriptive accounts of Block Island, and Cow Neck, Long Island; their original settlements. By ROBERT DODGE. 12mo, pp. 233. 1886. Published by the author. Press of J. J. Little & Co., New York.

There was never a time in the history of our country when genealogical works were received with such marked favor as now. The history of families is recognized as a feature of general history, which can no longer be ignored. But beyond this the pursuit of information among the families themselves has been quickened. One can hardly afford to live in this age of the world without some knowledge of his own ancestry. The Dodge family will ever owe a debt of gratitude to the author of this volume for his conscientious and painstaking research among the old records, deeds and wills of former centuries, through which he has brought into the strong light so much material of value. His work has been well and faithfully done, and will prove a precious heritage to every man and woman of the name of Dodge. The first edition is nearly exhausted, and the author proposes a second edition, in which any needed corrections can be made. We bespeak for him the hearty co-operation of all his kindred, who have, in this fitting memorial of their race in America, occasion for just and honorable pride.

RALEIGH. By EDMUND GOSSE, M.A., Clark lecturer in English literature at Trinity College, Cambridge. 16mo, pp. 248. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

The author of this life of the brilliant Elizabethan courtier and navigator, has the advantage and the disadvantage of numerous pre-

decessors in the same field. From the early biographies almost till the present day, lives of Sir Walter Raleigh have at intervals been published, and the two last appeared almost simultaneously. Each contained new and valuable material unknown to the other. And Mr. Gosse has the good fortune to be the first to take advantage of the work of Mr. Edward Edwards, and Mr. James Augustus St. John, both of whom are now dead. He gives all credit to those students of Raleigh's life who have gone before him, but with perfect justice reminds his readers that no previous biographer has had sources of information at all comparable to his own. Sir Walter Raleigh had more to do personally with America, than almost any of the famous men of the time. Many a name appeared conspicuously in the colonial records, whose owner never set foot on his American possessions. His adventures as an explorer, and his conquests as a gallant gentleman and courtier, alike clothe the story of his life with an intrinsic interest. Mr. Gosse has apparently spared no pains in comparing authorities, and even in unearthing new facts. The account of Raleigh's trial at Winchester for plotting treason against King James, is full of dramatic interest, and the brutality with which he was treated is brought out in the strongest light. The memory of Sir Edward Coke, the attorney-general in this trial, is not treated with any great respect in the narrative. Raleigh's protracted imprisonment at the instance of King James, his accomplishments, his weaknesses, and his final execution, are all minutely, and yet not too elaborately, described. Mr. Gosse holds a skillful pen, and is master of a graceful style. His book is one of the best that has yet appeared in that excellent series, bearing the general title, "English Worthies."

REPORT ON EDUCATION IN ALASKA.

With maps and illustrations. By SHELDON JACKSON, 8vo, pamphlet, pp. 88. Washington, 1886. Government Printing House.

The establishment in Alaska of the public-school system of the States is an undertaking which invests this report from the general agent of education in that country with peculiar interest. The school work must be accomplished under the greatest difficulties, as it will require tens of thousands of miles of travel, where there are no roads whatever, and no means of transportation among the islands beyond the log canoes and skin bidarkas of the natives, except a monthly steamer in the southeastern corner of the vast area. Mr. Jackson furnishes statistics in a concise form, of the extent of the country, its physical characteristics, climate and people, accompanied with numerous graphic and pertinent illustrations.

OUR ARCTIC PROVINCE. Alaska and the Seal Islands. By HENRY W. ELLIOTT. Illustrated by many drawings from nature and maps. 8vo, pp. 473. New York, 1886. Charles Scribner's Sons.

The writer of this volume has very cleverly portrayed the discovery, occupation, life and country of Alaska, beginning with the legend of Behring's voyage, and closing with a vivid pen-picture of the monotonous desolation of that Arctic country at the present time. He says: "No legend of the sea, however fanciful or horrid, surpasses the simple truth of the terror and privation which went hand in hand with Behring and his crew." Of the general contour of Alaska he informs us that it is correctly rendered on any and all charts published to-day, "but it is usually drawn to a very much reduced scale and tucked away into a corner of a large conventional map of the United States and Territories, so that it fails in this manner to give an adequate idea of its real proportion, and does not commonly impress the eye and mind as it ought, at first sight." In the interests of natural science, however, "hundreds of energetic, quick-witted Americans have been giving Alaska a very keen examination during the last eighteen years, so that the public do not really lack for information." Mr. Elliott describes in picturesque detail the Sitkans, with their mode of living, shrewdness and avarice; the frigid, gloomy grandeur of the scenery in Prince William's Sound and elsewhere; the great island of Kodiak, which was the site of the first grand depot of the old Russian company; and the wonderful Seal Islands. The habits of the inhabitants of these islands form some of the most interesting pages of the work. Salt meat is their staple food, and they are passionately fond of butter. "No epicure at home or butter taster in Goshen knows or appreciates that article better than these people do." The work is profusely illustrated, and issued in handsome style by the publishers. In breadth of treatment and in skillful presentation of historic and other facts concerning this vast country and its people, the book has no superior, and will be widely welcomed by all intelligent readers.

OUR NEW ALASKA; or, the Seward Purchase Vindicated. By CHARLES HALLOCK. Illustrated. 8vo, pp. 209. New York, 1886. Forest & Stream Publishing Co.

Mr. Hallock has written of Alaska with the specific purpose of pointing out its visible resources, and to assist their development. He is a practiced writer and a practical thinker, and returns from the tour of southeastern Alaska im-

bued with the firm conviction that important industries are at once available there for immediate profit. He would have the members of our national Congress see the advantage, as well as the duty, of providing proper protection for the people of Alaska, and grant them representation through a chosen delegate. His hopes for the future of this far-off territory are highly colored, and it is refreshing to meet with an author of such marked ability and sound foresight, who can, through his own personal observation produce and illumine a work with so bright an outlook. "The time is close at hand," he says, "when Alaska's mighty forests will yield their treasures, her mines will open out their richness, her seas will give of their abundance, and all her quiet coves will be converted into busy harbors. Already the vibrations of the pending boom begin to agitate the air. Letters of inquiry from intending settlers come from every section. Official departments are getting down to systematic work. New industries have been established within the present year. Capital will no longer be withheld grudgingly from enterprises waiting to be developed." Mr. Hallock shows how greatly Alaska has been misjudged, and its scope and fitness for agriculture and stock raising misunderstood. The wheat region alone might feed the world. He does not think it worth while to push inland until the opportunities are utilized for development on the coast. "Population," he says, "will penetrate into the interior as soon as economic industries are fairly introduced along the seaboard." Mr. Hallock's book is one destined to perform an important and much needed service to our country, and deserves the most careful study. It should go hand in hand with Mr. Elliott's work, as each supplements the other in many important particulars.

THE HOME LOTS OF THE EARLY SETTLERS OF THE PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS. With Notes and Plats. By CHARLES WYMAN HOPKINS. Square Folio, pp. 78. Pamphlet. 1886. Providence, Rhode Island.

This elegant brochure has been issued in anticipation of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the settlement of Providence. Heretofore, only vague information has prevailed concerning the original fifty-two home lots of the early settlers, not more than fifteen having been definitely located, and the author has, with much painstaking research, performed a valuable public service in the production of this work. Several pertinent illustrations add materially to

its interest, and a good index is provided. It is printed on rich paper, with broad margins, and bound in excellent taste.

DORA. By ALFRED TENNYSON. Illustrations by W. L. TAYLOR. Drawn and engraved under the supervision of GEORGE T. ANDREW. Square 12mo, pp. 31. 1887. Boston: Lee & Shepard.

The fresh charm of this little work is in the artistic beauty of its illustrations. *Dora* is one of the shortest and sweetest of the ballads of Alfred Tennyson. It is the story of an English farmer who desired the marriage of his niece, Dora, to his son, William. William disobeyed the parental command, angrily leaving his father's home sought work on the farm of a neighbor. Soon he married a laborer's daughter, Mary Morrison, who proved to be a very devoted, excellent wife. Shortly after the birth of a son, William died. With his last breath he spoke words of love to his wife, and sent a blessing to his father. The old man, who had been cold and cruel to William and Dora and Mary, found his heart softened and warmed by the prattle and smiles of the babe, became reconciled to the living whom he had spurned, and tenderly cherished the memory of the dead whom he had disinherited. This song of the unconscious triumph of babyhood, in its present dress, will make a most acceptable gift-book for the Christmas season.

THE SPANISH ARMADA. THE NAMES of those persons who subscribed toward the defense of this country at the time of the SPANISH ARMADA, 1588, and the amounts each contributed. With historical introduction by T. C. NOBLE. An Index. 16mo, pp. 92. London, 1886. Alfred Russell Smith, 36 Soho Square.

In the short but very instructive essay with which this work opens, Mr. Noble writes: "The most noteworthy incident, the most momentous event in the annals of a country, was the invasion of England by the Spanish Fleet in the year of our Lord 1588." He then proceeds to tell the story of the affair in a clear and concise manner, showing at the same time where the documents have been found and gathered for a complete collection of notes on the subject. The printed list of names is sustained by abundant proofs of its authority in every detail, and is consequently of the greatest value to genealogists and country historians. The index is also of great value.

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